

The Woman Citizen

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News Notes of the Fortnight

Changes in the Ruhr

A BRITISH diplomatic triumph, a new note in French policy, an agreement between the German industrialists in the Ruhr and the Franco-Belgian Commission, and the fall of the Stresemann government are the high spots of the reparations situation during the fortnight.

After the return of the former Crown Prince, and the warning against Allied Military Control officials' presence in Germany, the French Government wanted the Allies to join in the seizure of more German territory as security against monarchist activities and menace to Allied officials. Protracted discussions followed, and for days the Entente hung on the verge of an open break. The final outcome was the first concession ever made in the Poincaré policy toward Germany. A joint note of protest was sent to Germany, which tided over the difficulty: it required the resumption of Allied control "under conditions of which the German government would be notified," and provided that in the event of obstacles the Allies "would take such measures as are deemed necessary to assure execution of the treaty." It mentioned no definite penalties. So far as the ex-royal family is concerned, the note stopped with calling attention to the definite renunciation made by them a few years ago.

The negotiations were not fully disclosed, but it was reported that Great Britain went so far as to threaten the withdrawal of her representatives on all Allied commissions if France insisted on military sanctions.

Both Italy and—less definitely—Belgium were again with Great Britain, and though the Little Entente was with France, M. Poincaré's change of front has been rather widely credited to the realization that France cannot afford a break with her Allies—plus the influence of the British election.

MEANTIME the long effort to find a basis of agreement between the German industrialists and the French occupation authorities has succeeded.

Herr Stinnes and his group have

Very Briefly

President Coolidge has consented to an arrangement by which several hundred immigrants now held here because they are in excess of the quota, shall be examined and as many of them as meet tests for American citizenship shall be admitted.

New proof of the swiftness of mechanical progress—at a meeting last week of the Alumni Association of the Washington College of Law there was a discussion of "The Law of the Air."

At midnight on November 15, the last minute for the papers in the American Peace Award, 22,165 plans had been submitted.

Legislation has been introduced in the French Senate to prohibit children with a French mother and a foreign father from claiming the father's paternity at twenty-one. The object is to give France a greater number of conscripts, amounting to about thirty thousand a year. The same senator who introduced this bill also introduced a measure allowing women married to foreigners to regain their French nationality on application.

The United States Public Health Service is undertaking a detailed study of colds and influenza in order to see just how much damage they do. It has enlisted the help of several universities in collecting reports.

John H. Clarke, former Justice of the United States Supreme Court, suggests that the court shall voluntarily limit its powers to declare acts of Congress unconstitutional, following an old rule by declining to hold a statute unconstitutional "whenever several of the Justices conclude that it is valid."

Thomas A. Edison has suggested to the Chemical Warfare Service of the army that it should find a way of using poison gas in connection with the trapping of wild animals, to relieve the agonies of torture.

To Presidential candidates now openly in the field, add William G. McAdoo and Hiram Johnson. Henry Ford is still uncommitted, but a third party movement is shaping up around him.

agreed to pay \$15,000,000 coal taxes, arrears for the first ten months of this year, and to deliver 18 per cent of their production free to the Allies as reparations. Subject to the Reparations Commission's consent, the deliveries in kind will be turned over to the Commission to be credited on reparations, but the tax payments will go to a guarantee fund to pay the cost of the Ruhr occupa-

tion. There is the rub: Great Britain and Italy also want reparations, and it is well understood that Sir John Bradbury, Great Britain's member of the Reparations Commission, will raise the question of the legality of the Ruhr occupation, and of what Great Britain stands to get out of the arrangement. Some attention also must be paid to the charge of illegality recently made by the Germans before the Reparations Commission. Another point that concerns the English is the practical economic separation of the Rhineland from the Reich.

Of course, the resumption of payments at all is a French triumph, and Premier Poincaré won a huge vote of confidence at the opening session of the French Parliament.

A DAY or two later the Stresemann Government fell, but not so much on account of the Ruhr policies as for certain internal policies of little international significance. A vote in the Reichstag, deliberately sought by Herr Stresemann, failed to support him, and he resigned. Dr. Heinrich F. Albert has been chosen to form a new government. He was Minister of the Treasury in the Cuno Cabinet and Germany's fiscal agent here before we entered the war—a well-known German propagandist. The new government will be hardly more than a cloak for the military dictatorship of General von Seeckt, Reichswehr commander, and the dissolution of the Reichstag is likely.

So far as the human side goes, the conditions of the German people are increasingly serious: unemployment, food riots, thousands already starving or one point removed from starvation, with the situation of the middle classes most pitiable. At the top are the great industrialists, notably the extraordinary Stinnes, whose policies are at least partly responsible for the people's plight.

Election Day in Great Britain

THE British Parliament was in session for three days and then was dissolved, as the necessary preliminary to a general election to come early in

December. The issue is Premier Baldwin's protection policy, designed to reduce England's heavy burden of unemployment. Meat and wheat are in the list of exemptions to the tariff, and it is hoped this will hold the housewife's vote. The woman vote is a new thing to be reckoned with, so far as protection *vs.* free trade is concerned, since the last time it was up women were not voting. Protection is opposed by both the Liberals, with the Lloyd George and the Asquith forces reunited after seven years, and the Labor Party, but the two are not working in co-operation, so the opposition vote will be split.

Lloyd George and others have been noisy in their denunciations of Baldwin for calling an election now, when this Parliament has been in existence only about a year, and with so much uncertainty in foreign relations. Premier Baldwin frankly admits that he got into it accidentally, through taking a protectionist position in a public speech. A British premier can't announce a change in financial policy and then go on as if nothing had happened.

The Doctor Scandal

A DISHEARTENING and disgraceful story is that of organized quackery uncovered in Connecticut. It has been discovered that a number of physicians licensed to practice in Connecticut, after examination by a board of the Connecticut Eclectic Medical Society, had obtained their diplomas in other states by purchase. Missouri is shown to be the site of the principal "bogus diploma mill," and Connecticut has been the field of operation because it proved to be a state in which admission to practice was easy. Governor Templeton has called into action an Extraordinary Grand Jury in Hartford, which is hard at work. The evidence already brought to light shows many deaths at the hands of persons absolutely without medical knowledge—willing to be wholesale murderers as a means of earning a living. A tightening up of the restrictions for medical practice in Connecticut is a foregone conclusion.

The Craig Case

THE case of Comptroller Craig of New York City has more than local interest. In October, 1919, as comptroller he wrote a letter to another city official in which he charged that Circuit Court Judge Mayer was preventing the city from getting certain necessary information concerning property of the public utility corporations. Judge Mayer cited him for contempt and sentenced him to sixty days in jail. Craig got a writ of habeas corpus from Judge Manton, who ruled that Judge Mayer had exceeded his authority. The Circuit Court of Appeals reversed Judge Manton but continued the writ. The Supreme Court, finally reached, ruled that the decision

of the Circuit Court was according to the rules of the game. It did *not* act on the question of Craig's guilt. Mr. Justice Holmes alone made any reference to the actual issue—he said "Unless a judge while sitting can lay hold of any one who ventures to publish anything that tends to belittle him, I cannot see what power Judge Mayer had to touch Mr. Craig."

There is a widespread feeling that the right of free speech has been violated in the Craig case, and a movement is under way to ask a pardon from President Coolidge, while legislation to prevent the possibility of a repetition of such a case may be introduced into Congress.

Governor Walton Out

AS was expected, Governor Walton of Oklahoma was found guilty, and removed from office by act of the state Senate sitting as a court of impeachment. The indictment started out with twenty-two counts. On five the Governor was acquitted, six were dismissed by the prosecution, and on eleven he was convicted. One of these was his attempt to prevent the special election that resulted in convoking the Legislature. One—that he had exceeded his pardon and parole powers—had to do with complaints made before the beginning of the open fight. Others concerned abuses of power which in themselves would not have led to charges. Governor Walton's real offense was, first, his opposition to the Ku Klux Klan, and second,

his tyrannical methods of fighting it, which alienated even those who would naturally have been on his side. In the general opinion, he has proved a bad friend of a good cause.

Governor Walton charged he wasn't getting a fair trial, left the Chamber, and will carry the case to the Federal courts.

An anti-Klan measure has since been under discussion in the Oklahoma Senate. A section which would have compelled secret organizations to file their membership lists for public inspection was defeated, to the accompaniment of hot discussion of the Klan with both sides out in the open and fighting. Anti-Klan forces found some comfort in the passage of a section requiring officers of secret organizations to file their names with county authorities.

P. R. in Cleveland

THE first election of the council of Cleveland by the "Hare system" of proportional representation, as provided for under the city's new manager-plan charter, was considered a great success. The leader of the Republican party of the city calls the new body "the best city council in twenty years." (And his organization, which had the allegiance of 72 per cent of the membership of the present council, will have that of only 56 per cent of the new one!) Five outstanding independents were put into the Council—two of them women, as a note on another page records. For reasons that applied in many cities in the state, the vote for councilmen was smaller than in the last election, but the number of ballots actually effective in electing members was more than 20,000 greater.

Quick Settlement

JUGOSLAVIA and Bulgaria have settled an affair of reparations themselves. The Yugoslav military attaché at Sofia was assaulted in his office. Yugoslavia demanded an apology, with suitable honors, before the Yugoslav legation at Sofia, and the punishment of the guilty. Bulgaria yielded—"to superior force," she said.

The Leader's Brief Life

FOR a brief time New York City had a labor newspaper of real excellence—a paper edited with the special interests of labor in mind, but with all the departments of a great city paper represented. It was owned by several unions of the needle trades, but though its circulation greatly increased over that of the *New York Call*, which it succeeded, the *New York Leader* was discontinued for lack of support. It was discontinued, however, while still solvent, and there is some possibility of its resumption.

November 27, 1923.



Applying the old truth that to have a thing well done, one must do it one's self Elizabeth Colwell (our cover artist) not only designs but cuts and prints her own wood blocks, for which she is known on both sides of the Atlantic. Another interesting thing which she does that has added to her fame, is hand-lettering. A complete face of type is credited to her, known as the "Colwell Hand-Letter." Etchings, pastels and lyric verse have also aided in bringing her name into prominence. Miss Colwell lives in Chicago.

The
Election
Shadow



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Issues
vs.
Ideals

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

November 22, 1923.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE has hardly shown his face outside his study for a fortnight. He is digging away at the first message to Congress, with the rest of the capital deep in speculation as to what he will say in his keynote. He has gone over the foreign situation with Senator Lodge, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate; railroads with Senator Cummins, in whose hands the President again and again has placed the fate of the railroads and the amendments to the Transportation Act which are expected to be enacted at the coming session; agriculture with Senator Capper, of Kansas, who has his ear closer to the ground, undoubtedly, than any other statesman, and knows more, too, about actual farm conditions through his extensive farm newspapers and publications of the Middle West; and with dozens of others variously concerned with current problems. President Coolidge will deliver the message in person about the fourth of December. Upon it depend not only the country's welfare but the personal fortunes of Mr. Coolidge as a prospective candidate for re-nomination.

Candidacy—the Shadow

It would seem a herculean task for the President to go into the whole round of urgent matters which will confront the next Congress. There never was a greater nor a more demanding program, nor a Congress more difficult and complex in its make-up, nor a situation, politically speaking, requiring more finesse. Congress will be a place of blocs, in which the blocs will hold the balance of power—and the other side of the picture is a Congress full of would-be candidates for the Presidency, to be addressed by a man himself a prospective candidate. Unfortunately candidacy overshadows the whole situation. It has permeated Washington.

The formulation of our national poli-

icy prior to a Presidential election ought to interest every student of politics. It is a spectacle. If a prospective candidate shows signs of fighting along certain lines, counter plans are made by other candidates to combat them and that, to some extent, influences Republican and Democratic policies. We begin to wonder where the legitimate side of the system of party government begins and ends. Why should political party advantage determine whether or not the Republican campaign shall contain a full endorsement of the World Court, as proposed to the Senate by President Harding, or only so much of an endorsement or tolerance of it as will suit the current political situation—i. e., assuage the isolationists; quiet the League of Nations factions; please the World Court adherents; and pass the buck? What has that to do with the problem of whether it would be best for the United States to be a member of the Permanent Court of International Justice?

Why should political leaders suddenly decide that taxes must be reduced to the exclusion of other propositions, in advance of the consideration of the subject by Congress? Just because the Republican Party decides that tax reduction would be sufficiently strong campaign material to carry it through the country at the election without having to pay too much attention to the muddle of foreign affairs? To be sure a potential candidate, William Gibbs McAdoo, did say that he thought the tax budget of the nation could be reduced by a few hundred millions and the soldier bonus paid too, but so vital a matter as taxes ought not to rest upon what prospective candidates rosily think in pre-nomination days.

Shaping the national policy to suit campaign needs is not in any way *sub rosa*. It is quite in the open. It is supposed here that Mr. Coolidge is posing with dozens of associations and other delegations for the sake of a good poli-

tical impression, giving out the twaddle that seems so beautifully to accord with their wishes to the visiting delegations, and in the cold mist of the next morning reads any one of a dozen ways and means little or nothing. President Coolidge delivered a kiss-your-hand to the large delegation from the Woman's Party which came to urge his support for the equal rights campaign, sending the women away with hope and appearing to give them a *carte blanche* endorsement. He was certain, he said, that if they present to Congress, "as you have to me, your reasons why you want this constitutional amendment, you will find it very responsive to your request."

Opposed—Eleven

This statement would apply equally well to a delegation from the eleven organizations associated to oppose the Woman's Party campaign, representing the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the National League of Women Voters, the American Association of University Women, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National Consumers' League, the American Home Economics Association, the Young Women's Christian Association, the National Women's Trade Union League, the Girls' Friendly Society, the National Council of Women and the National Federation of Teachers—if these organizations choose to send a delegation to the White House. Such assurances these days are taken seriously only outside Washington. Here they are political flubdub, representing the exigency of the occasion in the executive offices of the White House.

There must be a line somewhere between legitimate personal ambition on the part of a candidate for public office; legitimate activity for the development of the party system; and service to the nation. It could only be determined, we think, by personal integrity. If a candidate wants to be President in order to serve his country, the glory of his

personal fame to be secondary—then the channels through which a man succeeds to that honor in the United States must be traversed by him. But when he diverts those channels into creating situations and imposing conditions upon the country for the sake of the election game and personal glory—then we can reflect upon the answer. With the world in the present heart-breaking condition, it is a little too much to be here these days and see our international affairs and domestic policies flipped about for the sake of party and personal advantage.

Partisans argue that once President Coolidge is reelected, or Hiram Johnson moves from his Maryland country house to Pennsylvania Avenue, or Mr. McAdoo takes a letter from his California church to the Church of the Presidents, then the country's blessedness will be so assured as to have been worth any preliminary infliction. That if the Democratic party replaces the Republican party, the benefit of Democratic principles and policies will alleviate all the ill effects of the campaign *mêlée*. They never have; nor have Republican platforms salvaged the world. The country goes on paying year after year for experiments of politicians who want to get elected above everything else.

The H. C. of L. for Presidents

What is there in it that they want so much? Surely not money. In the Government service, salaries wouldn't keep politicians in cigars. The monthly treasury checks would not pay for an apartment here in which they could entertain befittingly; or would not meet their household expenses as Cabinet officers. Even Presidents have very little left over, unless they live a life of utter seclusion as did President Wilson, and it is doubtful if he, or any other President, could have maintained so simple an establishment if it had not been a matter of health. So what is the lure? Prestige in this country is not sacred. A Congressman is likely to tell a President what he thinks of him and a tram conductor has been known to push a Congressman off the car. The country may make obeisance to the office of President, yet little to the man. It is our way. We have practically none of the tradition of subservience and homage.

One would think a politician, playing an impersonal game of service to the country, for instance, in the sense of service in a great war, would get a great deal more out of it, for he then would have the overwhelming satisfaction of sacrifice in a great cause. He plays a huge chance as it is. He may lose his life; Presidents do these days. He might be "investigated" by the opposite party, which oftentimes must be worse. The material rewards of public office are scanty, however they are figured. The only reward of any real value is the im-

personal one, and if the mystery, involvement, strategy, sleuthing, fighting, snatching, becomes so great that men with a high purpose find it distasteful, then men with high purpose will remove themselves from the political sphere or, cannily, never will enter. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why public office does not attract the most alert and capable minds of the nation. The intellectual and service sides appeal to them; party maneuvering which goes with them does not. They would far rather buy a few newspapers, sit back out of the snatching, and wield a comfortable and unmolested influence in editorials.

And undoubtedly, the reason that a few of the great have been in public office and have never been President has been because they went as far in the political game as they could stomach the intrigue but not far enough to land them in the White House. In other words, their interest was not of the horse racing, betting and gambling type. A candidate nowadays must bet on the issues—which will "get" the most votes—not which is best for the country. He must risk all his personal funds and gamble with all that his friends can be induced to contribute. He must play hard and not dwell too much upon the personal habits and characteristics of his supporters and trainers. They must be men who will win the race—beyond that they go as they please.

Nobody supposes it will be very different for this hundred years. Certainly women will not improve it if they, too, get into the political game for the game's sake. Loyalty to party these days ought to be a serious matter with women voters. Until parties look the voter straight in the eye and play something besides a game of personal ambition, loyalty to issues is just as important. No one here today could fail to sense all the intrigue. It is the underlying foundation of all the news and it is not written, but assumed. Personal integrity in politics is the great need.

Enter Hiram Johnson

Judge William S. Kenyon, formerly Senator Kenyon of Iowa, has been in Washington this week. Judge Kenyon was one of those who recoiled at the depths to which political maneuvering has sunk. He left the Senate, it will be remembered, in disgust. He is likely to work for the progressive cause if Governor Pinchot, of whom he thinks highly, gives him an opportunity. Hiram Johnson, now full-fledged Presidential candidates, called the correspondents to his office at the capital when he arrived recently and showed himself in fighting form for his campaign for the Republican nomination. He will begin his canvass in the Northwest, with reservations and headquarters established at Chicago in charge of William Wrigley, millionaire chewing-gum manufacturer. Only

a week or so ago, Mr. Wrigley was invited to the White House, was entertained there as a guest, and was understood to be in process of grooming as one of the financial backers of the Coolidge campaign. Either he did not like Mrs. Coolidge's cooking or he and the President did not have sufficient in common, for when next heard of he was aligned with Senator Johnson's campaign and had begun to operate.

Relief for Germany—and Farmers

Then along comes Gray Silver, representing the Federation of Farm Bureaus and after an extensive study of conditions abroad, recommends to the President that he in turn recommend to Congress that the United States undertake a gigantic food relief for starving Germans, consisting in the purchase of \$50,000,000 worth of American wheat of which there is such a domestic surplus. This, the farmers naively explain, will immediately boost the price of wheat in the American market, farmers will receive a much higher return, the Germans will be fed, and everybody will be happy, admitting that the thought behind the kind deed is this excellent excuse upon which the American Government is to take over the surplus wheat stock after turning a deaf ear to the same proposition without the German relief feature, and before that brilliant idea was conceived among the farm politicians. This would put the farm vote in a happy frame of mind before the Presidential election. It would undoubtedly raise the price of flour, bread and other essential commodities to the consuming public, for the slightest excuse, is sufficient for such an advance to be perpetrated—but that is not in the thought of the politicians who apparently are considering the farm organizations' proposition seriously and giving them some encouragement.

The problem is, then, not essentially whether the United States should undertake to feed the Germans in the best way at the best time, with what is best—but to buy this wheat on the excuse that it is needed for the Germans and so artificially adjust production and consumption in this country. Again, is it personal ambition or service to the country? The question of whether we should furnish relief for the German population ought not to be confused with politics.

Senator Capper of Kansas reported that President Coolidge is one of the farmers' true friends. He said, after a conference at the White House: "I feel that agriculture has a real friend in the President, who has an understanding of rural problems far above the average. His father is a farmer, and so are most of his other relatives. The President understands just what has happened in the last three years to this greatest na-

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Ohio's Pioneer Six

By Olga Anna Jones

"I SHALL be a candidate for reelection."

That is what you hear in Ohio among the six women who pioneered in the state's legislative halls, last winter. Not one of them meditates retreat, so far as any constituency knows. Every one of them agrees that they had a "corking" good experience and that they are anxious for more women to be in the legislature another term.

"There is a decided future for women in the legislature," asserts Mrs. Nettie M. Clapp, of Cuyahoga County. "There is a place for women's ideas and ideals and it would be an excellent thing to have women in sufficient numbers to form a force." When asked whether she thought more women should be sent to the legislature another term, Mrs. Maude C. Waitt, Senator from Cuyahoga County, with a big smile, said: "Well, I hope we six have conducted ourselves so that others will be allowed to come after us." And the writer in checking up with men legislators who served in the same body with the women, frankly asserts that the pioneers did conduct themselves so that others will be permitted to follow in increasing numbers.

Ohio women had sat on the sidelines and watched men play the game for years. "Politics"—crooks, sneaks, slates, charges and counter charges, graft, "set", "fixed", playing the game—all of these, and more, and worse, are included in the present-day interpretation of functioning politics. Thinking men and women are seeking a new interpretation, a new functioning.

"It's a strange game," soliloquized one of Ohio's men legislators. "A human being can live a clean, honest life for half a century—not a neighbor, friend, nor enemy actually mistrusting him in his everyday walks of life; but let the day come when he is persuaded to run for office (a detestable phrase) and all his past honesty counts for little, if his political antagonists can just 'start something' on him. (And it seems to be easy to do.) They force him to play the game or get out. The more honest, the more respected the man, the more dire and tangled must be the 'something' that's started."

Now about women? We'll turn again to the six who sat in the Ohio legislature last winter—two as senators and four representatives. These women pioneers were especially watched—perhaps almost equally so by friends and enemies of woman suffrage.



Would the women play "politics"? Some said they would; some said they wouldn't. Did they? Speaking from a general slant gained by a rather constant contact with the doings of the Ohio legislature, I think they did not.



Next on the scene are Ohio's women legislators. Though it can't make the circuit of all the states where women helped pass laws, *The Citizen* thinks it important to put on record at least something of what these women stood for and worked for.

Above are pictured two of the five women who were state senators last year—Senator Loughhead (top), Senator Waitt. The full list of Ohio's first women legislators is:

Senators
Mrs. Nettie B. Loughhead, Cincinnati
Mrs. Maude C. Waitt, Lakewood

Representatives
Mrs. Harold Clapp, Cuyahoga County
Mrs. Lulu T. Gleason, Toledo
Mrs. Adelaide Ott, Mahoning County
Mrs. May M. VanWye, Cincinnati

One of Ohio's senators, Mrs. Waitt, told me a few days ago that she would let me in on a little secret. "You know," she said, "I really succeeded in doing far more good than I expected. All I hoped when I went down to the legislature, was to be more or less of a figurehead, not antagonistic, but helping men to become accustomed to having women occupy the 'seats of the mighty.'"

This Ohio legislature of which I am writing, turned one hundred and ten bills into laws. There were one hundred and sixty-five members, including the six women, who could have fathered (or mothered) bills. Out of this number, one of the six women successfully mothered five. Others mothered a creditable number.

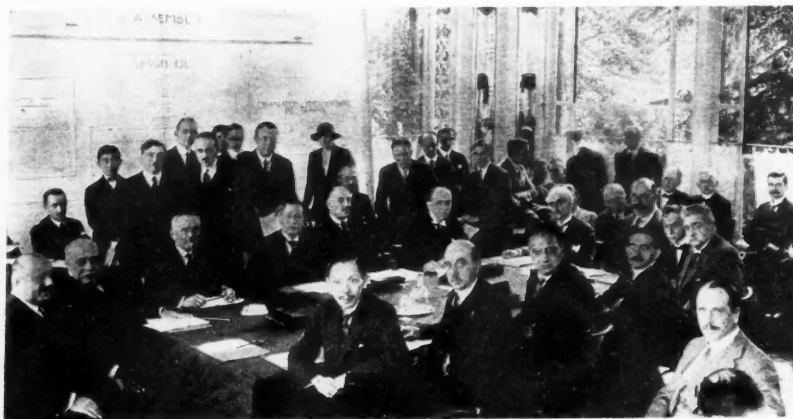
"I'll tell you of the most thrilling moment in my legislative history," said Senator Waitt, when I asked her. "It was a situation where I held the trump cards. It was on the last night of the session. A new bill was about to be introduced of which I knew nothing and which I had no means of studying. It was an important bill and new, and I was not willing to vote on it without having time to find out what I was doing. So I said that if it were introduced I should be obliged to withdraw my vote on the bills already agreed to. As there was only the necessary number of votes for some of these, this would mean their defeat. I considered this action perfectly legitimate because in our regular party caucus no effort had been made to revive the bill in question. When I made this statement—in a perfectly ladylike voice—and in a scene of utmost confusion—two men senators said they would do the same. *It was all over—the bill was dead!*"

Among the bills that Ohio women legislators were especially instrumental in having made into laws, was an equal guardianship bill—introduced in the Senate by Mrs. Waitt, which provides that a husband and wife shall be jointly responsible for the care of a minor child. This lines Ohio up with the other thirty-odd states that have equal guardianship laws. Then, women legislators did their full share in getting Ohio to accept the provisions of the Federal Maternity and Infancy Act, and in securing an appropriation for a director of child accounting to head up the school attendance work in the state. Ohio is recognized as having one of the best—if

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Italy and the League

By Florence Guertin Tuttle



© Photographia-Pressa, Geneva

The Council of the League of Nations in session, 1923. Second from the far left is the Italian, Salandra; fourth on the near side of the table is Politis, of Greece—eyeglasses and black mustache. Beyond him is Branting, of Norway, and on the far side of the table Lord Robert Cecil. And through the windows is a glimpse of Geneva's beauty.

The CITIZEN is fortunate in having here a first-hand story of the Italian-Greek crisis as it looked at Geneva. Mrs. Tuttle, president of the Woman's Pro-League Council, attended the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations and saw those momentous events at close range. Her explanation of the "conflict of jurisdictions" is illuminatingly different from what we were reading at long range.

IF you start with the wrong premises you will arrive at the wrong conclusion. Most Americans, I found on my return from Geneva, were regarding the Italian-Greek case and its relation to the League of Nations from false premises. And no wonder. On the steamer, coming home, I picked up an American journal—one to which we all look for authentic news—and this is what I read: "The murdered Italian general was sitting on a commission appointed by the League of Nations."

Nothing could be farther from the truth. You might just as well say that Theodore Roosevelt was nominated President by the Democratic party. General Tellini and his staff were murdered while on their way to sit on a commission to delimit the boundaries between Greece and Albania, appointed by the Conference of Ambassadors, sitting at Paris.

It is essential to differentiate clearly these two bodies—the Conference of Ambassadors, a heritage of Versailles, with a Secretariat on the Quai d'Orsay, existing largely to execute the Peace treaties; and the Council of the League of Nations, sitting at Geneva, existing

not to execute but to ameliorate the Peace Treaties. The Conference of Ambassadors consists of representatives of the four great powers—Great Britain, France, Italy and Japan. The Council of the League of Nations is made up of representatives of the four great powers and six small powers chosen in rotation.

The Council of the League did not, as the American magazine further claimed, "refer the case to the Conference of Ambassadors," thus side-stepping the issue. The Conference of Ambassadors wrote Greece demanding an investigation and asserting its authority—as it had every right to do, even although Greece had referred the matter to Geneva. The case at once became immensely complicated for the League since it entailed a conflict not only of states but also of jurisdictions.

On Monday August 27th, the Italian-Greek drama had begun to unroll on the skies of Europe. On Monday General Tellini was shot while driving on a lonely road on Greek soil near the Albanian frontier. On Wednesday, the 29th, Italy issued an ultimatum to Greece containing seven demands. In substance, Greece accepted four of these terms but rejected three. She could not promise to carry on an investigation and shoot somebody within five days and she could not agree to give Italy 50,000,000 lire as a penalty—terms, she claimed, which outraged her honor and violated her sovereignty.

Mussolini's reply was short even though it went back to eighteenth century methods. He sent the Italian fleet to the Adriatic and after a few hours' warning, bombarded Corfu! The for-

ress was occupied by Greek and Armenian refugees, about fifteen of whom were killed. Mussolini then naively asserted that this gesture was not an act of war but was merely to maintain Italy's prestige and show her inflexible intention to enforce reparations.

On Saturday, September 1st, Greece brought the matter to the League of Nations. From that day on, the drama unfurled over the blue waters of Geneva, every day bringing its excitement and suspense.

On September 1st, three days before the Assembly convened, the Council met to consider the Italian-Greek case, but adjourned soon after to allow Salandra, the Italian representative, time to wait for instructions from his government.

For three days we waited while the new ship, the League of Nations, was rocked and the peace of the world was menaced. Criticism was rife. And perhaps no one was louder in asserting that "if the League didn't settle this case we must pack our grips and go home" than the Americans who were visitors and not members of the League in good and regular standing!

Every day was now important, but three great dates stand out in the history that was made at Geneva. On Wednesday, September 5th, Salandra informed the Council, sitting around a table with a fringe of the press nearby, that the Italian government denied the League's competency to handle the case, claiming that it was a domestic point of national honor. Politis, the Greek representative, a polished orator, reaffirmed the position of Greece, stating that Greece was willing to abide by the League's decision. (Unfortunately, she made the same reply to the communication from the Conference of Ambassadors!)

The moment was a supreme one in international relations. The Covenant, introducing a new order, had been challenged by one of the Great Powers—a signatory state. Would no one have the courage to take up the gauntlet? We all looked instinctively toward Lord Robert Cecil. He did not flinch. With white set face he asked that Articles X, XII and XV of the Covenant be read aloud.

No speech could have been as eloquent as these articles which seemed written to describe Italy's dereliction:

"The members of the League agree that if there should arise between them any dispute likely to lead to a rupture, they will submit the matter either to arbitration or to inquiry by the Council, and they agree in no case to resort to war until three months after the award by the arbitrators or the report of the Council." (Article XII.)

Italy was plainly a covenant-breaking state. Italy had taken justice into her own hands in the old nationalistic way. Without a word of accusation, Italy

stood condemned, not by one state alone but by the modern Decalogue of Nations.

The silence was vibrant. Lord Robert's voice again broke it. "These terms are also found in the treaties of St. Germain, of Trianon and Neuilly" (all signed by Italy). "If these terms are allowed to be violated, the foundations of New Europe will be threatened."

There was a movement to applaud. One felt that this new Code of justice between states might be threatened but could not be set aside. The faith of the little states in the new instrument to which they all look for protection, was not to be betrayed.

The next great date came in two weeks after a settlement had been effected. Meantime the small nations—almost

fifty fortunately assembled at Geneva—were playing an unexpected part on the world stage—the great rôle of Public Opinion. Italy found that Public Opinion, to a state, was against her action. Even a Superman must bow before this greatest weapon of modern times.

For the settlement, the Spanish member of the Council had drafted eight terms, similar to Italy's ultimatum but softened. The Greek Navy was to salute the Allies instead of Italy alone; Greece was to deposit the 50,000,000 lire in a Swiss bank; reparations were to be decided by the World Court, etc., etc. These terms were sent by the Council at Geneva to the Conference of Ambassadors at Paris, and were accepted with slight alterations. Italy and Greece also accepted them. Mussolini promised to evacuate

Corfu on September 27th. Within a fortnight, therefore, a case more provocative of war than the Austrian-Serbian crisis had been settled by the best of all ways—mutual agreement.

On Monday, September 17th, the Council met to consider the agreement and define more clearly the League's functions. Lord Robert Cecil, in a dispassionate analysis, declared that the League, not being a superstate, existed not to impose a settlement but to promote an agreement. This it had done and in an unprecedentedly short time.

Monsieur Politis then thanked the Council on the part of Greece for the great part it had played in the peaceful solution of so difficult a question.

One looked at Salandra for a reply, (Continued on page 25)

Framing the Constitution

By Schuyler C. Wallace

THE year 1781 saw three and one half million people scattered along the Atlantic seaboard from New Hampshire to Georgia. Nineteenths of them were farmers, the majority of whom were well satisfied with existing political institutions. Not but what there was discontent with prevailing economic conditions. The period was one of deflation. The continental currency had become practically worthless, its exchange value was high and farm produce correspondingly cheap. But at no time was there widespread feeling in the rural areas that a change in the *form* of government was necessary.

How came it then that after only eight years' trial the Articles of Confederation were scrapped and a new Constitution was adopted? From dissident groups come all movements that lead to change, and to the influence of such groups may be traced the transformation of the Articles of Confederation. There were several classes in the country, numerically small, but with a prestige extending far beyond their actual numbers, who were in a state of protest. First, the commercial interests. The fact that there existed no superior body to compose the quarrels between the various states had already led to a situation in which New York, New Jersey, and Rhode Island were on the point of blows, and a tariff war was in progress. The fact that the federal government had no power to compel the states to abide by its agreements with foreign nations had caused Europe generally to look askance at us and discriminate against our trade at will. The absence of a standard currency likewise complicated business. Not only

were some of the states issuing bank notes, but upon the authority of the states hundreds of banks were steadily adding to the difficulties.

The monetary situation affected also the banking classes. The success and threatened success of the soft money men, that is those who desired to inflate the currency, was alarming the vested interests generally. An inflated currency meant a *decline* in the purchasing power of money, a prospect not at all pleasing to those with money out at interest. Holders of government securities found little to admire in a government too weak financially to redeem its pledges.

Akin in feeling were the speculators in Western lands. So long as the government was unable to protect life beyond the Alleghenies, so long would their anticipated profits be delayed. Even the slavocracy would have felt more comfortable with a more powerful central government.

From these groups, powerful in influence, but by no means a majority of the country, the movement to remedy the defects in the Articles of Confederation arose. They were, perhaps, the first pressure group in our history. The "vision of national unity which underlies the Constitution was after all the vision of an aristocracy conscious of a solidarity of interests transcending state lines."

It was a conference between delegates from Maryland and Virginia to adjust some commercial difficulties on the Potomac, which developed into a convention at Annapolis, and then into the Philadelphia Convention of 1787. The purpose of this latter convention was to devise alterations necessary "to

render the Federal Constitution adequate to the Exigencies of Union." All the states except Rhode Island participated. Rhode Island seemed to *smell a rat*. And well she might, for the opening speeches boded ill for the Federal Constitution. "The confederation," said Randolph, "was made in the infancy of the science of constitutions, when the inefficiency of requisitions was unknown; when no commercial discord had arisen among states; when no rebellion like that in Massachusetts had broken out; when foreign debts were not urgent; when the havoc of paper money had not been foreseen; when treaties had not been violated; and when nothing better could have been conceded by states jealous of their sovereignty."

Washington likewise let it be known that he did not believe tinkering with the document would be sufficiently radical. "It is too probable that no plan we propose will be adopted," he said. "Perhaps another dreadful conflict is to be sustained. If, to please the people, we offer what we ourselves disapprove, how can we afterward defend our work? Let us raise a standard to which the wise and the honest can repair; the event is the hand of God."

And so with almost Cromwellian piety, the Articles of Confederation were dispatched.

The convention was practically unanimous in the belief that the central government should be strengthened—and it is easy to understand why it was, for of the fifty-five members in attendance every one was a member of one of the dissident groups. But they were by no means agreed upon the degree of centralization necessary, nor the degree

of popular control desirable. Two proposals chiefly occupied the convention. They have been labeled the *Virginia plan* and the *New Jersey plan*. The former, the work of Madison, provided for a single executive chosen by the national legislature and ineligible for a second term. Congress was to consist of two houses, the lower elected in proportion to population or wealth, the upper to be elected by the lower in like proportions. Then there was to be a national judiciary. For two weeks this plan was discussed in the committee of the whole, and obtained the approval of the majority of the delegates.

The Small States Bloc

It was becoming apparent by this time, however, that a determined minority existed, composed of a bloc of small states. Eighteen days after the *Virginia plan* had been introduced, Patterson of New Jersey, representing this bloc, introduced a substitute plan. The chief difference between the two plans lay in the fact that the latter plan retained the confederate form of organization. The control was to rest in one house in which the states were to be represented as states. It was over this difference the most bitter fight of the convention took place.

"Let the smaller colonies give equal money and men and then have an equal vote. But if they have an equal vote without bearing equal burdens, a confederation upon such iniquitous principles will never last long." Such was the declaration of Franklin, and the representatives of the larger states echoed his words with vigor. To this Patterson of New Jersey replied that "there was no more reason that a great individual state contributing much should have more votes than a small one, contributing little, than that a rich individual citizen should have more votes than an indigent one. 'Bedford of Delaware was even more emphatic: 'Pretenses to support ambition are never wanting. The cry is, Where is the danger? and it is insisted that although the three great states form nearly a majority of the people of America, they will never injure the lesser states. *Gentlemen, I do not trust you. If you possess the powers, the abuse of it could not be checked. . . . Sooner than be ruined there are foreign powers who will take us by the hand.*"

The air in the convention was tense. The fate of America was suspended by a hair. Franklin, though a free thinker, proposed the invocation of divine guidance. The motion was defeated, according to tradition, by Hamilton's objection to seeking foreign aid, and the fear that dissension might be suspected by the public. On June 29th the large states won the principle of popular representation in the lower house. On July 2, Baldwin of Georgia, who had

been voting with the large states, shifted his vote. This, with the transfer of the entire vote of Maryland to the side of the small states, broke the deadlock, and the Great Compromise was effected.

Tempers did not cool down immediately, but the crisis was passed. Into the further details of the convention's work space does not permit us to go. One fact only need be emphasized. No member was satisfied with the final document, nor did any believe that the product of their labors would endure long without radical change. Hamilton found consolation when he signed the final draft in believing that it would be changed and improved as the years rolled by. The Constitution was a "bundle of compromises," so acknowledged by the members of the convention, and thought of in no other light until the aphorism of Gladstone that it was the "greatest work struck off by the brain of man" was taken seriously by the American public.

When the convention had finished wrangling, the document was referred

The chart our government sails by is the Constitution. Probably many of us know the whole story of its framing; and many of us—don't. Dr. Wallace, in this article in our Columbia University series, which parallels a course given in the University's home study work, tells that story in a condensed form which ought to inspire his readers to increase their familiarity with the Constitution's history.

In the next article Dr. Wallace will talk about the relations of state to central government.

to a committee on detail, which performed important service, and later to a committee on style. Thus the Constitution was completed.

Completed but not adopted! The Articles of Confederation could only be amended by a unanimous vote. Not the slightest possibility existed that the new proposal would be so endorsed. The convention, therefore, provided that when nine states had ratified the new Constitution it should go into effect. Although this action may have been justified it was without question illegal. The further change in the manner of amending, ignoring as it did the state legislatures and submitting the matter to specially elected conventions, was even more revolutionary.

Not even in nine states, however, was the Constitution adopted without a fight. There took place, says Fiske, "such a war of pamphlets, broadsides, caricatures, squibs and stump speeches as never yet had been seen in America. Cato and Aristides, Cincinnatus and Plain Truth were out in full force.

What was the matter with the old confederation? asked the Anti-Federalists. Had it not conducted a glorious and triumphant war? Had it not set us free from the oppression of England? . . . There was government enough in the country already. This Philadelphia convention ought to be distrusted. Some of its members, such as John Dickerson and Robert Morris, had opposed the Declaration of Independence. Pretty men these, to be offering us a new government! . . . Some members had gone home (from the convention) in a huff; others had refused to sign a document fraught with untold evils to the country. And as to the other members of the convention, there was Roger Sherman, who had signed the Articles of Confederation, and now was trying to undo his own work. What confidence could be placed in a man who did not know his own mind any better than that? Then there were Hamilton and Madison, mere boys—and Franklin, an old dotard, a man in his second childhood. And as to Washington, he was doubtless a good soldier, but what did he know about politics? So said the more moderate of the malcontents."

By dint of much persuasion, however, and by virtue of exceedingly skillful political tactics, the Federalists finally carried the election. The ship of state was launched. The Constitution was adopted.

Why So Little Changed?

The fathers of the Constitution believed their work imperfect. How comes it then that after nearly one hundred years this "bundle of compromises" persists almost intact? Between 1787 and 1923 the British Constitution has been changed so that George III would have considerable difficulty in recognizing it. France during the same period has had at least nine constitutions. Italy, Germany and Austria have likewise found it necessary to adopt one or more. Meanwhile, we in the United States continue to use, with little change, a document drawn up almost one hundred and forty years ago to meet the needs of three and one-half million people. Political conceptions have changed, economic conditions have changed, one hundred and ten million people now live here, yet on the surface at least slight change has been made in the Constitution. What is the explanation?

It may be the difficulty of the amending process has something to do with it. There are four ways of changing the fundamental law of the United States. An amendment may be initiated by a two-thirds vote in both houses of Congress and ratified by the legislatures in three-fourths of the states; it may be initiated by a constitutional convention called by Congress upon the petitions of two-thirds of the states,

(Continued on page 25)

Standard-Bearer for Business Women

By Nellie Margaret Scanlan

"THE first time I discovered that all men weren't honest was over a deal in hogs," said Miss Adelia Prichard of Portland, Oregon, the new national president of the Business and Professional Women's Clubs. "I wasn't more than fifteen, but I had been brought up with a rigid view as to scrupulous honesty in all transactions. I was sort of general office boy in a meat market then, where we bought hogs on the hoof. One day a farmer came in to sell a load of hogs, and as there wasn't a man about the place, I sent a boy out with him to weigh the animals. When the man came back a little later for his money, the boy was not in evidence and I reluctantly paid the farmer the amount claimed, feeling that something was amiss. The something, as I discovered in a few moments, was that the boy had been weighed in with the hogs, then told to clear out when the empty wagon was on the scales.

"Incensed at being cheated, I followed the farmer to the corner grocery store, demanded my money before everybody, and"—Miss Prichard smiled reminiscently—"got it."

That little incident is fairly indicative of Miss Prichard. Her methods of attack are direct; she is unafraid, but singularly enough, in gaining her objective and defeating opposition, she has the gift of winning the good will of her opponents.

"I was quite a successful debt collector at one time," she told me in speaking of her varied business training. "I nearly always got the money, and most of the clients were my good friends afterward."

There is something in her uncompromising attitude toward business ethics which compels even the most artful dodger to yield to her persuasive measures. Her shining honesty cuts clean through plausible excuses and evasive explanations.

Descendant of Pioneers

Miss Prichard comes of pioneer stock. Her grandfather left Kentucky and went to Indiana, where he helped lay out the town of Nineveh. Her father was one of the adventurous men who came in the Covered Wagon train in 1853, making his first pilgrimage to Marysville, California. About ten years later he went to Oregon, where he built roads and bridges and other pioneering works to forge links with the East. Adelia Prichard is the first woman in her family to go out into the business world.



Markham, Portland, Ore.

Adelia Prichard, new national President of the Business and Professional Women's Clubs

Necessity was the propulsive power which drove her forth. Her father died when she was eight years old, and at fifteen she was sharing with her mother the burden of supporting eight children. First at the lowly task of kitchen maid, then at the meat market; later she became telephone operator at a switchboard. From reading meters and collecting debts for an electric company, she advanced to a high executive office in the company, leaving it to devote her time to the organization of the convention of Business and Professional Women's Clubs last summer. So successfully did she accomplish this, that the organization has elected her its national president.

Realizing her ability, the Broadway Bank in Portland, Oregon, asked Miss Prichard to organize a women's department, and it was at her bank desk that I first saw this tall, slim woman, whose wealth of hair was wound as a coronet about her head.

I asked her the always interesting question about business women and homes.

"I want to prove," she said—"by statistics and otherwise—that a woman entering business is not handicapped for home-making or the duties of motherhood. Her experience gives her a better understanding of human values. She has more sympathy with man's problems because she has seen them, faced them and worked among them. Through our

organization we want to raise the standard of efficiency of all women in business, and to do this a better fundamental education is required. I would like to see every club share in the educational program. Girls must realize that there is, or ought to be, idealism in business; that the pay envelope is not the sole object of work; that if they become thoroughly efficient and trustworthy, the pay will usually follow."

"What do you think of the average man's attitude toward business women?" I asked.

"In personal matters, a girl is generally treated with respect, but it is for her to set the standard. Most men will accept her at her own estimate. The business world is not so full of pitfalls, unless the girls help dig them.

"In the question of motive, I think man's awakening has been retarded by his heritage of dominance. A woman should be paid for her services, irrespective of her reasons for working, and in deciding her worth the question of how she spends it should not enter. It doesn't enter when adjusting a man's salary. The woman who works for pin money is in the minority. The Government Labor Bureau in Washington has made an interesting investigation: they report that more women than men contribute the whole of their earnings toward the support of families, and more unmarried women than unmarried men contribute toward the family budget."

The Business Woman's Defender

Comparing the home woman with the business woman, Miss Prichard was equally frank. "The attacks directed at the business woman for neglecting home are unjustifiable. You will find more homes neglected by the so-called leisure class, who spend their time at bridge and parties, leaving the care of children to servants, than among the working women."

In her business at the bank, Miss Prichard is trying to weld her business experience and her knowledge of home problems, and utilize them in assisting women. In other words, she is trying to put home-making on a business basis, and give the housewife the advantage of commercial training. She will work out the family budget, always allocating a sum for the savings account first. She will advise and confer with women on financial matters, and make up income-tax returns. She also proposes to stim-

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Editorially Speaking

Women and the World Court

WILL women voters be as effective in their work for taking the United States into the World Court as they were in bringing about the Arms Conference? Straws are blowing from many directions showing how strong is their conviction that our policy of isolation must give way to the fullest sympathetic and practical co-operation with the rest of the world. The political significance of such a conviction also must not be overlooked. More and more women are realizing that sentiment or conviction is of little value unless it is translated into action, and they are learning how to be effective in action. It has become a deep conviction with many women that such a question as the League of Nations or the World Court must not be permitted again to be the football of partisan politics. Republican and Democratic parties alike, we predict, during the presidential campaign will have to take a definite, clean-cut attitude toward foreign relations. Both parties will be judged by the measure of frankness and sincerity with which they treat, at least, the question of the World Court. The irreconcilable senators who are determined not to let this question come out of the Foreign Relations Committee during the life of the present Congress, but with a wink admit that after election day they may act on it, will find that women, partisan or otherwise, will not overlook or pardon that kind of politics.

The Middle West is farther from foreign countries than either seaboard, and naturally hears much less about foreign affairs. The Cincinnati League of Women Voters, especially, is to be congratulated for bringing the great question of international relations out into the open field of public discussion. (See page 22.)

A Risky Short Cut

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE is a diplomat. His reply to the delegation of women from the National Woman's Party, who asked him to support their Blanket Amendment to the Federal Constitution, gives him high rank in that capacity. "If the womanhood of the nation wants something, they will be bound to secure it," he said. "It is a novel impression to me. I have been engaged . . . in attempting to protect women from possible impositions . . . prohibiting their employment in certain vocations that were supposed to be beyond their physical endurance, but if the womanhood of the nation wants that change . . . I have not the slightest doubt that Congress will respond favorably."

Since the National Women's Trade Union League, the National Consumers' League, the Parent Teachers' Association, the National Council of Catholic Women, the National Council of Jewish Women, the National League of Women Voters, and several other national organizations of women, are in accord as opposing the measure, it seems as if the President were quite safe in making such a statement.

All these organizations are in favor of removing discriminations against women. They disapprove of a federal "equal rights" blanket amendment because (1) With forty-eight different state codes, it would lead to endless confusion, and (2) because they believe that there is need of superior legal protection for the woman because of her potential motherhood.

Under present laws, the husband is responsible for the support of the wife and family. Suppose under a blanket amendment he should claim exemption? Among the millions of women workers, there are huge numbers of foreign-born women and of girls under age—shall they have no protection

under the law from being exploited, except such protection as is given to men? Widowed mothers' pension laws are in existence now in most of the country—shall such legislation, which recognizes that for the sake of the family a widowed mother shall have sufficient protection from the state to keep her children together—shall such legislation be abrogated, or at least endangered? An overwhelming number of women oppose the easy way of wiping out all existing discriminations against women in one sentence because they are convinced that the evil which would result will more than offset the possible good.

Speaking of Taxes, as Everybody Is

THE Government's proposal for the reduction of federal taxes is welcomed by practically the entire country, although there is some difference of opinion about the plan proposed by Secretary Mellon. The question is one which should be treated on a level of high statesmanship, and not subject to the whims of party manipulations. The Democratic leader of the House, Finis J. Garrett of Tennessee, has announced that the Democrats will work "whole-heartedly" with the Republicans with the "sole object of promoting the public good." Public opinion should demand that this pledge be kept and that the leaders of both parties be guided by that principle.

Tax reduction is a real need, but in our opinion it should not go so far as to exempt any adult citizen from a share in paying for his government. Good government is vital to every one of us, and there is no way of impressing that fact on a voter and of showing him his responsibility toward that government like making him meet his share of the burden of carrying it.

Questions of bond issues, of appropriations for various Government projects, come before the people at every election. The temptation to vote for increased Government expenses when you are passing the buck to someone else to pay for them, leads to irresponsible and unsound judgment. For a safe and sane vote on such questions, every citizen should be made to realize that in voting for Government appropriations he is agreeing to assume his share of paying for them.

A War Correspondent on Politics

ABOUT three years ago one of our leading war correspondents who had been out of the country for eight years, off and on, visiting revolutions and wars, came home—and settled down on a domestic basis. One of the first things he did was to attend the two national conventions of 1920. And it came as a revelation to him that American citizens have very little to do with picking out their president, because they have so little to do with choosing or controlling convention delegates. He began talking about it, and the moral of his talk was to tell people to get into politics in their own home towns, since "in the long run politics is always local politics." He published this kind of talk, and heard from it. First he published it to adults, and then the editor of the *American Boy* thought it would be a good idea to publish it for boys. He turned it into a book finally, and though this isn't a book review, one may as well mention that it is *The Boys' Own Book of Politics*, by William G. Shepherd. The book is interesting and valuable, but the interesting thing right now is the reaction Mr. Shepherd got. He says he has found himself singing a sort of solo. People say politics is "too dirty," and are aghast at the idea of pushing

boys into it. They seem to think politics is something all by itself—a thing—whereas, as Mr. Shepherd puts it, it is a process—the cooking that gives us the meal, government; and this is one case where the saying about too many cooks spoiling the broth doesn't apply.

When Mr. Shepherd says "get in," he means the same thing that the CITIZEN has been meaning—get clear inside, where the works are. Our returned war correspondent, having rediscovered his country, is now going about demanding that his solo shall be turned into a community chorus—and again he and the CITIZEN coincide in that he wants the chorus to "include many clear sopranos."

Reinforcements on the Housework Problem

A GROUP of colored women are showing an initiative in tackling the household problem which deserves all encouragement—and is apparently getting much of it from white women in Washington. The organization is called the National Association of Wage Earners, with Miss Nannie H. Burroughs as president, on Lincoln Heights, Washington, D. C., and its new project is to establish a practice house for domestic workers, from which they will go out trained to hold good places. The Association has its eye on a headquarters, and the white women who are interested have undertaken to share fifty-fifty in the work of raising money. Among its purposes the Association lists encouragement of efficient workers by helping them find the right positions, work for proper wages, for the standardization of working conditions, and helping to secure just legislation affecting women wage-earners.

Up to this time, so far as we know, there has been no conscious direct effort on the part of colored women to help solve the housework problem. Considering how little there has been on the part of white women, who form the majority of the employers, this sort of organization deserves three cheers.

Tobacco for Two?

A CURIOUS illustration of the double standard of morals has lately come to light. It happened in one of the old equal suffrage states.

In the Colorado State Penitentiary, it has been the custom to issue a regular ration of tobacco to all the prisoners who smoke. This included four-fifths of the women convicts. Lately, Warden Thomas Tynan has cut off tobacco from the women, while continuing to furnish it to the male prisoners. In answer to protests, he is reported as saying: "It doesn't look well to see women smoke. If they want to smoke, let them keep out of the penitentiary."

Now, this is clearly all wrong. Either the use of tobacco is a bad habit—so bad that prisoners should be cut off from "the weed" as they are from liquor and "dope"; or it is a harmless habit, and then there is no reason why the prisoners should not have the comfort of it; or it may be considered a bad habit, but a venial one, which prisoners already addicted to it might be allowed to continue, since the sudden stopping of it would upset their nervous systems and add much to the inevitable distress of imprisonment. But on none of these three suppositions is there any sound reason for making a distinction between the women and the men.

A small boy, it is said, found a stray cat, brought it home and named it Mary. Being asked how he knew it was a feminine cat, he answered that he had seen the animal washing its face, and had noticed that it washed behind the ears. "Only a girl would do that," said the urchin.

Custom still requires a somewhat higher standard of cleanliness and propriety from a woman than from a man, but the law should make no discrimination. The present writer believes that the use of tobacco is a bad habit, whether for men or for women; but whatever rule is laid down for the prisoners should apply to men and women alike.—A. S. B.

Pity Women Doctors!

WOMEN physicians in this neighborhood are having a laugh over an editorial in a recent issue of the *New York Medical Journal and Medical Record* which reflects on the inferiority of women to men as practitioners. Among other things the author—yes, a man—mentions women's lack of adaptability and greater liability to mental breakdown, says their progress has "lagged somewhat," and while granting the value of their intuition in diagnosis, sadly predicts that if they should ever develop into as good practitioners as men, it would be at the cost of some of their womanly attributes.

The women physicians who have commented claim that there is more demand for women doctors than can be supplied, that the work done by the American Women's Hospitals in all the stricken parts of the earth would seem to show some adaptability, and decline to worry at all over the possible diminution of their womanly attributes. One of them could not resist the opportunity to add that if women had been on Connecticut's Medical Licensing Board the "inherent law-abiding qualities" granted women by the *Medical Journal's* editorial writer "would have prevented the disgraceful tragedy which occurred in Connecticut of licensing ignorant criminals."

Both, Thanks—Career and Children

APPARENTLY women don't have to surrender their womanly attributes in practicing law either. A CITIZEN reader sends some clippings in answer to a correspondent in the CITIZEN who asks "Show us what women have done who have kept their domestic life and yet have given the best service to the public." Her answer is Mrs. Jessie Adler, of Cincinnati, who is senior partner in a firm of which the other member is her son. Mrs. Adler is assistant county prosecutor of Hamilton County. She started on her legal education a good many years ago, but household duties, incident in part to the junior partner and his younger sister, delayed it. As a matter of fact, both college and law school came after the junior partner's entrance on the scene. Mrs. Adler managed to combine with all this, active work for suffrage and for peace, and a good bit of club work. We mean to ask the lady how she did it, but on the face of it Mrs. Adler looks like a good instance of a combination of career and home which hasn't involved sacrifice of the home—which has given children prior rights when they needed them, but has permitted the wife the development of her own individual power.

The Middle-Aged Woman's Day

THE middle-aged woman is coming into her own, anyhow. Mrs. Adler stands as one instance. Mrs. Cheatham, a regional director of the National League of Women Voters, whose aspect of a school girl precludes her having any bias in the matter, says so. Only she says it is the *grandmother* whose day has come, and that whereas in the old times her life was given to a postgraduate course in motherhood, now she has her public work, with a wide range, and is doing it. Miss Belle Sherwin, another national League officer, says that the older woman learns faster than the younger. And now along comes President MacCracken of Vassar with an announcement of a new graduate school arrangement by which women graduates may return to write the book or play or do the reading they have planned for years, but haven't had time for with their housekeeping duties.

The fact is that in a normal family, in these modern days, the mother's full-time job ends right in the middle of her life. In great numbers women with free time are developing in the forties and fifties powers they didn't know they had in the twenties and thirties, and are making contributions to great social causes. They should be heartily encouraged.

What the American Woman Thinks

Business and the Home

By Mary Van Kleeck

Director, Department of Industrial Studies at the Russell Sage Foundation. She was a member of the Committee on Business Cycles and Unemployment in the President's Conference on Unemployment.

WHEN a wave of adversity hits the hearth the wives and daughters are the first to feel it, for they spend the family income. The last period of hard times in 1920 and 1921 taught business men some lessons, and these lessons are of vital importance to the women of the country.

It used to be thought that hard times, like the weather, could not be controlled. Now a committee of business investigators has told the country that a depression is merely the result of an unsafe expansion which preceded it. These ups and downs are being called "the business cycle." Another name for them would be "the tides of business," and unemployment is the outgrowth of these fluctuations. Therefore, all women who are interested in the standard of living in the home now face the necessity for understanding the mysteries of banking and credit and factory production, which cause the booms and slumps in business and inevitably affect the home, children's opportunity for education, and the whole status of family life.

Business Cycles

Everyone remembers the industrial crisis of 1920 and 1921. By the autumn of 1921, unemployment was so widespread—as many as four million men and women being out of work—that for the first time in the history of the country the President of the United States called an unemployment conference. Its problem was to find out why business was faring so badly and what remedies could be applied to bring it back to normal. Finding the "why" for so fundamental a national problem takes time, and Secretary Hoover therefore decided to appoint the Committee on Business Cycles and Unemployment, with Owen D. Young as chairman. Plans were made for a thorough investigation by the National Bureau of Economic Research in New York, directed by Professor Wesley C. Mitchell of Columbia University. The findings of these investigators have been published in a 400-page book, entitled "Business Cycles and Unemployment," procurable from any book-store. Meanwhile, Mr. Young's committee has prepared a very

brief report of thirty pages, obtainable from the Superintendent of Documents at Washington. It gives as simply as possible the facts about business cycles and outlines a practical program of action.

Women are needed to put the program into effect. To suggest how they may begin is the purpose of this article.

What the business cycle means in every-day life is described by the committee in the experience of two manufacturers of silk. This story, by the way, was reported to a member of the committee by a woman officer in a city bank. In December, 1919, two manufacturers of silk went to their bank. Both had been receiving large orders. One believed that prosperity was beginning to resemble an unsafe boom. Although business was brisk and sales heavy, he had decided to sell his goods as rapidly as manufactured, instead of stocking up for orders which might come six months ahead.

The other manufacturer interpreted large orders as good times ahead; his associates were all talking about the scarcity of raw silk; railroads were slow in delivering goods. He asked the bank for a large loan so that he might get raw materials well in advance, extend his factory, and fill steadily increasing orders. The bank gave the loan.

What happened to these two business men when the crash came in the spring of 1920? For two months wholesale prices had continued to rise in the silk industry. With so many manufacturers scrambling to procure raw materials nobody realized the amount being accumulated, until insurance companies discovered how much they had collectively insured. Meanwhile, general business conditions in other industries were preparing the way for a turn in the tide of prosperity. Prices of silk suddenly began to drop. The man who had asked for the loan had bought raw material and stocked up with the finished product at maximum costs. He had to sell his goods below cost in order to pay back his loan, and took a big loss. The man who had determined to sell his goods and not accumulate raw materials in advance was able to weather the storm with much smaller loss.

From such experiences, fundamentally alike in many types of business, we can see how business sways up and down.

First, the revival of business begins, as it has recently, with more and more goods being manufactured; factories

work full time and then overtime; prices rise, because in the previous slump there has been a shortage, and as prices rise manufacturing is encouraged; wages begin to go up, and this increases the spending power in homes of wage-earners, which in turn results in the purchase of more goods from stores and consequent increased calls on wholesaler and manufacturer. To meet demands industrial plants are expanded; business men go to their banks for credit. Gradually, as more and more business men ask for credit, a higher rate of interest is charged for loans. Very soon banks begin to refuse the use of money credit to their customers because expansion has reached the limit. Men are unable to pay for goods which they have ordered. Cancellations begin. Confidence is shaken. Wage-earners are laid off. Their families cannot buy the goods offered for sale. This is the dip of the cycle, and if the peak has been very high the dip will be correspondingly low.

"Industry's Icebox"

The message of hope for all of us in homes and offices, contained in the report of the Committee on Business Cycles and Unemployment, is that the business cycle *can be controlled*.

First it is necessary to *have the facts*. The housewife does not purchase her meat, or vegetables, or fruit, or butter for the day without looking at her icebox, to see what she has on hand; but the business man often has to order without knowledge of the volume of supplies possessed by his industry as a whole. He ought to be able to "look in his industry's icebox"—that is, to find out how much the factories have in manufacture and in storage, how much there is in transit, and what the situation is in all industries closely related to his own.

Give a man complete, sound facts about his own industry and about business conditions in general, and he will be able to avoid expanding his business when it is unsafe to do so. The Department of Commerce and the Department of Labor in Washington are now collecting some of the needed facts. *Every woman as a voting citizen can urge that the government develop this service further.*

The second important recommendation of the Committee on Business Cycles and Unemployment is to *urge bankers to study their responsibility for unhealthy booms*. Banks, among other things, are engaged in selling credit to business men. Credit is necessary for

modern business, and it must be provided for normal expansion, but too much of it in use is the forerunner of failure. Here again, the first step is to have facts. If bankers are fully informed as to the times when high and low tide may be expected in business, both they and their customers can act more wisely.

The government—federal, state, and municipal—is itself an employer and a purchaser of goods on a large scale. Roads must be built, bridges constructed, and schoolhouses provided. It is the recommendation of the Committee on Business Cycles and Unemployment that *construction work for the government and also for public utilities—electric light and water plants—should be postponed from years of prosperity to the dull years* when there is little demand for glass, brick, stone, and steel, and hundreds of thousands of men are out of work.

This recommendation is already a part of the policy of the national government. In March, 1923, President Harding requested the Secretary of Commerce for an opinion regarding the advisability of continuing or postponing construction work on federal buildings and other projects. Secretary Hoover recommended postponement of this work.

We women know the importance of saving against a rainy day. This policy is just as necessary and practicable on a large scale in industry and business as it is in the home. Reserves for many purposes are set aside in business, but one crucial need remains unprovided for. When industrial depression comes, wage-earners are laid off without a cent of income during the period of idleness.

The Committee on Business Cycles and Unemployment asks why it is not feasible for the managers of business and the wage-earners throughout an industry to pool funds against the rainy day of employment, when wage-earners are out of funds through no fault of their own but wholly because business is dull.

In the spring of 1923 the clothing workers of Chicago started an experiment in unemployment insurance with the Chicago clothing manufacturers. They will jointly set aside funds to be drawn upon by wage-earners who are out of work because of industrial depression. A few firms have provided insurance of this kind, and a number of trade unions give unemployment benefits, but we have never had *industry-wide unemployment reserve funds*, so this beginning in the clothing industry is a very important piece of news.

Aside from its direct advantage to the unemployed perhaps the most important of all possible results of unemployment reserve funds would be the stimulus to business men to prevent unemployment. They would be better informed of its extent in their own industry, because in

the administration of unemployment reserve funds it would be possible to find out promptly how many men and women were out of work in a given trade.

The tides of business are not confined to the United States of America. No effort to remedy industrial depression in the United States can achieve complete success unless the economic condition of all people to whom we sell and from whom we buy is fully understood. The Committee on Business Cycles and Unemployment made no pronouncement on international relations, but if its recommendation to know the facts be put into effect, Europe must be included in the field of our knowledge.

In short, the Committee is not making elaborate technical recommendations which only bankers and economists can understand. It is urging the same old virtue of foresight and good judgment, and as a means of cultivating it, advocates full knowledge of the facts. These recommendations are closely related to the activities of women in their homes. How much risk a man will take in his business and how adequate his reserves of capital are depend in no small measure upon the ambitions and the standard of life of his family. Spending too much money for unnecessary luxuries makes the business of a country unhealthy. A false standard of living in the home creates false standards in the business policies of those who earn the money to maintain the home.

Drama for the Middle-Aged

By Mary Gray Peck

Miss Peck would just as soon have you talk back if you don't agree—and the spirit moves you.

A FRIEND who amassed what she dryly calls "a vast fortune" teaching history in a Cincinnati high school, and who then retired to her ancestral farm in Vermont, came to visit me the other day. She is a tall, homely, forcible woman, with a gift for pungent and condensed statement born of long struggles with vacuous youth seeking to avoid definite recitations. She was on her way back from New York, whither she goes every now and then to seek diversion in the Museum of Natural History, the luncheons of the Foreign Policy Association and the Symphony concerts.

In the course of our conversation, she remarked that on her recent trip she had taken in eight or ten theatrical entertainments. As this was an innovation, I was moved to ask what she had seen and what she thought of them. A portentous silence followed my question, broken by the following deliverance:

"I have thought for some time that I ought to know more about contemporary drama. So when I got to New York I looked through the advertisements of current plays for titles that

promised entertainment and happiness to an elderly woman from the country.

"We had suffered from a long drought on the farm this season, and so when I saw a play called 'Rain' listed, it looked good to me. Henry VIII's singing man, John Heywood, wrote a very amusing Interlude called 'The Wether', and I hoped this might be something similar, only up to date. I paid three dollars for a ticket. Well, there was plenty of rain, but it reminded me of a Dry-Farming Convention I went to once, where everybody regarded rain as the greatest curse of God. As near as I could make out, they called this play 'Rain' because wet weather made a crazy missionary to the South Sea Islands cut his throat over a girl from the red light district of San Francisco.

"I thought I would take a chance on a dry title next, so I selected 'The White Desert'. The only change I found was in the title and the scenery. Thinks I, Freud has got it pretty much his own way down here in New York. Then I thought that maybe if I took a play with a Freudian title, it might turn out to be something about farming or business or politics or international relations, subjects in which a good many people are interested. So I went to 'Red Light Annie'. This play *did* turn out to be a little better—had one or two normal persons in subordinate parts—and I was glad to learn all about the cocaine habit, how to take the drug, and how you can get over the habit in a few months and be as good as ever. Of course I know you can't, but if you are going to hear lies, you might as well hear encouraging ones.

"I took the Ziegfeld Follies next, 'glorifying the American girl'. I expected this would be tough, and there *was* plenty of the human form divine, but I enjoyed looking at it after those other plays. There was a stunning tableau along toward the end—Triumph of Venus or something—which was worth the trip to New York. I was amused by the brigade of men in the front rows, each with his field glass. Poor things, what a release it would be to them if our climate would only turn tropical so nobody could wear clothes! I have always said clothes was the real curse pronounced in the Garden of Eden and it wasn't God who pronounced it either. It was Adam. The human race has been befuddled ever since into thinking there is something moral in being wrapped up.

"After sitting through several more plays and some moving pictures, I'd had all I wanted of contemporary drama. I wouldn't go across the road to see another play. Smarter people than I am have felt this way, too. Years ago, I went to see Henry James in Rye, England, and he told me the same thing. I had crammed up on Jones and Pinero

(Continued on page 24)

The Woman Voter

(This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER for
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The Texas League's Calendar

IT is a most workman-like calendar for voters, the Texas League has issued for 1924, with information every Texas voter needs given in such a way that it cannot possibly be overlooked by the calendar user. The cover page carries Mrs. Park's famous pledge for conscientious citizens, and her saying, "Liberty lays on all of us obligations to which the enslaved are not subject," follows on the first page.

Every month in the year has at least one date encircled by a thick red line, for something for citizens is always doing in Texas. January 31 is the last day for paying poll taxes and most of the first page of the calendar is given up to a lucid explanation of the requirements of Texas law. The last paragraph reads:

"No one is entitled to pay his property tax without also paying his poll tax, and the poll taxes are a lien upon the property of both husband and wife. Either the husband or wife may pay the poll taxes and register for both, even in cities of 10,000 or more inhabitants. The collection of the poll tax may be enforced against any person."

February 11 is circled in red because the Commissioners' Court must appoint judges of elections at the February term. March 10 is the date on or before which county tax collectors shall make statements to the county clerk showing the number of poll-tax receipts issued and to whom. April has two encircled dates—1 and 5—the first, the day on or before which the tax collector shall furnish to the county election board certified lists of citizens in each precinct who have paid poll tax or obtained exemption before February 1. On April 5 school trustees of independent and consolidated school districts are elected.

Primary conventions are set for May 3, and county conventions, for May 6. The Republican State Executive Committee shall decide on May 13 whether it will use the primary election system or conventions, in nominating state officers, and shall certify its decision to the secretary of state. State conventions are set down for May 27.

The second day of June is the final date for district and state candidates to announce their candidacy. The state executive committee "of party" meets on June 9 to certify names which are to go on the ballot and to fix the place for holding the state convention in September. June 14 is the final date for announcements from county and precinct candidates. The county executive committees meet on June 16 to determine order of names on primary election ballot, and June 23 is the last day for payment of ballot fees by candidates.

July 16 is the earliest date and July 23 the latest, on which qualified voters who expect to be out of their home counties on primary election day may cast their ballots with county clerks. Not earlier than July 6 nor later than July 16 a citizen who is absent from the state may arrange through a notary for an absent ballot. July 26 is primary election day.

Democratic and Republican county conventions are held August 2, and the Republican state convention on August 12. "Run off primary district conventions" is the event of August 23.

The state Democratic convention will take place on September 2, the only political day of note in the month. Payment of poll taxes for 1924 begins on October 1 and continues to January 31, 1925.

November 4 is general election and on December 3 the short session of the Sixty-ninth Congress assembles.

Texas has omitted no date the voter needs to know. The reverse sides of the calendar sheets carry a table of counties listed as to congressional, senatorial, and representative districts; amount of poll tax paid and number of votes cast for United States Senator in the second Democratic primary of 1922.

Women and Austrian Elections

One of the results of the League's commission to European women last summer is more frequent and informal communication with leaders in several countries. The following article comes from one of the League's new friends.—ANN WEBSTER.

WHEN the people of Austria went to the polls the first time after the revolution, they knew that they had to vote for the rejection of the past and for a new constitution for the suffering broken-down country. Going the second time to the polls they had to decide whether the state should continue the socialistic experiments which produced the financial catastrophe, or seek safety by a return to the methods already proved. On October 21, the people of Austria voted again and knew that they must decide "for or against the Convention of Geneva and sanitation work."

As might have been foreseen, the decision was made for the continuation of the sanitation work begun by the Convention of Geneva, but the electoral campaign showed that there are a great many people in Austria who do not agree with the methods of sanitation which are used now. All these people voted for the Social-Democrats, who stand against Geneva and remained antagonistic to the Convention, although the benefits of sanitation become more obvious from day to day. In consequence of these contrasting views the electoral campaign developed great excitement, but it can be reported with satisfaction that the people kept peace and preserved presence of mind, so that one cannot complain of any collisions. The most remarkable result of the election is the weakening of the political middle parties. The German-Nationalists, especially, lost the important position which this party had hitherto held as a balance between the powers of the right and of the left.

In the new parliament there will be eight women members. Seven are Social-Democrats, and one, a Christian-Socialist. It is to be regretted that the member of the German-Nationalists, Mrs. Emmy Stradal, was not returned, in consequence of the defeat of her party. Five of the Social-Democrats were elected in Vienna: Adelheid Popp, Emmy Freundlich, Anna Boschek, Gabriele Proft, and Amalie Seidel. Julia Rauscha, a working woman, was elected in

Wiener Neustadt, and Marie Tusch, also a working woman, was elected in Corinthia. The Christian-Socialist, Olga Rudel-Zeynek, was returned by Graz, the capital of Styria. All women were members of the past parliament, and many of them are well-known as fine speakers and energetic representatives of women's and children's interests.

Adelheid Popp, the leader of the Social-Democratic women, has been working in the party for more than thirty years. She is the editor of the *Arbeiterinnenzeitung* and very much esteemed by women of other political opinions, as an ardent advocate of women's freedom and development. Mrs. Freundlich is a very great expert in economical questions. Her specialty is the co-operative movement. She is the president of the Women's International Co-operative Organization, and she was the first woman in Austria to occupy a high position in the government, being for nearly two years director of the ministry for feeding the people, which does not exist any more. She is an excellent speaker and in spite of her middle-class descent, an inspired member of her party. Anna Boschek was a working woman, Gabriele Proft a domestic servant, and Amalie Seidel is the esteemed secretary of a trade-union. Olga Rudel-Zeynek is, in spite of belonging to the conservative party, a woman with valuable progressive mind, a brilliant speaker, and interested in all women's questions.

In five Austrian countries the election was devoted to the diets, but only in Vienna, where the diet is at the same time the Communal Council, were women candidates. Nine women were elected, six Social-Democrats and three Christian-Socialists.

The new Austrian Constitution has created a federal council, which has to judge on many of the parliamentary conclusions and which is elected by the diets of the countries. In this council, three women formerly had seats. Two were sent by Vienna, and one, the Princess of Starhemberg, a Christian-Socialist, by Upper-Austria. This woman-councillor is keeping her place. It is to be hoped that Vienna also will return women to this council. As yet the nomination is not made.

It is to be expected that the new parliament will occupy itself with a great many questions of special importance to women. A new bill for the fight against venereal diseases is prepared, a matter on which women have very much to say. Although the Austrian women's movement regrets that none of its prominent leaders has a seat in parliament—all these leaders belong to the democratic party, which has no parliamentary representation—it must be hoped that all the demands in which women are specially interested will be put forth, as the Austrian Council of Women and the Association for Women's Political Interests endeavor to interest the women members of parliament in all their efforts.

GISELA URBAN (Vienna).

At the Utah Convention

WHEN Mrs. Walter A. Shockley, director of the seventh region, was at national headquarters not long ago she had a most entertaining account to give of the mock election which Utah League women held during the annual convention at Salt Lake City in October. She was of opinion that the election was considerably more than an amusement—that it was in reality a sugar-coated and most effective lesson in the technique of a city election and that women who would have been abashed at an admittedly serious lesson, learned while they laughed.

The mock election was held at the Hotel Utah and the city attorney preceded it with an address on the mechanics of a real city election. Petitions and affidavits were properly filed, and each candidate made a speech, declaring her policy. Mrs. James Hogle was loudly applauded when she promised to begin her administration, if elected, by advocating prompt and fearful punishment of men who beat women to motor-car parking places, and legislation to keep women from bringing babies to the theatre at night.

Mrs. George M. Bacon, another mock candidate, promised to abolish taxes altogether on the ground that they are a nuisance and ought to be suppressed. Mrs. George H. Dern, who was finally elected, made her appeal on a business platform, and filed an affidavit listing a luncheon to her managers as her only campaign expense. Mrs. Bacon's expense list contained one item of three dollars for a marcel, twenty-three dollars for a pair of green sandals, and five dollars for cleaning.

"My expenses have consisted of one telephone call, which cost me ten cents, gas and oil, ninety cents, coughdrops, five cents," Mrs. C. D. Kipp declared, "and I might add that the gas and oil were used for transportation, not platform purposes."

Mrs. Shockley brought with her to Washington a campaign poster. It was a colored sketch of a languishing lady in somewhat extreme evening dress, with upturned eyes and a button-mouthed smile, beneath the legend:

"She wears no man's collar and is 100 per cent for the people."

The mock election was only one feature of an unusually interesting and hopeful convention. The board of directors elected the following officers for the coming year: Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdon, president; Mrs. George H. Dern, and Mrs. Clara Wimmer Cleghorn, vice-presidents; Mrs. Frank H. Cameron, secretary, and Mrs. Leo J. Bachle, treasurer.

Advertising in Indiana

IN addition to the work the League is doing in educating women in the fundamentals of government there lies before it a wide field of research in new ideas about government. The state paper of the League furnishes a forum for discussion along these lines. The Indiana paper, the *Woman Voter*, through the advertising department has "sold" this idea to our advertisers—that this paper is becoming the medium for the exchange of ideas for all who are interested in creating a more intelligent electorate in this country. Such women want better homes, cities and counties, and the advertiser wants to get in touch with them.

This is my first experience as advertising manager for a paper but for years I have been an advertising agent, and I find that in this business I am using the same methods I employed when I was "selling" the idea of the enfranchisement of women to legislatures and political committees. Long ago I learned to present to an audience, two or three salient points plainly and then rest my case. I have written the copy for some of our advertisers and I find it very fascinating to reach into a business and draw into the show window, our paper, just the things that will interest our women.

I find that it takes imagination to be the writer of advertisements. In fancy I have taken trips on railroads or in motor cars and have suggested to our advertisers the points in their service that would interest me. It is strange that the owner of a business who sells to women often fails to see the woman's point of view about his goods or service. He is often surprised at suggestions about points of interest to women. In this connection, I want to say that several large firms in this city now are employing women as advertising agents, very wisely. They know what women want better than men.

The woman of to-day is a housekeeper and wants to know where to find good food and house furnishings. She is well dressed and interested in clothes and specialty shops. She is a citizen and builds schools as well as her own home. Any contractor will tell you that the women on school boards pay close attention to the materials and equipment to be used in new buildings and everyone knows that when a home is built, the woman usually gets what she wants in the new house. I have thought about these things as I have planned new columns for our paper.

There were a few advertisers who gave us advertisements because they approved the citizenship school programs of the League. When I am advertisement hunting I always carry

along the national folder that gives the purpose of the League. Sometimes I have to "sell" the League to a man before I can secure the advertisement. When I have done this I am pleased because I have made a new friend for the League. Through the development of the advertising department the *Voter* is going into new homes preaching its gospel of a more intelligent electorate and civic responsibility for women as well as for men.

Advertising is a great game. It requires a wide acquaintance, an analytical mind, and a realization that all business is service, taking things from where they are and putting them into the place or form that people desire. Advertising may become just as large as the imagination of the advertising manager. The sky is the limit. Why not have, in every state a fine woman's paper as a forum for the women? You will notice that another women's organization is advertising in our paper. We welcome them all. Come and tell your story to the women voters of Indiana. Out of it all will rise a better informed woman than any of us has been—the great citizen woman of to-morrow.—JULIA E. LANDERS, Advertising Manager.

The Minnesota Petition

ADDED to the long list of the successes of the Minnesota League are the annual convention and the institute of government which were held November 5-9 at the Curtis hotel in Minneapolis. Mrs. Catt, ex-Governor Lowden, of Illinois, Miss Julia Lathrop, Professor Carl Russell Fish and Professor Arnold Bennett Hall, of the University of Wisconsin, Professor Horace Secrist, of Northwestern University, and members of the faculty of the University of Minnesota were the speakers for the memorable five days and every session was enthusiastic.

To many—perhaps all—of the women who came to convention and institute, the most interesting and the most moving session was the last of all. It was a great luncheon in the Curtis Hotel banqueting hall, and after the meal had been eaten, the splendid organ at one end of the hall crashed out "America, the Beautiful," and through the door at one side of the room marched a procession whose like no other time and place has seen. It was the Minnesota petition for the World Court borne on the shoulders of the women who have worked to obtain the signatures which make it valid. The managers of the triumphal march had divided the paraders into groups according to the congressional district from which they came, and each of the ten divisions carried part of the petition.

In the beginning of signature getting, sheets with spaces on each for twenty-five names were provided and when returns came in, sheets were pasted together, end to end, and backed with strips of strong fibrous paper, so that there should be no danger of tearing. The League from each congressional district carried its separate strip of sheets, lightly held on devoted shoulders. Across and around the room the procession passed and there were League women looking on, springing to their feet, who were moved out of all pretense to self control, at the splendid spectacle.

More than half a mile of signatures came in. The rest of the mile will not be used till the great day when the petition is presented.

Leagues and League Women

IT MAY be apocryphal, the story, but it runs that a devoted member of the Massachusetts League has a small daughter and that small daughter has lately been a-visiting where she was taken to spend the day with a little cousin at a sectarian school. It is possible that the little girl has not been obliged to learn Scripture texts wholesale as her grandmother was, and that her knowledge of the Bible is therefore somewhat vague, or it may be that from association of ideas she imagined the sonorous words she had, unbeknown to anybody, committed to memory from the membership campaign leaflet

of the Boston League, naturally belonged in the King James Version. At any rate, so the story goes, when every child at that school was required to answer roll call with a Scripture verse, the little visitor stood up and repeated clearly and proudly:

"The League of Women Voters was organized to train for citizenship to the end that homes may be happier, prospects brighter, and our nation mightier in righteousness, justice, and well-being."

AT THE Connecticut League's enthusiastic convention which was held at Waterbury November 14-15, the two hundred and sixty-eight delegates accepted a state budget of \$19,000, which includes \$3,000 for the National League's next fiscal year. Many delegates reported that their Leagues have already raised part of their quota for the coming year, and came to the convention with cash in their hands to the amount of more than \$2,000.

"**S**TUDIES in Citizenship for Georgia Women" is the title of an 82-page pamphlet edited by Mrs. R. L. Turman, chairman of the Atlanta League's Department of Efficiency in Government, and scarcely gives an adequate idea of the importance of the book. Sixteen lessons are given and they cover all phases of government in Georgia with so many observations on government in general that the publication will be useful to Leagues in other states. The writers, Dr. John Garland Pollard, of William and Mary University, the Hon. Hooper Alexander, former federal district attorney, H. L. Fullbright, tax commissioner, the Hon. Martin Calvin, Dr. N. H. Ballard, superintendent of education, and the Hon. John T. Boifeuillet, have not spared criticism of existing practices, and in describing present Georgia government have pointed out desirable changes. Explanations in every lesson are simple and clear and the pamphlet will interest not only the woman who really wants to know, but the casual reader whose attention will be held by the exceedingly readable style.

THE Michigan League is enthusiastic over the success of its annual convention at Flint, October 31 and November 1, and Flint itself was obviously pleased at being convention city, for the Flint Chamber of Commerce gave a luncheon on the first day to the delegates and the officers of all local women's organizations. Child labor and the need for a children's amendment, the operation of the Sheppard-Towner Law in Michigan, and international co-operation to prevent war were given special attention in the program and the informal discussions brought out several Michigan women—Caroline Bartlett Crane among them—who had not been announced beforetime. The officers elected for the coming year are: Mrs. Craig C. Miller, of Marshall, president; Mrs. James Macpherson, of Saginaw, Mrs. Clay Hollister, of Grand Rapids, and Mrs. Frances Burns of St. Louis, vice-presidents; Mrs. E. E. Bross, of Detroit, treasurer, and Miss Florence Jennison, of Bay City, recording secretary.

MISS JULIA LATHROP, president of the Illinois League, was the guest of the Toronto (Canada) League at a luncheon meeting late in October and especially endeared herself to those of her hearers who are no longer even "still young" by saying that in her opinion the great feature in American politics is going to be the grandmother.

"Our statesmen will be grandmothers in a very short time," she added, urging women to run for office because one cannot learn to swim by watching a frog in a basin nor come to possess political power without learning in person the technic of government.

MRS. HERBERT HOOVER was guest of honor at a luncheon the California League gave, October 26, at the Hotel St. Francis in San Francisco, and made a telling speech setting forth the reasons why there is no place for a third party of women, or of men, or of both. Dr. Adelaide Brown, Mrs.

William Palmer Lucas, Mrs. M. C. Sloss, and Mrs. Parker Maddux, president of what is believed to be the largest unit in the National League, the San Francisco Center, were the other speakers. Four days later the two-day convention of the state League took place in the same city and place with Miss Marion Delaney, state president, in the chair, and delegates from seventeen local Leagues in the northern part of the State and an enthusiastic group from Leagues in the southern counties present, to report on work.

THE Department of Efficiency in Government has lately issued two scholarly pamphlets, one "The Contribution of the Average Citizen to Local Surveys," by Raymond Moley, director of the Cleveland Foundation, and the other, "An Inquiry into Local Civil Service Methods," by W. E. Mosher, National Institute of Public Administration. Leagues which are interested in local government and in the most approved methods for bettering it will find the two new publications of extreme value. The Mosher pamphlet is accompanied by a questionnaire of three pages and a fourth page devoted to definitions of terms used in the questions, the whole forming a detailed outline for the investigation of some one department of city government. The department has under way a series of more specific directions for the surveys mentioned in the Moley outline.

UNDER the auspices of the United League of Rhode Island Armistice Day was commemorated by a patriotic service at Grace Church, in Providence, at half-past seven in the evening. After the processional, the hymn of salute to the flag (427) was sung and the color guard of the Girl Scouts bore the flag. The sermon was on America and the World Court, and there were special prayers. A list of churches in which the day was specially observed with sermons and prayers for permanent peace will never be compiled, but the "Woman's Plea" prepared by the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War, and sent to 70,000 clergymen, was read in more than one church in almost every city.

THE annual *Bulletin of the Nevada League of Women Voters* is especially valuable in any study of needed legislation, because of its review of Nevada laws concerning women and children. Mrs. Sadie D. Hurst, first woman member of the state legislature, made the original compilation which has been revised and completed by Mrs. Anna M. Warren, United States Commissioner and the League's chairman of the Committee on Uniform Laws Concerning Women. The brief article defining the National League is one of the best yet published and for simplicity and inclusiveness will be valuable to women everywhere who wish to explain exactly what the League is.

BY INVITATION of the Radcliffe Council, the American citizenship committee of the Massachusetts League is arranging for a school of politics and government to be conducted at Radcliffe College, January 8-10. Foreign affairs will be the special concern of the program and a number of the speakers will be members of the Harvard faculty. Like most other schools under League auspices, the January school will be open to all persons who are interested in the foreign relations of the United States and in the growth of international co-operation.

AT THE request of the North Carolina League and other women's organizations of the state, the University of North Carolina has prepared a pamphlet—*Extension Bulletin*, Vol. 11, No. 4—containing outlines for the study of governmental and administrative conditions in towns. The North Carolina League recommends it to Leagues making a study of local conditions, and Leagues in other states will find it useful for purposes of comparison, used in connection with the National League's *Know Your Town*.

A THRIFT shop conducted by the New Jersey League has lately been opened at 118 Washington Street, Newark, just around the corner from League headquarters at 56 New Street. Mrs. Emma A. Langlotz, who is general manager, insists that it is not a rummage sale she is directing nor yet a junk shop. "It is a place," she says, "to send what you don't need and to buy what you do need."

THE National League secretary, Miss Elizabeth J. Hauscr, contributed to the September issue of the North Carolina League's *Monthly News* a greeting which is in reality a summary of National League history, purpose, and method of work. League members who are a little uncertain still as to exactly how the League works and why will do well to provide themselves with a reprint of the article.

THE amateur statistician at National League headquarters will be glad to know whether any other school of citizenship has had more enrolled students than the one the Erie County League, in co-operation with the University of Buffalo, conducted in late October. The enrollment there was 904, according to the New York League's *Weekly News*.

VERMONT has five new Leagues this autumn, making the state total fourteen. The new Leagues and their presidents or chairmen are: Wilmington, Mrs. Nellie M. Buckley; Manchester, Mrs. Albert Orvis (temporary); Rutland, Mrs. Tuttle; Milton, Mrs. Lyman Powell; Windsor, Mrs. Marsh O. Perkins.

LEAGUE headquarters at Lincoln (Nebraska) are now a large, comfortable room in a department store and the League pays nothing for rent, heat, or light. All these are donated by the proprietor of the store.

THE report from New Jersey is that the digest of state election laws, which is the work of Mrs. Margaret Porch Hamilton, of Leonia, formerly chairman of State Committee on Efficiency in Government and now chairman of the Bergen County League, has proved such a best seller that the first edition is already exhausted.

THE Georgia League will hold its annual convention at Brunswick in the last week of January.

THE statement in the *Woman Voter* of November 17 that the Canton, Ohio, League asked "several" young girls to a first voters' party should have read "several hundred." The Canton League drew an audience of more than a thousand persons to the meeting at which election measures were discussed.

THE New York State Commission to Examine Laws Relating to Child Welfare has recently issued its second report and through the courtesy of Senator Cotillo, chairman, and Mr. George A. Hall, executive secretary, the New York League is able to send copies of the report to League women who are interested in the subject.

MRS. MELVIN PORTER, director of the eighth region of the New York League, Miss Olive Williams, who has charge of citizenship schools in the region, and Miss Helen Decker, have prepared a bibliography called "Government in the Making" which they are generously willing to tell interested persons about. The Buffalo League, 181 Franklin Street, Buffalo, will send information about the list of books, on request.

THE report comes from Mrs. William Hibbard, director of the fourth region, that the recent drive for registration in Kentucky was a tremendous success. In one county the number of registrations was increased no less than five hundred per cent.

World News About Women

World Relations Institutes

SENTIMENT in favor of the immediate entry of the United States into the World Court, and a determination to bring every influence to bear to make the United States shoulder its responsibility toward the rest of the world, has received great impetus recently from two Institutes on International Relations held by women, one in Cincinnati and one in San Francisco.

The Cincinnati Institute was conducted by the Leagues of Women Voters of Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio and West Virginia, with the Cincinnati League, of which Miss Agnes Hilton is chairman, as hostess. Much of its success is due to Mrs. Simon Kuhn, local chairman for the Leagues' Committee of International Co-operation to Prevent War, who planned the Institute before she went to Europe to attend the meeting of the League of Nations in Geneva.

The California Institute was under the auspices of the State Federation of Women's Clubs and the California League of Women Voters, with a long list of other women's organizations.

Each Institute filled two entire days. In San Francisco one evening was given to a discussion of the League of Nations. Consul General Gerald Campbell, of Great Britain, spoke from the standpoint of a member nation in the League, and Mr. T. B. Boardman, of San Francisco, from the point of view of the non-member. Stanford University and the University of California were called on for speakers. A striking address was made by Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, president of the General Federation, who strongly advocates co-operation. Mrs. Winter says: "Isolation is the meanest thing in the world," and "We resent the introduction of party with the question of war or peace. There is no Democratic peace and no Republican peace." A resolution was unanimously adopted and sent to President Coolidge in favor of the participation by the United States in the Permanent Court of International Justice, "believing this to be the first step toward the outlawry of war and toward that fuller and more far-reaching international co-operation which is necessary to secure permanent peace."

In Cincinnati a charge of \$2.00 was made for the two days Institute and several hundred women enrolled. There were sessions on Reparations and Debt Cancellation and one on International Good-Will. In the session on "Europe Today," Mr. Frederick Libby, of the National Council for Prevention of

War, spoke on the situation in the Ruhr, and Mrs. Kuhn gave some vivid impressions of Geneva with particularly interesting pictures of the League of Nations at work. The ball-room was packed at the final evening session to hear Dr. Fridtjof Nansen on "The Storm Centers in Europe"—Corfu, Russia and the Ruhr.

Mrs. James B. Morrison of Chicago, a member of the committee appointed by the National League to investigate the status of women in Europe, and especially to learn their attitude toward efforts for permanent peace; Mrs. W. G. Hibbard, the Fourth Regional Director of the National League, who represented the League at the Williams-town Institute of Politics, and Mrs. William E. Henderson, Ohio chairman of the Committee for International Co-operation to Prevent War, all three made notable speeches. The West Virginia League was represented by Mrs. J. A. Meredith, first vice-president; the Kentucky League by Mrs. E. L. Hutchinson, president, and Indiana by Mrs. Elizabeth C. Earl of Muncie, state chairman for International Co-operation. The Cincinnati League work has been given a great impetus by Miss Emily R. Kneubuhl, who had general charge of the Institute.

Under the direction of Mrs. Henderson and Miss Ruth Punschon, the Ohio League has under way a mile of signatures to a petition for entry in the World Court, and Kentucky has started to follow Ohio's example.

Cleveland's Election

CLEVELAND, OHIO voted for the first time under Proportional Representation this fall, and one of the pleasant results was the election of two splendid women. They are Miss Marie R. Wing and Mrs. Helen H. Green, both of them on an Independent ticket. Miss Wing is industrial secretary of the Consumers' League, and was formerly general secretary of the Y. W. C. A. in Cleveland. Mrs. Green, who is county chairman of the W. C. T. U., was endorsed by the Republican party, but preferred to run as an Independent. Cleveland's organized women are delighted with the choice of these two able and representative women. They are the "right kind."

Señora Carrillo

THE leading feminist of Yucatan is Señora Elvia Carrillo, a sister of the Governor. She is president of the *Liga Feminista*; is doing intensive work

throughout the state for the emancipation of the Indian woman, and lectures on the necessity of women's active participation in local affairs. It was through her efforts that a woman was elected on the Board of Aldermen this year in the city of Merida—Miss Rosa Torre González, reported in the September 8 CITIZEN.

Standing for Parliament

SO far we have found the names of a dozen women who will stand at the British election early in December, besides Lady Astor and Mrs. Wintringham, who stand for re-election. Among them are: Mrs. Oliver Strachey, Mary Grant, Miss Picton-Turberville (see page 4), Lady Irene Curzon, Margaret Bondfield and Helen Fraser. The nominations, which have just been made, include thirty-four women candidates for Parliament.

The Council of Jewish Women

THE Council of Jewish Women at their recent convention in St. Louis decided to hold periodic world conferences for the purpose of bringing together representatives of the world's Jewish womanhood. These conferences are for the purpose of discussion only, and have no jurisdiction over the participating organizations. The Council also resolved to enter upon a campaign to urge women to use the power granted them by suffrage.

Miss Rose Brenner, of Brooklyn, for three years president of the Council, was re-elected. Other officers are Mrs. William D. Sporborg, of Port Chester, New York, first vice-president; Mrs. Alexander Wolf, of Washington, D. C., second vice-president; Mrs. Herbert E. Ottenheimer, of Louisville, Kentucky, third vice-president. Mrs. Alvin L. Bauman, of St. Louis, was elected treasurer, and Mrs. Leonard H. Hecht, of Baltimore, and Mrs. Estelle M. Sternberger, of New York, recording and executive secretary.

Exhibits to Lend

IN return for transportation charges to and from Washington, D. C., and the responsibility for good condition, the Women's Bureau, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C., will loan to organizations or individuals, exhibits showing the importance of women in industry, and their significance to the community. A model, four feet long by three high, gives a graphic presentation of an ideal factory; the theatre exhibit

consists of six units illustrating the living wage, the eight-hour day, proper seating, lighting, sanitation and lunch-room facilities for women workers. These exhibits are effectively lighted and most attractive. The Bureau is also willing to lend a two-reel motion-picture film called "When Women Work," showing the parallel lives of two girls, one working under good and the other bad conditions.

Citizenship Service

A NEW citizenship service has been installed by the New York State Women's Trade Union League, under the guidance of Miss Elizabeth F. Reade, chairman of the committee in charge. This service is to assist the foreign-born woman in making application for citizenship, to provide someone to accompany her to court when necessary, and to hold classes in English for foreign-born women in order that they may take out citizenship papers.

America's Medical Women

THE American Women's Hospitals, whose efforts in the Near East have been reported so many times, have done splendid work in Japan since the disaster. Ten days after the tragedy, Dr. Frances A. Houston, of Spokane, Washington, was sent to Tokio with a nurse and ten thousand dollars to help organize medical relief, which could later be continued by the Japanese themselves.

While speaking of American medical women, it should be added that the Medical Women's National Association re-incorporated their organization in New York, on November 7, from Illinois. Dr. Kate C. Mead, president, and Dr. Jessie W. Fisher, secretary, signed the "act."

Controlling Gold and Silver

SINCE the resignation of F. E. Scofield, director of the mint of the United States, Miss Mary O'Reilly, assistant director, has taken the position. This means that a woman is the executive for our three great money factories. Miss O'Reilly has been in the office of the director for nineteen years, part of the time handling all of the work of the director. She is said to know a tremendous amount about coinage, and women prominent in public affairs are urging President Coolidge to make her permanent director.

News Broadcast

THE Extension Division of the University of North Dakota, through Mrs. Jane Gavere, secretary of the Bureau of Public Information, has begun broadcasting the news of the week. This is the first instance of a news service under such auspices that we know about. It is intended primarily for wom-

en and given from seven forty-five to eight o'clock every Wednesday evening.

A Birth-Control Victory

ADVOCATES of a birth-control clinic have won a victory in Chicago. Circuit Judge Fisher has granted a petition for a mandamus to compel city authorities to issue a license for the clinic, which would be the first of its sort in the country. The case will, however, be carried to the Appellate Court. Judge Fisher in his opinion held that the only question involved was whether the imparting of information on preventive methods to married people was contrary to public policy, since there is no legislative enactment against it. He declined to believe that such knowledge would increase immorality—"if true, it would be sad to contemplate the weakness of our moral sense." The case will be carried to another court.

Growing

IN a recent bulletin The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom reports that in nine months it has doubled its membership, and is now five thousand strong in the United States alone. There are national sections in twenty-one countries.

Christmas Hints

CHRISTMAS posters and postcards showing the Star of Bethlehem lighting a group of men and women of all nations holding their flags aloft, with a suggestion of a host of angels in the sky singing the message, "Peace on Earth," have been issued by the National Council for Prevention of War, 532 Seventeenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The Christmas poster issued by the National Council last year and the year before have found their way into practically all countries.

The National Council has recently arranged all its material in a convenient folder, including the campaign text-book, "War on War," which sells at \$1.00. This folder includes stories, pageants, games of many lands, and bibliographies for children; material for church and Sunday-school services; club and school programs; suggestions for tableaux and plays; bibliographies and magazine lists; a list of the organizations of the United States working for peace, with their officers and programs; and surveys of various phases of the peace movement.

A NEW and colorful sort of community Christmas celebration, suggests Community Service, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York City, is the celebration that travels. Bands of scarlet-cloaked carolers, a motor-truck stage, or processions of floats may carry the Christmas spirit around the town in a way reminiscent of the old-time "waits" and the street players of the Middle Ages.

Directions for a Christmas carnival in carols and pantomime are found in the Community Service Bulletin No. 765, distributed at the nominal charge of ten cents. "Stories of the Christmas Carols," also ten cents, tells how to organize community caroling. A list of worth-while Christmas plays of various types may also be obtained from Community Service, whose drama and music consultants are always glad to be of assistance to community groups.

General Federation Notes

By LESSIE STRINGFELLOW READ

MORE than two hundred women took a course of parliamentary law, under Mrs. John Slaker, during the state convention of the Nebraska Federation of Women's Clubs at Hastings. The class was an innovation and set for a small lecture room. So great was the attendance, however, that the meeting was moved to a church. The Hastings *Daily Tribune*, in commenting upon the class, said: "Mrs. Slaker not only has a profound knowledge of her subject, but she possesses the rare faculty of making parliamentary law interesting, and inspiring her pupils with enthusiasm."

TWENTY-EIGHT state federations have held fall elections, ranging all the way from the "cut and dried and uncontested" to the hot political fights in which women showed themselves as adept as men in managing people and polls.

CLUBWOMEN and members of the League of Women Voters of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi met with Mrs. Benton McMillan of Nashville, temporary regional director in Atlanta, November 20-21, to make plans for participation in the national political campaign. The call was issued by Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee. It was planned to follow the conference with a School of Democracy—Mrs. Halsey Wilson in charge.

VARIOUS state federations are doing much to promote the preservation of their folk-lore and to stimulate literary effort. "Stories and Verse of West Virginia" is the title of a book, compiled and edited by Ella May Furner, which West Virginia state officials recommend as a text book for the public schools.

COLORADO club women are interested in birth-control and have invited Mrs. Margaret Sanger, noted exponent, to address the state federation on the subject. A resolution favoring the principle was voted down at the recent state convention, following word from Mrs. T. A. McHarg, president of the state federation, that it would be advisable to postpone action on the resolution until the next annual convention, as Mrs. Sanger had been prevented from personally presenting the matter.

"DIG! DETERMINE! DELIVER!" is the motto for the modern club woman suggested by the Federation *News* of Kansas, official organ of that state. The *News*, which is edited by Mrs. Herbert J. Cornwell of St. John, is now in its second year.

OUTSTANDING achievements of the Oklahoma Federation of Women's Clubs during the administration of the retiring president, Mrs. J. R. Frazier, are re-districting, making nine instead of five districts; the publication of the Oklahoma Club Woman; the building of a chapel for delinquent girls at the Industrial Home; the payment of the state pledge to National Headquarters at Washington; launching an illiteracy crusade in the state, and bringing the entire State Federation membership into the General Federation.

A STATE news bulletin, to be published monthly during the club year, in line with state bulletins of other states, has been recommended for Georgia by Mrs. James Hayes, General Federation recording secretary, and retiring state president. A further recommendation of hers looks to continuance and promotion of club institutes held at the state university and at Mercer. Men and women of Georgia met at Macon, November 14th, to develop plans for extending this enterprise.

The Middle-Aged

(Continued from page 17)

for the occasion, aiming to appear intelligent, and I deserved what I got. How he did laugh when told him I had read all that trash because I was going to call on him!

"There must be an appreciable proportion of middle-aged and elderly people, also of intelligent and serious young people, in the average theatre audience who are not preoccupied with the prevailing dramatic theme. But if the playwrights are right in thinking that nobody much cares to see anything but triangular plays, it reminds me of something I have observed up on my farm. When a plant or a tree gets diseased, it puts forth extraordinary efforts in the shape of sterile blossoms to reproduce itself. We say it blossoms itself to death. On the contrary, the blossoms are the result and not the cause of its decline. The dying tree is obsessed with this unnatural reproductive struggle to survive. So it has been with declining races and civilizations in the past. When their birthrate began to decline, their art and literature began to be obsessed with sex, not in its creative but in its abortive aspect. Great creative periods are not so obsessed."

"So you think the American people is on the decline?" I queried.

"No, I don't," retorted my friend roundly. "I think this time it's the playwrights and scenario writers who are going to pot. I think the American people would like to see something better than the plays and pictures it has to look at. Wouldn't you yourself?"

"Certainly," I replied. "But if the theatres are crowded for the kind of shows we have, how are you going to

persuade the playwrights the public would like something different?"

"If they were good for anything they wouldn't have to be persuaded. They would write better stuff for the love of it. Since they don't, it's because they can't! As for me, I am going back to the museum for entertainment. The things there *know* they are dead and have ceased struggling. They represent realities, even if it is of past ages. But what under heaven do our stage and screen represent, I'll ask the world?"

As I found this question a poser, I pass it on, hoping somebody may volunteer an answer.

Have You Read These Articles?

Side Lights on the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, by Elizabeth Eastman in the WOMAN'S PRESS for November. A clear and illuminating account of how "the most powerful lobby in Washington" efficiently brings to bear on Congress the influence of organized women. Show it to any men who may not yet understand that women don't waste time in mere talk.

Women and Civilization, by Ramsay Traquair, in the September ATLANTIC MONTHLY. The author is a professor at McGill University, Montreal. He claims that men have the imaginative and artistic qualities, women the executive and practical. He makes the amazing assumption that women are in control of American civilization, to its damage. One finishes dazed, challenging, but very thoughtful.

The New Russian Women, a series of three articles beginning in the November 7 NATION, written from Russia by Magdeleine Marx. The first is the working woman, with the intellectual and aristocrat following.

Half a League—Onward, by Will Irwin, in Collier's for November 24: A candid study of "the one bright spot in a mad and tortured Europe," with some personal impressions of men prominent in The League of Nations working force, and a new angle on its so-called humanitarian work, which Mr. Irwin considers getting at the sources of war.

Sunshine

GULIELMA F. ALSOP

College Physician at Barnard

IN any year, rats can kill more people than the great war! When it was discovered that the direst pestilence of humanity, plague—both bubonic and pneumonic—was a rat disease, the study of the health of rats grew to enormous importance. These rodents immediately became laboratory animals and the subjects of many experiments; and one of the most startling and unexpected results was the discovery that the nocturnal life of the rat tribe was one element in its great susceptibility to disease,

There once were three cages of rats. The first cage was fed the best rat diet, calculated to produce a glossy coat and healthy offspring (the test of a rat's nutrition), and put in a dark closet. Cage number two was fed a deficient diet, resembling the diets eaten by poor children. This cage was kept in a room with daylight. Cage number three was fed the same deficient diet as cage number two, but was put out of doors in the sunlight.

The rats in cage number one all developed rickets. The rats in cage number two also developed rickets. The rats in cage number three were one hundred per cent healthy rats, each rat being in individual vigorous condition and producing equally vigorous offspring.

In the first cage, the food eaten by the rats was as perfect as man can make rat food. The element lacking was sunshine. In the second cage, the rats' diet was the ordinary deficient American diet. And in spite of the light and air in the room, the rats showed the usual American evidences of malnutrition. Now the marvel comes when we examine the third cage, for these rats were fed the same deficient diet as cage two, but by the mere trick of carrying the cage out of the room into the sunshine, the rats remained in perfect health.

To turn to the effects of sunshine on human beings, the most obvious effect as we know it, is the usual reddening or bronzing of the skin in sunburn. In all the sites most favorable to the cure of tuberculosis, whether those chosen in warm climates (as along the Riviera or in New Mexico), or those in northern climates (as Switzerland or Colorado), the one common element has been abundant sunshine. Rollier of Switzerland was, as far as I know, the first physician to begin experimenting further with this element of sunshine. Little by little he stripped his tubercular patients until their regulation costume became that of the athlete in running trunk and moccasins; thus allowing the sunlight to impinge on as large a skin surface as possible.

This treatment has spread from Switzerland all over the world, being used most successfully in our own Alleghenies. As a thorough bronzing of the skin takes place, some mysterious vital resistance of the patient increases correspondingly and arrests the disease.

Direct sunlight has a definite germicidal action upon all bacteria. At the bathing beaches in the summertime, the only skin lesion seen on the arms and legs of the bathers is sunburn blisters. All the pimples and acné of the indoors, housed winter have vanished. Custom has always selected the sunniest room in the house for the newest baby.

We therefore have, just outside of our doors, one of the most powerful

and remedial agents for perfect health. Like most of the real goods of life, this is free of charge and can be taken in as large amounts as anyone desires.

Remember the rats who starved in the dark, and keep well.

The Constitution

(Continued from page 12)

and ratified by conventions in three-fourths of the states; it may be initiated by Congress and ratified by conventions; or vice versa. The first is the only method that has ever been used, however. Compared with the amending clause of the Articles of Confederation, this seemed liberal indeed. And without question the members of the Constitutional Convention believed they were demanding all that they could possibly hope to receive from states swollen with local pride, fearful of erecting a Frankenstein in the form of a central government. Nevertheless, it is the most difficult amending process in the world today. It is not, therefore, irrelevant to ask whether this feature of the Constitution is compatible with prevailing political thought?

Approximately one-half of the population of the United States lives in thirteen states, nevertheless these states have very little more power over the amendment of the fundamental law of the land than do the thirteen least populous states in which live less than six million people. Popular representation in the lower house gives the more populous states a slight advantage in initiating amendments but not one whit more power in any other regard. Three million people properly located can stop the passage of a Constitutional amendment demanded by one hundred million. This at least is a possibility under our amending system; needless to say it is not a probability.

Although exact figures are not available, it is safe to say that three thousand proposals for change have been introduced into Congress. Of these, but twenty-five have secured the necessary vote for initiation, and but nineteen have been ratified. In reality, however, only eight changes have been made, for the first ten amendments were passed as one, also the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth. Only eight changes in one hundred and forty years! Actually, however, radical changes have been made in our form of government. We have developed from an aristocracy into a democracy; we have developed from a confederation into a nation. How has it come about? In three chief ways—custom, statutory elaboration and judicial interpretation. One example of custom will suffice. The choice of the President was to be placed in the hands of the few, the rich and the well born, or failing that, to be thrown into the House of Representatives. The electoral college was to thwart democracy. In fact, however, the electors

have been reduced to automatons registering the popular will.

Perhaps even more fundamental to the welfare of the country are the great administrative departments, yet only the merest breath concerning them is to be found in our Constitution. They have been set up and adapted to changing circumstances at the dictation of Congress. Administrative devices utterly unknown to the founders of the republic have been evolved. Not least among these is the Interstate Commerce Commission, certainly as fundamental as the vice-presidency. Here, perhaps, better than elsewhere, can be discovered the secret of the successful operation of the Constitution. The absence of detail from the instrument of government has left broad powers of discretion in the hands of Congress, which have enabled that body to adapt the machinery of government to changing needs.

The third way in which our organic law has been changed is judicial interpretation. Despite the fact that the Supreme Court is a body sworn to uphold the Constitution it has, when its actions are viewed over a long period of years, interpreted the language of the document not in the light of the historic grant, but in the light of the circumstances which confronted it. Perhaps the best illustration of this is the Insular Case. The language of the sixth amendment is fairly clear:

"In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense."

And yet in *Hawaii v. Mankichi*, the Supreme Court decided that in Hawaii neither indictment by a grand jury nor trial by a petit jury was necessary. In *Donnes vs. Bidwell*, the court divided the Constitution into fundamental and non-fundamental parts, and applied only the former to the government of territories, reserving to itself the right to determine in specific cases what is fundamental and what is not. No such radical change in our government system can be found among the nineteen amendments.

These extra-legal methods of amendment have made possible the continued operation of the country under a Constitution intended for very different conditions. Without constant change by these other methods, radical alteration in our organic law would have been absolutely necessary. In fact, it is difficult to believe that the document would not have been scrapped altogether.

The question very naturally arises: Is the policy we are pursuing the wisest? Is it more statesmanlike to maintain a Constitution incompatible in its

rigidity with the spirit of the times, and to accomplish by indirect methods, with all the inefficiency and uncertainty that these imply, that which other countries accomplish directly and frankly, or to align ourselves with the other nations whose organic laws are more easily adaptable to changing circumstances?

For further reading, "The Constitution of the United States," by Robert Livingston Schuyler, is suggested.

Italy and the League

(Continued from page 11)

curious as to what he could say. For nearly a month the Italian delegation had sat in moral isolation. Its position was equivocal. For while Mussolini was declaring the League incompetent to discuss the Greek situation, Salandra was sitting in the bosom of the Council, daily discussing it!

He was plainly nervous. The incident was closed, he asserted, and he hoped would not be reopened. Then he asked for time to reply to Lord Robert.

The next night at six we met again, in the glass-enclosed Council-room. Salandra had employed legal advice, he asserted, for Italy's defence. It was as good a defence as could be mustered for an indefensible position. One felt sorry for Salandra. (One learns to be impersonal at Geneva.) The seizure of territory as a pledge was common in history, he asserted, and had been practised by Great Britain, France and the United States. "Pacific reprisals," he called these seizures. I regret to say that the audience laughed. (Branting, of Sweden, had admitted the seizure of territory by nations in the past. But the Covenant had come to do away with those bad old practices, he asserted.)

The last dramatic date was September 28th, the day after Corfu had been evacuated. In the meantime a disgraceful thing had happened. The Conference of Ambassadors had paid the 50,000,000 lire to Italy, before the report on Grecian culpability had been received.

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With this shameful act the League happily had nothing to do.

The Council waited until Mussolini was out of Corfu before bringing the case to the Assembly. Until then, the question of the competency of the League had not been publicly discussed. For days the Council had struggled trying to arrive at a definition of competency that Italy could sign—a general term and not this particular case.

At six o'clock on Friday night, September 28th, just before the Assembly adjourned, Viscount Ishii, of Japan, President of the Council, went up into the world tribunal and read the League's pronouncement on its own power.

"Any dispute between members of the League likely to lead to a rupture is within the sphere of action of the League." Five questions regarding the League's competency were also read and referred to a body of jurists who are to report on them in December. If the jurists disagree the questions will go to the World Court.

There followed a remarkable scene. One by one the great and small powers ascended the tribunal and told, not what they thought of Italy but what they thought of the League. Great Britain, Norway, Sweden, Holland, Persia, India, through Lord Robert Cecil, Gilbert Murray, Nansen, Branting, Loudon, and two Oriental princes, all affirmed their faith in the League's future, speaking of it solemnly as the sole hope of civilized man. The solution was not what each one could wish. But it was the only one on which an agreement could be found. At least it established a precedent. A great power would hesitate before outraging public opinion again.

What then, in reality did the League succeed in doing? First, what might it have done? It might have threatened to apply the Economic Blockade, Article

XVI, which would have driven Mussolini, in a dangerous temper, out of the League. A less statesmanlike body, says Stanley Baldwin, Prime Minister of England, would have succumbed to the temptation to react dramatically and violently.

What the League did was to maintain peace, retain Italy in the League and preserve itself as an instrument of conciliation. The mere existence of such an organization—incomplete and imperfect as it is—has made clear, first, that if the League had not existed, Greece would have had to meet force with force, eventually drawing in other nations. And second, that public opinion, assembled and concentrated at Geneva, pushed Italy out of Corfu. The Greeks firmly believe the Italians had every intention of remaining.

When the true premises of Italy and the League are more widely known, one feels, with Professor Gilbert Murray, that the League will gain rather than lose in prestige and that the moderation and restraint it showed, in the face of a world crisis, will recommend it to conservative states.

Standard-Bearer

(Continued from page 13)

ulate thrift among the school children, and induce them to acquire the habit of saving in their early years.

Miss Prichard is always ready to defend the business woman. Recently a well-known Bishop was addressing the club. He had been consistently talking "down" to them, and concluded by saying: "The bulwark of the nation is the home. Just so strong as is the home, so strong is the nation. But to women like you, who go out into the business world, home is but a matter of convenience, a place where you eat and sleep."

Miss Prichard instantly assumed the defensive, after apologizing for having to contradict a guest. "I could no longer accept my position as president of this organization," she said, "if I permitted you to leave this room with the erroneous idea you have regarding business women. There is not a woman within sound of my voice who has not made some sacrifice to keep a home intact. Many are supporting aged parents, some are maintaining invalid brothers or sisters. Indeed, many are carrying a burden that men have voluntarily laid down. If all you have to fear is the business woman, then the future of the nation is safe."

A subdued Bishop arose and murmured: "Thank you."

Miss Prichard is not aggressive, but emphatic, and she has a redeeming sense of humor. She knows the business world from the ground floor up, and she brings to bear on her new office the same honesty, sincerity and courage that inspired her to track down the hog farmer, and correct the Bishop.

The Bookshelf

By M. A.

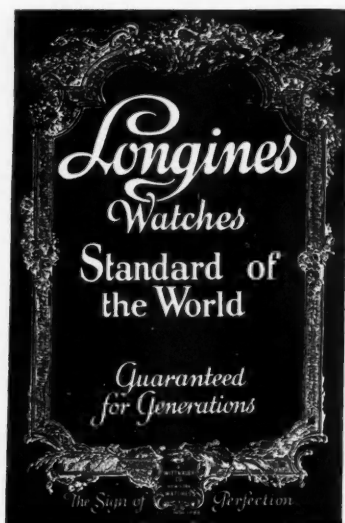
BOOKS which tell of the making of this country have something of the fascination of tales of family childhood. It is as though grandfather began, "When I was a little boy—" The little boyhood of the Middle West is still within the memory of living men and women, so that its stories carry the vigor and the life of human memory.

Ray Strachey, known to CITIZEN readers as Mrs. Oliver Strachey, attributes this vivid quality in her "*Marching On*" to the stories which Dr. Anna Howard Shaw told her of her own girlhood. The book deals with the period shortly before the Civil War, and develops the life of its heroine, and the cause of abolition, together. Susan, daughter of the Michigan backwoods, a dreamer, and no good about the household drudgery, leaves home and further disgraces herself by entering a coeducational college. Freedom in the abstract and for everyone makes a personal appeal to her. She becomes an ardent abolitionist, and with that campaign awake the first desires for suffrage for women. Pioneer suffragists feel their way through fascinating chapters. Then Susan marries, and lives a strange and unhappy life in the Kansas of John Brown. It is difficult to evaluate the book as a piece of fiction. Rather it seems as though Mrs. Strachey had miraculously turned back time, and let us live for a while in those turbulent young years.

Herbert Quick is not quite so successful. He continues in "*The Hawkeye*" the history of Monterey County, Iowa, which he began in "*Vandemark's Folly*." Sequels are always dangerous, and it is perhaps not surprising that the high epic quality of the first book is lacking in the second. The hero is no longer Iowa, but a man, Fremont McConkey. As the dreamy, reading, "queer" boy he is interesting. His strange friendships, his ventures into politics, the hints of Granger troubles, and his battle with lawlessness, all are real. But the book is uneven. When Mr. Quick explains how graft began, and inevitably continues, under county government, he is at his best. When he comes out of his character as author and "humorously" adjoins his audience, he breaks the narrative current and is merely irritating. In spite of inconsistent lapses from its own standard, the book is an interesting picture of growing Iowa life.

Willa Cather's "*A Lost Lady*" begins: "Thirty or forty years ago, in one of those grey towns along the Burlington Marching On, Harcourt, Brace, 1923, \$2.00. *The Hawkeye*, Bobbs Merrill, 1923, \$2.00. *A Lost Lady*, Knopf, 1923, \$1.75. *Collected Poems*, Macmillan, 1923, \$3.50.

For Lifetime Remembrance



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ton railroad, which are so much greyer today than they were then, there was a house well known from Omaha to Denver for its hospitality and for a certain charm of atmosphere." That single sentence places the book's date, its location, and its character. It tells of Marian Forrester, who had such charm, such vividness, that "if she merely bowed to you, merely looked at you, it constituted a personal relationship." The book is more than an ivory miniature of her. With the simplicity and clarity of style which distinguish her, Miss Cather has put into her pages that age of lavish good-humor, of time and money to spare which followed so closely on the heels of the grim empire builders and faded into modern commercialism almost before its existence was recognized.

It is easier to make phrases about Vachel Lindsay than to be sure of his significance in the Middle West. He is an evangelist, with Springfield, Illinois, as his Holy City. He is a Shouting Methodist, he is an adolescent, mouthing sublimated college yells. And he is a serious poet whose fat volume of "Collected Poems" has just been published. He is of the Middle West, and yet not of it, because it is so young. His people came from the South, and he says "the Mason and Dixon line runs through my heart as it runs through my city." Only the future, which solidifies the past, can say whether or not he expresses the soul of the Middle West. There is no doubt about the interest and beauty of his poems. They contain so many conflicting elements that merely as the expression of a single individuality they are fascinating.

Ohio's Pioneer Six

(Continued from page 9)

not the best—school attendance laws in the country, and this appropriation to make sure that no child shall be lost to the school records of the state will further strengthen the law.

These are by no means all the laws for which women worked, and for these few, too, men as well as women deserve credit. But these are enough to show that women did count, and on the whole the observer is sure that women rebelled at playing politics and where they did play it there was an innate desire to play fairly. I am not asserting that every one of the six women legislators in Ohio last winter kept entirely free from the political game throughout every session. But it is a hopeful sign if women do not want to play the game.

"Politics"—crooks, sneaks, slates, charges and counter charges, graft, "set," "fixed" playing the game—

Come, let's turn to a new interpretation—let's make it mean:

"Politics"—clean, honest government made by conscientious statesmen and administered by fearless officials.

Your Investments Safe Bond Requirements

By ELEANOR KERR

THE private investor can gain much knowledge of how to judge investments by studying the requirements of the great institutions, such as insurance companies, banks, etc., whose business is investment. The following summary outlines the requirements of one of our insurance companies before a public utility bond issue will even be considered by the Board of Directors as an investment.

1. Territory must be non-competitive. This means that no similar company should be active in the same district. The reason for this is obvious, as competition means price cutting, which in the end means diminution of profits, while there is frequently not enough business in one territory for two active, progressive companies.

2. Three years of operation. Naturally the company must have proven itself able to operate profitably, to meet local conditions satisfactorily and to stand on its own feet.

3. The funded debt should not exceed 75 per cent of the replacement value. In other words, the plant mortgaged must be worth a third more than the amount of the mortgage. Many banks require a larger margin than this.

4. The funded debt should not exceed four to five times the gross earnings of the company. These should be large enough so that the amount of capital invested is returned as earnings about once every four or five years. From gross earnings must be subtracted the cost of operation, as well as all administrative expenses before bond interest is paid.

5. Gross earnings should be five times the fixed charges. In other words, the company should be earning the interest on its funded debt at least five times, regardless of the cost of these earnings.

6. Net earnings should be twice the fixed charges. Net earnings of a public utility are the earnings after the payment of all operating and administrative expenses and this would mean that double the amount required for payment of interest, sinking fund, etc., must be earned every year over and above all expenses.

7. Market value of stock should be 50 per cent of the par value of the bonds. This makes an equity in a junior security equal to at least one-half of the value of the bonds outstanding. Frequently a higher equity is required.

8. Stock as collateral should not exceed one-third (in value) of total collateral. In some types of issues, stocks and bonds are part of the property mortgaged. It is customary where bond issues are partly or entirely se-

cured by such collateral, for this collateral to have a market value considerably in excess of the amount of the issue. It is reasonable to wish to keep the relative amount of stock fairly low, since it is much more subject to fluctuation in both its intrinsic and market value than bonds or real estate.

A properly written circular describing an offered investment will include all of this information, although not in just the same words as those used above. By familiarizing oneself with these standards, one can acquire an accurate yardstick to apply to investments.



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Heart-to-Heart

HURRAH FOR CALIFORNIA!

"WE expect to pay our state dues to the National League of Women Voters by subscriptions to the WOMAN CITIZEN," writes Mrs. George Herron, WOMAN CITIZEN Chairman for the California League, in sending in a great bunch of subscriptions. "We went over the top in last month's drive and expect to do as well this month." California is the first state League to accept the offer the WOMAN CITIZEN made at the League convention in Des Moines, to pay their state dues to the National League through subscriptions to the CITIZEN, and she is in full swing to do it.

Minnesota was the fourth state League to win the \$100 prize and she is on the way to a second hundred. Michigan, the second state to win \$100, expects to get two more one-hundred-dollar prizes for subscriptions to the CITIZEN outside Detroit, and Detroit is to put on a drive in February.

The Kansas and Idaho Leagues are each putting on a campaign for \$100, and Iowa, under a new WOMAN CITIZEN Chairman, Mrs. John W. Million, decided at their state convention to do the same.

Lincoln, Nebraska, has aroused unusual expectations through a letter saying: "I am greatly in hopes that we can do something handsome in new sub-

scriptions—and that before 1924 strikes. I am an enthusiastic subscriber. I devour each number within twenty-four hours of its arrival." Isn't there a nice thrill to that?

New Paid-in-Advance Subscriptions Received since October 1, by States

Alabama	16	Nevada	18
Arizona	7	Nebraska	33
Arkansas	13	New Hampshire	11
California	181	New Mexico	3
Colorado	14	N. Carolina	23
Connecticut	43	N. Dakota	11
Dist. of Col.	26	New Jersey	143
Delaware	8	New York	209
Florida	57	Ohio	112
Georgia	22	Oklahoma	15
Idaho	6	Oregon	13
Illinois	70	Pennsylvania	98
Indiana	40	R. Island	10
Iowa	56	S. Carolina	12
Kansas	25	S. Dakota	30
Kentucky	13	Tennessee	15
Louisiana	7	Texas	27
Maine	21	Utah	3
Maryland	20	Virginia	25
Massachusetts	66	Vermont	14
Michigan	123	Washington	19
Minnesota	115	W. Virginia	31
Mississippi	19	Wisconsin	47
Missouri	28	Wyoming	10
Montana	56	Foreign	17
Alaska			1

But even more inspiring are the intimate, friendly letters which tell how the CITIZEN is helping.

From Lake Mills, Wisconsin, comes a particularly discriminating letter:

"I should like in some way to express my appreciation of your paper, and my sincere wish for its success financially, as it has already succeeded in other ways. In regard to your questions about articles I have found most helpful: I cannot say really—I have liked them all, not always agreeing of course with opinions expressed, but generally think them decidedly progressive and up to date. My husband expressed my opinion when he said recently, 'That WOMAN CITIZEN! You can get the most in the shortest time in it of any paper I read.'"

We feel that the best service the CITIZEN can render is to furnish facts in so far as possible and stimulate women to think for themselves.

A friend from Mt. Vernon, Illinois, speaks of its articles as "efficiency builders for women. As an American citizen I earnestly want to be an intelligent one, and the WOMAN CITIZEN is a great help."

The WOMAN CITIZEN has a particularly attractive offer of cash commissions and bonuses for new subscriptions in some numbers. If you are not familiar with the terms, please write for particulars. G. F. B.

A Line on the Movies

By LAURA L. LAEDLEIN

UNDER THE RED ROBE—The lively story of a gay swashbuckler who draws sword at the flicker of an eyelash, with the complete approval of the spectator, who hopes that eyelashes will flicker often, and they do. Robert Mantell is interesting in the red robe of *Cardinal Richelieu*, and history lives in the glance the dowager *Queen Marie* (Rose Coghlan) gives her lord when compelled to kiss the *Cardinal's* hand. There is exquisite beauty in the settings, and some street scenes so well directed against these backgrounds that realism becomes lyrical. Starred in Baedeker, and for the whole family. If Junior goes to this with you, because you are going to "Wild Bill Hickok" with him, he will be rewarded by a fast and furious fight on horseback in the water. A Cosmopolitan picture, from the novel by Stanley Weyman, and directed by Alan Crosland; settings by Joseph Urban.

WILD BILL HICKOK—This picture has riding and fighting, and Bill Hart in the part of the ex-Civil War scout, "Wild Bill" Hickok, shooting with both hands, and dangerously quick on the draw. Also *Paint*, the good bad-man's pinto pony, who gallops with more zest than any picture horse we have ever seen. And these are the main attractions to the boy, who will not question the conventional and very sentimental story. A Paramount picture, story by William S. Hart, directed by Clifford Smith.

PONJOLA—"Ponjola" means whisky, in Kaffir Unabridged's, and this picture, from the novel by Cynthia Stockley, is the story of an Englishman who goes to the dogs and back again by the unoriginal means of a woman, ponjola, and another woman. Anna Nilsson, by the way, in her part of a girl masquerading as a boy, does not flirt with her own femininity, but wears harshly cropped straight hair that makes her look surprisingly like a real boy. No special interest for children. Tully Marshall and James Kirkwood are in the cast. A First National picture, directed by Donald Crisp.

STEPHEN STEPS OUT—Stephen steps out right gallantly, parentally prodded,

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from Stillwater Academy, where he flunks Turkish history, to Asia Minor, where Turkish history grows. A boys' story for boys, with Douglas Fairbanks, Jr., in the rôle of *Stephen*, leaping from roof to roof with jibbering Turkomen after him, and looking much like Douglas Fairbanks, Sr. A Paramount picture, from the story "The Grand Cross of the Crescent," by Richard Harding Davis, and directed by Joseph Henabery.

THE TEMPLE OF VENUS—Apparently a deliberate mélange of socially-varying kinds of picture appeal, such as animals, natural landscapes, mythology, love story, jazz living, and the human figure, stirred up together by a long very thin ladle of circumstance. Negligible. A William Fox picture, directed by Henry Otto.

Washington

(Continued from page 8)

tional business, and has a keen appreciation of the importance of bringing price levels back into a normal adjustment just as quickly as possible. Especially did he inquire concerning conditions in the leading wheat sections. It is evident the President has kept closely in touch with the low price situation which has developed with farm products, and the effect that this has had on producers. And so I believe agriculture will get intelligent consideration from the White House."

Senator Capper's further statement regarding the coming session of Congress can be well taken as an indication of the legislative trend. "I look for some real relief from the burdensome freight rates which hang like a millstone around the farming business. Congress probably will consider this matter very early in its session. Important amendments to the Transportation Act, including a repeal of Section 15-a and the so-called guarantee and recapture clause, should be made. The railroads are today doing a larger volume of business at a higher level of rates than ever before. Nobody is fighting the railroads. We want them to prosper, but the time has arrived when a substantial reduction in rates is certainly in order. These can be obtained if all agricultural forces will pull together."

"Along with this will come a further study of the co-operative marketing of farm products. All admit that the spread between the producer and the consumer is entirely too great. There is no excuse for eighty-cent wheat when the consumer pays ten cents for bread. Most of even the 'hard-boiled' opponents of this movement are now coming into line, and I look for further legislation which will make things easier for the co-operatives. And in the meantime the movement is spreading rapidly, and I feel is making substantial progress. I look for a real development of co-operative commodity marketing one of these

days in the wheat country, and the organization of one big agency which will handle the larger part of the crop."

Correspondence

And don't forget that correspondence often calls for response—agreement or disagreement. Readers' comments on anything in the magazine heartily welcome.

IN the WOMAN CITIZEN for November 17, on page 23, under the heading "General Federation Notes," there is a statement about the work of "Mothercraft" which seems to me misleading. The statement is made that this work of giving instruction to classes of young girls in the subjects of personal health and habits and the right care of the baby in the home, was founded in Massachusetts by May Bliss Dickinson. As a matter of record, the idea of teaching young girls about the care of babies originated in 1910 in the Bureau of Child Hygiene of the New York City Department of Health, under the name of the Little Mothers' League. These Leagues have been in active operation in New York City since that date and similar Leagues are now to be found in practically all of the large cities and in nearly all of the states in this country, and have been organized in many foreign countries. The priority of the Leagues in work of this kind is recognized by all public health authorities and is considered to be one of the greatest factors in the reduction of the infant mortality rate.

Miss Dickinson's efforts to extend the idea of the Little Mothers' Leagues is certainly to be commended and I am delighted that the Federation of Women's Clubs are furthering the work, but I do feel that the Little Mothers' Leagues are too important an organization to have the priority of their establishment ignored.

S. JOSEPHINE BAKER, M.D.

Consulting Director of the Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, Washington, and formerly Director of the Bureau of Child Hygiene, New York City Department of Health.

Mrs. Robert E. Park, of Chicago, has asked space to draw CITIZEN readers' attention to this "letter to American women." She hopes they will write her, or us. Mrs. Park, who is prominent in Illinois work for women, writes: "My sons fought the German women's sons, but now I want the war to be over."

A LETTER has reached me, which is to all American women who do not want the innocent to suffer more than they always do, for the guilty; and who feel "sisters under the skin" with all women of like aims and ideals.

It is written by Franziska Mann, a well-known (in Germany) story-writer, whom I grew to know over there during the last year. Frau Mann is the one who started the "Light Sundays" about a year ago. She got the use of a woman's club room, which could be heated and lighted, where people whose houses were entirely unheated could gather on Sunday afternoons. Later she got other halls and meeting places, in other parts of town. Lately she has been banding together groups of the educated women who now eke out a precarious existence at "home-work," embroidering and sewing. By combining they can afford a little heat. This is the letter:

Dear Mrs. Park:

You are returning now to your own country, after having renewed your acquaintance with Germany: with us as we are, as we hope to be, and with what we are

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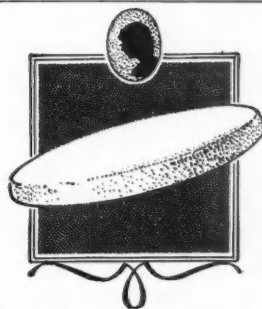
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actually doing. Therefore you are called upon to spread the truth about German women and the suffering that has come to Germany, a task whose fulfillment would be of priceless import to us all.

We women of Germany are not asking here for favors; we ask only for some measure of understanding. Many of us are ready to offer our lives, if need be, if we can but make a reality of a healthier, more harmonious, and so more beautiful world. There are still, however, far too many, particularly among those of us who have suddenly acquired great wealth, who live just as before, for the superficial satisfactions of the moment. We are ashamed of these drones, although we know that in every country women like that may be found. At the moment, however, they can do more harm here than elsewhere, because it is largely due to their influence that your compatriots often carry away with them so false a picture of the German situation.

For example, I could, in the space of one forenoon, show those who wished to see, so many victims of the terrible aftermath of the war that they would have at least some idea of German suffering. I am not writing now to ask for material assistance, although that would be valuable. I am writing for what, at the moment, is still more valuable, the moral support that the women of America could give us.

Side by side with national peculiarities and ways of thinking in every race there are still other good and great qualities that are common to all mankind and that do not depend on the accident of being born in Germany or in America—I appeal to these purely human sentiments and feelings. An American mother does not love her child otherwise than a German mother, although she may bring it up differently. And so would a Jane Addams be the pride and glory of any people. On these human qualities I am building—on the goodness and wisdom and willingness to help of American womanhood not less.

Dear friend, I have not attempted to be practical. I have offered no suggestions, but each one can best seek in her own way to be of service.

FRANZISKA MANN.

We've almost never had a nicer letter than the following from Mrs. Agnew. Heaven grant we may all be "not dying on top" at seventy-six.

I AM almost seventy-six and have the afflictions of that age, besides many hard falls that use me up at times. I have an eleven-room house, one hundred feet of ground with an orchard, and flowers. It takes time even when I can get a man to help. Besides, I do my housework with no help except for washing. I am a great reader, so it is a cross to be denied.

Mrs. Catt's political studies were fine, full of meat all through. I always read the Washington letters by Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes. Anything in regard to helping working women and children catches my eye, or about equal marriage and divorce laws. Women need such knowledge, although they do not realize it. Most women are satisfied to vote as husband does and not reach out to broader views.

I can no longer do anything to awaken others, as I am quite lame from a fall. Life is full of hurts for the old. However, I am blessed in many ways. I am not dying on top and I can read at times. I count these my greatest blessings.

I shall take the CITIZEN as long as I can raise \$2.00 a year. God bless you for all you have done and still are trying to do for women.

MRS. FRANCES AGNEW,
Altus, Oklahoma.

OUR OWN DINGBATS

AN office caller brought us a pleasant tale this week which goes to show that the prevalent idea of American rush is badly exaggerated. ♦ ♦ ♦ In a little town a visitor was talking to the proprietor of the drygoods store in a back room. ♦ ♦ ♦ The visitor heard a sound out front. "I think there's a customer out there," he said. ♦ ♦ ♦ "Let's keep quiet," whispered the storekeeper, "maybe he'll go away." ♦ ♦ ♦ We bet the girl in Minneapolis who has become a really truly butcher wouldn't act that way. ♦ ♦ ♦ Which reminds us of the butcher (usual sex) who gets the bridal trade by being able to suggest how and what to cook. ♦ ♦ ♦ Good idea—why shouldn't shops have a suggestion department as a sideline, and charge for service in planning meals and giving recipes? ♦ ♦ ♦ It strikes us as such a good idea that we feel noble telling it right out like this. ♦ ♦ ♦ Did you notice that reference in the last Woman Voter to the Corn Palace Week in South Dakota which was in "full swing"? Well, out of the low depths of our memory we recall a Corn Palace, and it was the Corn Palace itself that was in full swing, swaying in a Sioux City wind in a way so startling that the memory is yet green. ♦ ♦ ♦ We can't help being astonished that any institution which was popular in our youth is still observed. ♦ ♦ ♦ Especially after the day we had to face this week. ♦ ♦ ♦ We had a unique experience—viz., a birthday surprise party of many phases. ♦ ♦ ♦ Never in all these years has that happened. ♦ ♦ ♦ Never before did we have a birthday cake with candles; so that we really needed a book of etiquette to know how to act, and still have a suspicion that we did something illegal. ♦ ♦ ♦ No one need tip off the etiquette book agents, though, because we have decided to take the hint of destiny and call this a glorious climax. ♦ ♦ ♦ No more birthdays acknowledged. ♦ ♦ ♦ It has been demonstrated in North Dakota that juries with women members take a shorter time to reach decisions than the all-men kind. ♦ ♦ ♦ Formerly, it seems, they never came to an agreement before lunch was served, anyhow. ♦ ♦ ♦ Now the theory is that they agree early because the women insist on getting home in time to cook it. ♦ ♦ ♦ So perish the thought that women neglect their homes for public office! ♦ ♦ ♦ We appear to be specializing on food this time, so we may as well go on and tell you of our observations at the perfect cafeteria where we lunch on our best days. ♦ ♦ ♦ Of course the fun of the game at a cafeteria is choosing wisely as well as tastily, and how dreadfully all the men in sight miss their opportunities! ♦ ♦ ♦ A huge slab of meat and a piece of pie is all too often the spectacle that offends our eyes. ♦ ♦ ♦ Probably the lady who counts up trays like lightning should include a good-choice rating with the check. ♦ ♦ ♦ Congress and Christmas coming in the same month—it's getting very exciting. ♦ ♦ ♦ After that some day we're going away on a train. We shall be (more or less) like the old lady who said, "Young man, where does this train go?" "This train is for Rochester and points east," was the sonorous answer. "Well, I want a train that goes to Syracuse and I don't care which way it points."

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII

DECEMBER 15, 1923

Number 15

News Notes of the Fortnight

The Budget Message

HARD on the heels of the President's first message to Congress, which Mrs. Stokes reports on page 11, came his budget message. Three points are outstanding: tax reduction; no bonus; adherence to the budget.

In presenting the budget, the President endorses the proposed cut of \$266,957,644 in the operating expenses of the government for the next fiscal year ending June 30, 1925—all of the great departments to be reduced with the exception of the Department of Justice and the Department of Commerce. He counts on a saving of \$132,439,932 in the current year. He recommends a cut of \$300,000,000 in taxes, with the details as outlined by Secretary Mellon.

Mr. Coolidge supplements in this message his first statement about the bonus. With full regard for the needs of the disabled veterans, he says flatly that he sees no reason for including the able-bodied among the beneficiaries. "The country is prosperous, and remunerative employment is available for the able-bodied veterans, as well as for other citizens. . . . The government has no money to distribute to any class of its citizens that it does not take from the pockets of the people, and the payment of a bonus to millions of our former soldiers could only be accomplished at a cost to the whole community, including the veterans themselves, far outweighing the benefits intended to be conferred."

Election in England

NEXT to the President's message, the biggest headlines in the fortnight's news have gone to the British election. The issue was whether or not the free trade policy of England should be abandoned for a certain degree of protection—the degree not being clearly defined—in the hope of improving unemployment conditions. Opposed were the Liberals, reunited for the election, and the Labor party, which contended also for a levy on private fortunes over \$5,000, to apply on the debt. Both

Very Briefly

For reasons of speed and economy, Tokio is to be rebuilt along the old lines instead of on a modern fireproof plan. Dr. Charles A. Beard was called to Tokio to plan a new city, but the final vote in the greatly divided Reconstruction Board went against the modern idea.

The sixth American to receive a Nobel prize is Dr. Robert Andrews Millikan, of Pasadena, California, who was awarded this year's prize in physics as the first to isolate and measure the electron.

The chief army engineer has pronounced the White House unsafe in case of fire, and an appropriation of \$400,000 has been recommended to make it secure.

A special cable to the *New York World* reports that M. Poincaré has ordered an investigation of the alleged colossal overcharging and fraud scandal in the rebuilding of the devastated regions of northern France.

Governor Morrison, of North Carolina, sent troops to Nashville for the protection of a Negro on trial. The Board of County Commissioners of Nash County criticized him for his action. In response he said he would "use every particle of power given by the Constitution of his state to prevent lynchings." The strong expression about lynching in the President's message gives him good backing.

On the first day of the new Congress, by unanimous consent measures were passed granting Mrs. Harding an annual pension of \$5,000 for life and the privilege of using the mail franking privilege.

It is reported that the Soviet Government has started to free the prelates sentenced to prison last year, some of them under sentence of death.

The United States Supreme Court has recently sustained the alien land laws of California and Washington, which prohibit persons not eligible for citizenship from owning or leasing land. As was anticipated, the action is bringing vigorous protest from the Japanese press.

A committee of 110 citizens, many of national prominence, has protested against the ratification of the treaty between this country and Turkey negotiated last August.

parties opposed protection on the chief ground that it was certain to increase the cost of living.

The vote was overwhelmingly against protection, and the result is a House of Commons cleft into three parts, with Premier Baldwin and the Conservatives in a minority. That is, the Conservatives have more than any other party; but Liberals and Laborites could

outvote the Conservatives by a wide margin.

What Premier Baldwin will do is, therefore, the burning question to be answered before this is read. If he stays in office, as seems likely, he is almost certain of defeat when Parliament meets next month—since in Great Britain the party in power does not survive being outvoted on any important policy. If he resigns, shall another Conservative be put in his place? Or will the King call Ramsay MacDonald, the Labor leader, to form a Cabinet?

This election has shown one great gain, from the woman's point of view: eight women members have been chosen, including for the first time members of the Labor party. The eight are: Lady Astor, Conservative; Mrs. Wintringham, Liberal; Mrs. Philipson, Conservative—these three reelected; the Duchess of Atholl, Conservative; Lady Terrington, Liberal; and Labor: Miss Susan Lawrence, well known for her London County Council work; Miss Margaret Bondfield, recently chosen President of the Trades Union Council; and Miss Dorothy Jewson, formerly associated with Miss Bondfield.

Cleveland Wins

THE place for one of the national conventions has been practically determined. Chicago was supposed to be first in the competition for the Republican convention, but Mr. Coolidge has expressed a preference for Cleveland, and Cleveland it will doubtless be when the National Committee votes. Critics of the Administration are claiming that this choice indicates a fear of Hiram Johnson, and his strength in Chicago. A less forced reason would be the wish to consolidate the Republican strength in Ohio and seek to inherit the Harding tradition.

With this action, and the selection of William M. Butler, national committeeman from Massachusetts, as his campaign manager, the President's campaign for renomination was considered on. Informal announcement of his candidacy has been made.

South Dakota's Voice

THE South Dakota Republican proposal convention gave Mr. Coolidge a unanimous endorsement for the 1924 nomination. This means that his name will be put on the ballot at the presidential primary to be held March 25 as the majority candidate. The Coolidge vote was 50,379, Hiram Johnson's 27,340. Senator Capper won the proposal for Vice-President.

The Democratic majority vote was won by William G. McAdoo, defeating Henry Ford 6 to 1. James W. Gerard was named for Vice-President.

Senator La Follette was named at the Farmer-Labor party convention by 31,999 votes to Ford's 7,346.

The Mexican Insurrection

A REBELLION is going on in Mexico. President Obregon, not eligible for re-election, backed General Plutarco Calles, former Minister of the Interior, for the election next year. Adolfo de la Huerta, former Minister of Finance, charged that the cards were being stacked to prevent a fair election, suggested that it might be necessary to choose a president by force of arms, and presently started an uprising.

Meantime General Calles renounced his candidacy, offered his services against the insurgents, and was made head of the Federal opposition.

Fighting began last week, and the insurgents, having established themselves in Vera Cruz, are now headed toward the capital. De la Huerta has issued a manifesto setting forth the outrages that he claims Obregon has permitted against law, constitution, suffrage and human rights in general, and the reforms he himself will inaugurate—presumably as president. He includes the inducement of woman suffrage—but with marked reservations.

From this distance, judging imperfectly, as one must, it looks like a conflict of ambitions more than of issues.

Tangier Settled

IN the midst of their disagreements, England and France have settled, between themselves and with Spain, an old trouble. This is the Tangier dispute, extending over many years. For some time there has been a provisional régime. Now, the Tangier conference, sitting in Paris, has finished a convention (made by delegates having full powers) which will be submitted to the three governments for ratification.

Under its provisions, England made a big concession in yielding full power, (nominal power, anyhow) to the Sultan, since the Sultan is controlled by France. But France, on the other hand, admitted England's claim for neutrality in war time, and the open door. Tangier becomes now a new

zone in Morocco. A Municipal Council will be composed of representatives of the various powers, and this will be the effective governing body.

The Craig Case

AS a result of the application made by Senator Copeland to President Coolidge for a pardon for Comptroller Craig of New York City, Mr. Craig does not have to serve his sixty days in jail for contempt of court. Mr. Craig considers that he has been "pardoned." Attorney General Daugherty and President Coolidge apparently do not. Mr. Daugherty presented a long statement of the case, which upheld the conviction of Mr. Craig—and then recommended that he should not be sent to jail, lest the city's business should suffer. Mr. Coolidge "approved."

Senator McKellar, of Tennessee, introduced into the Senate, on the first day of the session, a measure aimed to make a repetition of the Craig case impossible. It provides for jury trial in all cases where the alleged contempt is committed outside the presence of the Court. In Craig's case it will be



Persia, Russia and Germany have all influenced the work of Baroness Evelyn von Maydell, one of whose delicate silhouettes we have selected for our Christmas cover. And this is the way it happened. To begin with, the Baroness chose Persia as a birthplace while her father was executing a diplomatic mission there for Russia. The mission over, her parents returned to Russia, and the Baroness studied in Riga and later at the Imperial Academy at Petrograd under Bilibin. As a member of the Russian Court, she became a subject of suspicion to the Revolutionists in 1918, and was forced to flee into Germany, leaving everything behind her. There her skill assured her a worthy place and she cut the portraits of the four children of the Crown Prince and Gerhard Hauptmann. Since 1922 Baroness Maydell has been in America. She has held exhibits in Newport, Lenox and at Knoedler's in New York, where her silhouette portraits are well known.

recalled, the criticism was directed against Judge Mayer, in a private letter, and it was the offended Judge Mayer who sentenced him.

Since the remission of his sentence, Mr. Craig has returned to the original question at issue—the rights of a city in its traction lines. The B. R. T., to whose cost the city of New York had paid \$124,000,000 as against the \$69,000,000 paid by the company, went bankrupt. Judge Mayer arranged a "friendly receivership" under Mr. Lindley Garrison, and the B. R. T. went into the hands of the Federal government. New York City was denied official representation in the reorganized company. The city then asked to have its comptroller appointed co-receiver without pay. Judge Mayer refused, and it was over this refusal that Mr. Craig committed "contempt."

Readjustment in the Ruhr

AFTER several efforts to form a government to follow Dr. Stresemann's had failed, Dr. William Marx, leader of the Roman Catholic Center party, tried and succeeded in forming a coalition. It is at the mercy of the Socialists, who hold the majority in the Reichstag, but Dr. Marx has just won a real triumph in securing a law that gives the Cabinet dictatorial power. Dr. Stresemann is Foreign Minister.

In the Ruhr, the situation is a little relieved. There has been a move in the direction of making the troops less visible, though this does not mean withdrawal. The soldiers are being regrouped—withdrawn from the city halls out of sight into suburban garrisons, but within easy reach of vital points, and encircling the Ruhr basin. Some action has been started toward the restoration of the Germans who were exiled by thousands from their homes in the Ruhr, and there has been a good deal in the papers about a French wish to re-establish friendly relations with Germany.

The workers in the Ruhr of course have lost that "precious fruit of the revolution"—the eight-hour day. The mark has hit the bottom, and unemployment is increasing. The government hopes to float a loan for the purchase of foodstuffs for use during the coming winter. It would be made through private sources, would not exceed \$70,000,000 and may be considerably less than that. The unanimous consent of the Reparations Commission is necessary, since priority would have to be given to this loan over reparation payments, or otherwise the bonds could not be sold either here or in England.

The whole question of the British policy toward France and Germany is of course up in the air. Meantime, M. Poincaré is stressing the desire for an accord with Great Britain.

December 11, 1923.

A Career— and Eleven

By

Mildred Adams



Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

Here, we submit, is the crowning example of career combined with children: Mrs. Frank G. Gilbreth, shown above with Mr. Gilbreth, and their eleven children. One can't help thinking—what a jolly Christmas!

MRS. LILLIAN GILBRETH, A. B., M. A., Ph. D., honorary member of the Society of Industrial Engineers, sat talking in a hotel room. Of course it is more satisfactory to meet a successful woman in her own home, where the very door-knobs and curtain fixtures tell of her tastes and her personality. But if circumstances dictate that your only chance of seeing her is in a green-carpeted, brass-bedded, standardized hotel room, then you are more than grateful if she has so much personality that it makes you forget surroundings.

Mrs. Gilbreth is a tall, slim woman, with red-gold hair, and an expressive face which triangles from intelligent forehead to capable chin. Graduated from the University of California in 1900, she is the author of a widely read "Psychology of Management," co-author with her husband, Frank G. Gilbreth, of some eight books on various phases of industrial engineering, and his partner in their prominent firm of consulting engineers.

Yet she talked of none of these things. Instead of factories, and problems of eliminating waste and increasing efficiency, the room seemed full of husky children. At that precise minute Anne Gilbreth, eighteen and a sophomore at Smith, was probably delivering a scholarly recitation on "the place of the preposition before Chaucer." Ernestine Gilbreth, who intends to be a painter, was sketching in study time; Martha, who, like her Biblical namesake, enjoys the household side of engineering, labored over required math. So they trooped along, down to Dan, aged six, demanding to be excused from school on Friday, " 'cause I have to go to Pro-

vidence and help Daddy," and Jane, the eleventh child, alluringly dimpled, and meditating all babyhood's mischief.

"There's nothing amazing about the combination of children and work," their mother laughed, when I told her it was amazement over her eleven and her engineering that had brought me. "If they weren't healthy, or if Mr. Gilbreth was the kind of husband who didn't want his wife to do anything, or if I had to be away from home all day, it would be very different. But all of them feel it's a disgrace to be sick, and they are wonderfully good-humored and willing to help, so the mere fact that there are eleven of them is not as imposing as it sounds. I fancy that many a mother with only two or three to look out for has more trouble and less fun than we do. As for my profession, Mr. Gilbreth is the one who urged me into it, and we have one office in the house, so you see it's quite simple.

"Really," she went on soberly, "the whole problem of a married woman's career depends on her husband. If a man doesn't want his wife to work, he can put continuous obstacles in her path, and make her so completely unhappy that she is finally bound to give up either her career or her husband. But if he believes in a profession for her quite as much as for himself, and is willing to play the game and make certain compromises, then success becomes simply a matter of sticking to it.

"You see"—and a little reminiscent smile lifted the corners of her mouth—"when Mr. Gilbreth and I got engaged we hadn't known each other very long, and he urged that we secure some interest in common besides the bread we ate and the roof which sheltered us. His profession was engineering, and he was devoted to it, so I decided that I'd become an engineer. Funny things happened at first. I told a waggish cousin what I was going to do, and asked him to send me some engineering magazines. He sent trade journals on concrete, full of mathematics, dry as the dust that makes it and as hard to see through as the product. I had moments of despair in which I felt that my University had given me a degree under a false impression, that I had no brain, and that if concrete were engineering, I'd better break my engagement." The smile broke into a low chuckle.

"Luckily it was very different when I really began studying. As a mechanical engineer, Mr. Gilbreth was interested in the processes of manufacture, and even then turning his attention to improvements which would eliminate waste. That appealed to me very much, and I paid more and more attention to the human waste in industry, to the misfits and the friction makers, the people with a grievance, the ones who can't keep up with the job. We moved to Providence about that time, and I did further graduate work at Brown. We lived next

door to the college. It was very pleasant and easy, because I could leave the babies for a short time each day during classes, and do my studying at home. I got my doctor's degree there."

She spoke in as matter-of-fact a tone as though five babies were customary accessories to a doctor's thesis.

"After that I was able to work more with my husband. Then the war changed things, and made living simpler for us as it did for most people. Mr. Gilbreth went into the service at once, and we set up an office in the house so that I could supervise more easily."

It is possible to figure mathematically just how many Gilbreth children there were in 1917, when the father so quietly "went into the service at once." Apparently no idea of immunity because of dependents occurred to this efficient family.

"You see," Mrs. Gilbreth continued, "that change brought the children into direct contact with affairs. We had always discussed efficiency problems at

home, but now the children spoke of 'our office' and 'our business.' Mr. Gilbreth had taught them from babyhood to apply engineering methods to their own problems, and it was only an enlargement of that to consider our affairs. They wouldn't dream of bothering mother in the laboratory, or interrupting the writing of a report. With an office in the house, the children felt the personal responsibility of helping everywhere they could. They became part of the laboratory, for we tried out simple processes on them.

"The plan worked so well that after Mr. Gilbreth came home, and recovered his health, we continued in the same way. A couple of weeks ago, for instance, Mr. Gilbreth had to go to Winchester to take part in a big efficiency pageant which symbolized the elimination of waste. He took the four middle boys with him—the oldest is twelve and the youngest six—each with his camera, his pencil and his notebook, each to take notes on what he saw, and make a re-

port embodying suggestions for the improvement of processes. I think probably," her eyes twinkled, "there were times when their questions would have driven insane anyone but a man who believes so thoroughly in his methods as my husband does. But the children did their work, and came back alone on the night boat, into New York and out again to Montclair—four boys, four cameras, four pencils, and four notebooks.

"Of course," she concluded, "it's an experiment in living that we're trying. But then, all life is an experiment. We put our emphasis on eliminating waste motions and nerve strain, trying to accomplish things more effectively in a shorter time. We don't mean to give the children too much responsibility. Certainly none of them look as though they suffered from it.

"But talking about our methods is rather futile. The results will only appear in our children, in the way they handle their own lives and bring up their own children."

A Woman's Baton

By Anne B. Stewart

OUT in the great northwest country there is a woman who directs an orchestra. More than that: this same conductor was herself the orchestra's founder and builder. She is Madame Davenport Engberg, and her orchestra is the Seattle Civic Symphony Orchestra, now in its fourth season. This year it is on a new and higher plane: under the same name, the same conductor, a volunteer orchestra of three years' growth has been succeeded by a professional organization, containing many of the same players. And alongside the professional orchestra, a volunteer organization will continue, forming a medium between the professionals and the high school orchestras, which number five thousand members. As with everything else, it is the developing stages that are most interesting, and certainly most significant for other communities that may wish to go and do likewise.

Washington is doubly proud of Mme. Engberg because she belongs to it by birth. Her talent for music showed early in a special interest in the violin. There was the not unusual story of study retarded by family reverses, and eventually a career abandoned and marriage adopted. But Mr. Henry Engberg, of Copenhagen, didn't let the situation rest there. Under his urging, Mme. Engberg went abroad, to study under some of the most eminent masters in Europe. (It might be mentioned right here that when Mme. Engberg was asked if a career is compatible with



© Bushnell, Seattle

Mme. Davenport Engberg

Women players in symphony orchestras may not be as rare as hen's teeth, but they are rare, except as harpists. The CITIZEN published a symposium of letters from noted conductors which assayed, with a few exceptions, a neutral, not to say negative, attitude toward women. And then came news that out in Seattle there is actually a woman conductor, the only one we know of in the country. We asked Mrs. Stewart about it, and here is her answer.—EDITOR.

marriage and children, she said a decided yes.)

After her debut in Copenhagen, she

toured Europe in concert work. But she "always wanted to be a whole orchestra herself," and on her return to this country she set out to realize her ambition: she founded a volunteer civic orchestra in Bellingham, Washington, the only woman-conducted orchestra in the country.

"My first urge to start an orchestra," Mme. Engberg wrote* of this first undertaking, "came much as to the preacher of old who suddenly felt a call to preach, out of a clear sky. . . . Our community needed an orchestra and . . . I was convinced that I could get up one that at any rate would not be any worse than the ones I had played with. . . . At least my orchestra should play in tune; on that point I was determined."

Until the last of the fifth season the Bellingham orchestra had no financial assistance. Then a music-loving patroness contributed \$500—most of the deficit. At the beginning of the sixth season an organization was formed with a president, manager, board of directors, program committee, etc., with the Chamber of Commerce as headquarters.

War disorganized the Bellingham orchestra, but before Mme. Davenport Engberg left she had developed an orchestra of eighty-five members, with every instrument represented except the oboe and bassoon. These they imported for concerts. Twelve years before, when she returned from Europe, there were not more than fifteen people in

* Etude, May, 1917. (Cont. on page 27)

The Growth of National Power

By Schuyler C. Wallace

THE year 1789 saw established in the United States a government of limited powers. To it was given the administration of certain broad functions. The control of foreign relations was surrendered into its hands, as was also the task of national defense. Adequate sources of revenue were provided, and limited supervision over commerce and business was made possible. The execution of these powers was divided among the various branches of the federal system.

To the President, chiefly, was given the conduct of *foreign relations*. He was made the spokesman of the nation. His power to appoint ambassadors and consuls and to negotiate treaties, as well as to receive the appointees of foreign nations, made his control in this regard extensive, indeed; but not exclusive, for the necessity of the Senate's ratification of both appointments and treaties gave that body a great restraining influence. And the fact that the assent of Congress was made necessary to the passage of appropriations or to a declaration of war, inevitably placed a portion of the control in the House of Representatives. Viewed as a question of the relationship of central to state authority, however, the Federal Government in this sphere was made supreme.

The powers of *national defense* were likewise distributed among the different branches of the Federal Government. The president was made commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and also of the state militia should that body be called into federal service. Congress in its turn was given the right to raise armies and navies and to make rules for their government, as well as to erect arsenals, magazines, and forts. It was also granted power to make rules for the organization and maintenance of state militias, and for calling them into action to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions. The states, however, retained the power of appointing officers and the authority to train their militia in accordance with federal rules. This, indeed, was the only limitation placed on federal power in this connection, save that no appropriation for the army could extend beyond two years.

The original grant of *taxing power* to the central government was, perhaps, as radical a change as any which the constitutional convention proposed, although it was by no means as broad in its scope nor as exclusive as either of the foregoing. Congress was given the power to lay and collect taxes and

duties throughout the United States. Such levies, however, were required to be uniform, and in the case of a direct tax, to be laid in proportion to the population. (This latter provision was somewhat modified with the passage of the sixteenth amendment).

Less broad was the grant which gave the federal authority control over *commerce and business*. The national legislature was empowered to regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states; to establish a uniform law on bankruptcy throughout the country; to coin money and regulate

ticles of Confederation, it was a most radical alteration.

These, then, were the powers given to the Federal Government by the Constitution of 1789. *These and these only!* "The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people." So did the tenth amendment seal the grant. Thus were the relations of the Federal Government to the states established.

It is very interesting to note how this relationship has been changing. Confined by its constitutional grant within a comparatively narrow sphere, the central government has gradually by this method been extending the scope of its activities.

Some slight broadening of its powers has occurred through the amendments. The thirteenth gave Congress the right to interfere with state action in regard to slavery. The fourteenth greatly extended the veto power of the federal judiciary over state action in that it provided that "no state shall make or enforce any law that shall abridge the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States; *nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law*; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." It was not, however, until the sixteenth amendment was passed that any additional *positive* power was granted the central government. Permission "to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several states" was a distinctly positive grant of powers. Much more radical was the expansion of federal activity consequent to the passage of the eighteenth amendment.

This entire expansion, however, is comparatively small when compared with the enormous growth of federal power that has come through other channels. One of the greatest of these is the judicial doctrine of *implied powers*. The first great case to establish the principle was that of *McCullough vs. Maryland*. Briefly, the facts of that case are as follows: Congress had incorporated a bank of the United States, a branch of which had been established in Baltimore. Maryland had subjected all banks not chartered by its legislature to a stamp tax upon their note issues. *McCullough*, the cashier of the bank, had ignored the statute and been

(Continued on page 25)

PEACE

By Edwin Markham

What was the first prophetic word
that rang

When down the starry sky the angels
sang,

That night they came as envoys of
the Birth—

What word but peace, "peace and
good will on earth"?

And what was the last word the
Master said

That parting night when they broke
brother-bread,

That night He knew men would not
let Him live—

Oh, what but "Peace I leave" and
"Peace I give"?

And yet behold: near twice a thou-
sand years

And still the battle-wrath, the grief,
the tears.

Let mercy speed the hour when
swords shall cease,

And men cry back to God, "There
shall be peace."

*From the Collected Poems (in preparation);
published in "The American Federationist."*

the value thereof—a matter excluded from state jurisdiction; to establish post offices and post roads; to promote the progress of science and the useful arts by copyrights and patents; and to fix the standards of weights and measures. Formidable as this list of powers seems, the superficial observation of any business man will reveal to him that, literally interpreted, the grant of power is limited, indeed. And yet compared with the powers conferred by the Ar-

Fairy Godmother

By Dora M. Ford

ALTHOUGH the institution of the "story hour" in Great Britain and America must be close upon a quarter of a century old, the Fairy Godmother—Marie Shedlock—to whom it owes its inspiration, has the secret of perpetual youth. Within the past year she has spent weeks among the little French children of the devastated areas who, thanks to American generosity, are now reveling in libraries and reading-rooms of their own—a pleasure they never had before. Little girls in neat check frocks, and little boys with close cropped heads, flock at the allotted hour to the pleasant rooms, with their low tables and inviting shelves full of French story and picture books.

To their childish vision, Miss Shedlock, who was born and partly educated in France, appeared as the *marraine* of their own fairy romances, and one of the most touching photographs in the French library series represents her seated in one of the huts, an enormous sheaf of flowers (the gift of the children) on her lap, and eager, wide-eyed girls and boys clustering closely about her.

Miss Shedlock's lectures and story-telling were offered to France as a gift, but her expenses were paid privately by friends in America, headed by Miss

Annie Carroll Moore, New York's children's librarian.

It was America which first discovered Miss Shedlock as a story-teller. A teacher for many years at a high school for girls, she had long made use of story form to present history and literature. But the somewhat rigid system of English education in those days offered little scope for the new method, and Miss Shedlock was casting about in her mind for a wider sphere of activity, when she met Earl Barnes, the American child expert, and got from him the impulse to try her new methods in his country.

"My assets when I sailed in 1900 were small," said Miss Shedlock, at her charming flat in London—"a dozen or so letters of introduction from friends at home, and 150 pounds in cash, all the money I had in the world. I was told at once there were only three ways of getting before the American public: advertising; being boosted by society women; waiting. I chose the last, and found it very successful. But the actual method by which I 'arrived' was owing to an unexpected incident. One day, speaking to the children's librarian at Boston, a charming and cultured woman, I said: 'I must do something to show my appreciation of the kindness I have received from the first moment I set foot in this country. Thanksgiving Day is at hand. Let me dress up as a Fairy Godmother, and tell a few stories

to the children in their own special room.'"

"The day arrived, and, dressed in my story-telling garb—which was specially designed for me by Ellen Terry's daughter, Elsa Craig—I arrived at the library, expecting to find a mere handful of children awaiting me. Imagine my amazement when I beheld the room packed to overflowing with five hundred children of all ages and sizes, and another hundred being turned away at the door!

"From that moment my career was made. I stayed in America six years, came home, and went back again for another five years. During that time I traveled the length and breadth of the American continent, lecturing to kindergarten teachers and telling stories to children. I have visited all the principal towns in the United States, either for story-telling or for lecturing. English people who have not been in America have not the slightest idea of the wonderful extent to which the children's libraries are developed in that country.

"When, later, I returned to England, I found that my own nation had been aroused on the subject of story-telling too, and that my services were now much in demand. I was retained by the London County Council for educational work in London, and later toured the provinces for the same purpose. Story-telling had in these years become an accepted mode of teaching."

HERE we are in the midst of the Turkey Season—from the table point of view—with Thanksgiving behind and Christmas ahead. To most of us city-dwellers, at this time of year, a turkey is a limp, lifeless bird with its feet tied together, and the principal thing to consider about it is—the price. A few memories of emulating the turkey gobbler in our childhood is about our only sense of turkeys-alive.

But in Wyoming they are so much—and so many—alive that it takes turkey cowboys to herd them. For ages, in the arid lands where the sand drifted and the sagebrush grew, the buffalo ruled, with the coyote as first assistant. Then came the days of harnessed water, with reservoirs and irrigating ditches—and the buffalo gradually gave way to the turkey. Even the large herds of cattle roaming at will, and driven by storm in the days of "barbed wireless" fences, have gone. The agriculturist and the dry farmer now hold the plains and fenced lands of old Wyoming.

And in at least one Wyoming county the lordly turkey has become a Solution. This is the way of it. Mrs. Laura I. Winter has charge of the Home Demonstration work for the Extension Department of the State University in Platte

A Turkey Tale



Joe Rutherford, pioneer turkey cowboy, with some of his flock

County. It is her business to carry experience and experimentation to the homes of the farmers and ranch men with the one purpose of lightening the burdens of domestic drudgery. Mrs. Winter, who is always springing new

ideas, had a notion that turkey raising, in women's hands, would bring in a lot of money and would be a great relief from housework monotony. She thought highly, it seems, of the turkey's power to entertain. So she started the industry.

And the outcome proved she was right. The women responded enthusiastically, and the turkeys did too. Through Mrs. Winter's chaperonage of turkey growing it has become so well established that a single shipment of three cars netted \$30,000, and in the past few years the industry has increased 500 per cent. The non-laying hen turkey has been "eliminated"—a word suggesting a dark passage in turkey history—and more and more turkey eggs are produced. Not only the farm and the ranchwomen, but boys' and girls' clubs as well are organized to foster turkeys and bring about these results.

During the season of 1923 one woman raised 800 turkeys and lost only 25 birds—a small percentage for turkey raising. To make that high figure, she had to include in her staff a pack of hounds to guard her flock against coyotes.

Ten million turkeys were left over in the cold storage plants from the crop of

1922. Yet there is an unusual demand this year, and turkeys are being marketed wholesale to large Eastern packing houses, which bring their own cars to the locality and do their own packing in refrigerator cars. They pay from twenty-five to thirty cents a pound for dry-picked, grade No. 1—all bruised or torn birds being discarded or placed in grade No. 2, at a lower price. It is estimated that in Wyoming for this year the women, the children and the usual

farmer—with the co-operation of the Farm Bureau, farmers exchange and the co-operative marketing associations—added \$500,000 to their turkey-growing bank accounts.

But the "turkey cowboy"—what of him? His job is to watch turkeys as the shepherd guards his sheep—against coyotes and other marauders that haunt the foothills. His requirements are a horse, a rifle and a keen eye. The pioneer turkey cowboy of Platte County,

Joe Rutherford, adds not only to the safety of turkeys but to the scenic color—with his bronco, his two gallon hat, angora chaps, bright silk shirt and rifle, protecting the strutting, vainglorious gobblers from the hill bandits. Why not turkey cowgirls, we ask?

L'Envoi.—The market price for the best turkeys was sixty-five cents a pound this year in New York—and they were loudly proclaimed specially cheap:

President
Coolidge
Speaks Out



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A Clear
Public
Message

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

December 6, 1923.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE has said what he had to say. He delivered his first message at the opening of the Sixty-eighth Congress on the sixth of December, as unperturbed, calm and even-voiced as if the Congress were composed of lambs lying down together. He spoke to a brilliant assembly. Colonel Harvey leaned heavily on his cane sitting in the diplomatic gallery. Ambassador and Mme. Jusserand were near Mrs. Coolidge, who kept up an animated conversation with Mrs. Hughes accompanying her. Alice Longworth sat in the opposite gallery, a little more serious-faced as she watched her husband in his powerful position of Republican floor leader for the first time. Congressman Victor Berger seemed more at ease down there in his rear seat than at any opening since the war.

But the President himself addressed a flock of horns in gray battle formation, which were suspended over him. The radio equipment again was astounding. Every part of the difficult auditorium of the House caught the clear resonance of his voice. Outside the building, hundreds of persons stopped to listen to the same voice twice as distinct and compelling as it was within the overcrowded chamber. Down in the subway connecting the Capitol with the office buildings of Congress, the repetition was perfect—equipment had been installed there to take care of the crowds who might have been driven in by rain, and

in the anterooms of the press galleries the unseen speaker held forth as if but a foot away. We are progressing electrically in politics at a breath-taking rate.

But if the Sixty-eighth Congress heeds this message of the President's and does what he recommends, it will have held a model session to be starred in history. Seventeen insurgents in the House, followers of Senator La Follette, and other radicals and liberals in the Senate, undoubtedly will prevent Republican perfection, for they hold that parliamentary joy-killer called the balance of power and have set out to see to it that they are heard. It looked as if a considerable part of their purpose in holding up the organization of Congress, delaying the presentation of the President's speech, was to stamp their feet and be recognized, because it was well known in the House that the Republican leaders contemplated the early introduction of resolutions taking up the subject of a revision of the rules of the House, liberalizing the opportunities for discussion on the floor among other things, upon which general reform the progressives based their obstruction. However, there are two sides to the rules fight which actively or quiescently has been before Congress since the days when the progressives waged the memorable fight against the autocracy of Speaker Cannon and so-called Cannonism.

Progressives today assert that the history of the present uprising is merely

the struggle continued and that very little progress has been made since the Cannon affair. This is all another long and complicated story.

After the day or two of delay since this Congress convened on Monday, Mr. Gillett, the veteran and much revered speaker from Massachusetts, was re-elected to the chair, and Nicholas Longworth, of Ohio, after twenty-five years of service in the House, became Republican leader for the majority. The Democratic leader will be Representative Garrett.

The message was a courageous public statement; that is, the President in his delineation of attitude favoring the World Court in the face of the warring political factions, in his terse repudiation of the bonus, his extraordinary reversal of the traditional political viewpoint toward postmasters and civil service and his explicit and Massachusetts-like stand on the problem of the vital coal of the nation, set himself apart as a public servant. His reiteration of the abounding prosperity of the nation might be questioned as over-optimistic.

President Coolidge must have been only too conscious as he stood there in the vastness of the House chamber delivering his first message that he faced one of the most difficult of Congresses in point of handling. He looked down without changing a shade of expression to indicate that he now had a Congress on his hands—if not on his back—for the rest of the term. But there is only one man in public life who faces every

situation as if he were the larger of the two. President Coolidge. He delivered his recommendations with confidence and assurance. They were received with generous applause and were stamped at every point with his own individuality. Not by any stretch of the imagination could it have been a Wilson message; nor a Harding pronouncement. It was a message of elemental clearness. There probably is not a high-school student in the country who would not know what the President was talking about. He went into little detail. His points were categorical and brief; his recommendations decidedly yes or no. He spread little illumination but on the other hand he left little fog. He put forth a limited amount of argument and covered a wide range of problems and facts.

Woodrow Wilson sent a more philosophical message to Congress concerned with what he considered a few reasons why the Congress should take certain views of pending or impending matters. His brief was more argument than recital of fact. It gave the thinkers of Congress valuable material and drove over the heads of many others. The messages of President Harding were a combination of fact and argument usually complex in structure, and difficult to understand in their exact meaning.

It would be out of the question for a President to go into the complete argument for or against the propositions mentioned in his annual message. Space would prohibit. President Coolidge said beforehand that it would not be his intention to argue his points. And it was obvious that he had accepted specific recommendations from many of his advisers. Roughly one could trace them down the line—Secretary Hughes, Elihu Root and others for the World Court; Senator Cummins for the railroads; Eugene Meyer and Frank W. Mondell, Directors of the War Finance Corporation, for the agricultural situation; the American Legion for the veterans' program; Secretary Mellon for taxes and prohibition with a concession to Governor Pinchot; the Civil Service Commission for that reform, and so on. His was an eclectic or synthetic message, showing a President with a receptive mind, open for advice and counsel from experts in the several fields.

Now let us brief the message—that part of it which follows the feeling tribute to President Harding—for reference for the coming political year, if not for the Presidential campaign. It will be foundational:

Foreign Affairs

Avoid entangling alliances and advocate the peaceful settlement of international disputes; adding to the latter our endorsement of membership in the Permanent Court of International Justice with reservations entirely dissociat-

ing us from the League of Nations which, according to the President, is a closed incident so far as the United States is concerned. He said nothing about the entanglement of the World Court in the St. Louis speech of President Harding which it is known now Mr. Coolidge never did clearly understand, as did few others. The President is particularly emphatic that if the World Court is to be accepted by the Senate and the country it must be on a non-partisan basis. He wants no party quibbling about it; nor does he want it put through the Senate with partisan attacks. He made

Childhood By John Erskine

To be Himself a star most bright
To bring the wise men to His sight,
To be Himself a voice most sweet
To call the Shepherds to His feet
To be a Child—it was His will,
That folk like us might find Him still.

(From Collected Poems, Duffield & Company)

a courageous stand for the elimination of partisanship from foreign relations. The essence of his endorsement was: "I favor the establishment of such a court intended to include the whole world. . . . I commend it to the favorable consideration of the Senate, with the proposed reservations clearly indicating our refusal to adhere to the League of Nations." Applause from both sides of the chamber.

No recognition of Russia until Russia recognizes the sanctity of international obligations.

Reparations and Collection of Our War Debts

No cancellation of debts. Foreign governments, exclusive of Great Britain, owe the United States about seven billion dollars. Deferred interest alone amounts to a million dollars a day. Possibly adjust these debts in the way that the British debt was handled—i. e., by refunding. "Persevere in well-doing, not by force, but by reason" to see that France is paid reparations and Germany revived.

Tax Reductions

By "drastic but orderly retrenchments," the government budget can be reduced by three billions making possible large tax reductions. Decrease income taxes. Take off the tax on moving pictures. Revise the surtaxes, thus providing more money for capital investment. Consider abolishing the excess profits taxes. Abolish the right of states and municipalities to issue tax-exempt securities. "Reduce war taxes and give every home a better chance." "Of all services which the Congress can render to the country, I have no hesitation in declaring this one to be paramount."

Tariff

The present tariff law has brought "abounding prosperity" to the country. The President will exercise his authority under the flexible provision of the law to consider requests for changes in specific items.

Shipping

Restore the war-time government-owned fleet to private ownership and operation as soon as possible.

Railroads

The President separates the problem into four parts: 1—That there has been criticism of the rules by which rates are fixed and the provision for use of excess earnings; 2—of the method of adjusting wage scales, i. e., the Railroad Labor Board; 3—of the authority permitting consolidations; 4—of existing freight rates. He recommends: That Congress await the decision of the Supreme Court regarding the constitutionality of the first criticism before proceeding with further legislation; that as the Railroad Labor Board has not been altogether satisfactory, unless agreement can be reached among the groups involved, the Labor Board be left for the present to protect the public; that additional legislation is needed giving authority for voluntary consolidation of the railroads and that if this voluntary consolidation should prove ineffective after a specified period of time, compulsory legislation be invoked. This is Senator Cummins' plan. That Congress should order at once an entire reorganization of freight rates, particularly in behalf of farm interests.

Department of Justice

More district judges needed. Also create a commission of federal judges and lawyers to study the expedition of the hearing of cases. Revise and simplify laws governing review by the Supreme Court.

Prison Problems

Increase industrial production of prisoners. Give more adequate attention to prison problems.

Prohibition

A treaty is being negotiated with Great Britain regarding the right to search vessels. Strengthen the Coast Guard to prevent smuggling, providing a supply of swift power boats. Rigidly regulate the major sources of production (Governor Pinchot's recommendation).

The Negro

Create a commission composed of both races to formulate a better policy of mutual understanding and confidence. About half a million dollars has been recommended for medical courses at Howard University.

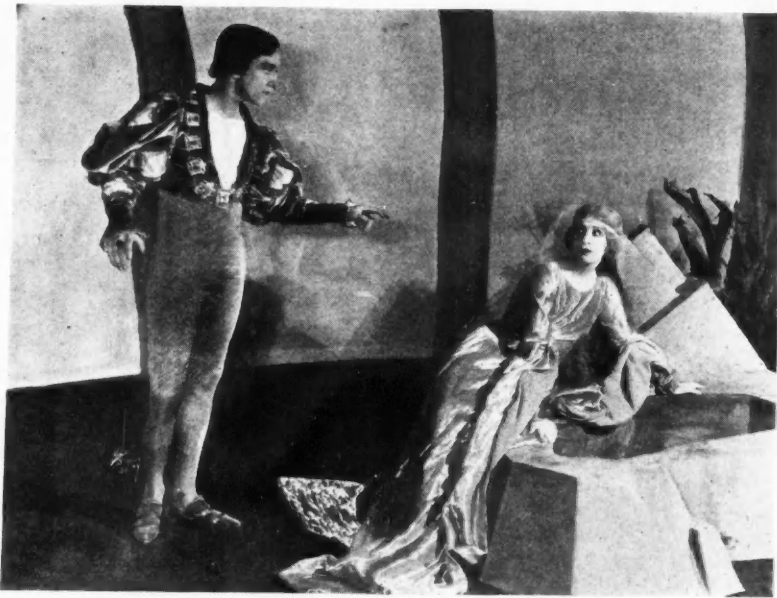
Civil Service

Endorse the recommendation of the Civil Service Commission that first, second and third class postmasters be included in civil service, repealing the four-year term of office rule. This is a

(Continued on page 26)

ROMANCE is having its day on the stage in New York this holiday time, and here are a few samples from the December list. Heaven forbid that we should pretend to pick out the four best plays in New York at any given moment; but we do claim that each of these four is notable, and has won an attention that makes it worth more.

First, then, there's Otis Skinner, our leading romantic actor, at his best as Sancho Panza in Melchior Lengyel's comedy of that name. The play is from that part of "Don Quixote" where the peasant Sancho rules a city of Baratria, and rules it with a philosophy that touches



Rollo Peters and Jane Cowl in "Pelleas and Melisande"

Full of color, too, elaborately and beautifully produced, is Maeterlinck's "Pelleas and Melisande,"—far less likable for the play, which is artificial, than for the enchantment of Jane Cowl's acting. She has done nothing finer than the Melisande of this love tragedy of dim, mystical times. Rollo Peters, who played Romeo to her Juliet last year, is an appealing Pelleas.

Another romance is Rostand's classical comedy of Cyrano de Bergerac, the immortal swashbuckling soldier-poet, with the cruelly great nose and the genius for loving. Walter Hampden is generally conceded to have given the stage a

Romance in Plays for the Holidays



Cyrano The Swan Sancho

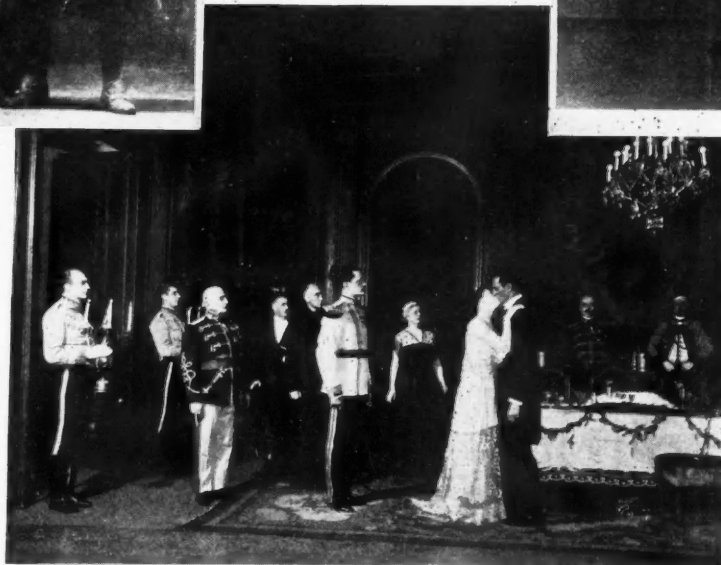


© Francis Bruquiere, N. Y. C.

electrically today's thinking. For instance, here is Sancho on peace:

"If all the kings and princes and governors and potentates in the world were to sit down together at an inn over a good meal and a bottle of wine, hates and jealousies would fly away like a flock of crows and peace and understanding would come into the brains and hearts of men, and there'd be an end to all your useless wars."

The production is dazingly full of color and fantasy, and second only to the star is the ass, Dapple.



© White Studio, N. Y. C.

© White Studio, N. Y. C.

Cyrano that will rank as one of the great performances of its day.

Last of the group is "The Swan," translated from Ferenc Molnar's Hungarian comedy. It is a play with delightful new turns on the romantic old theme of the plebeian tutor in love with the princess. The scene shown here is one of the astonishing moments of the play—the audience goes out asking, "Why did she kiss him?"

Editorially Speaking

The President's Message

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE'S message has cleared the air. It is a pronouncement of the policies for which he stands, and as such is definite, clean cut and unmistakable. It may be taken as the platform of the Republican party if Mr. Coolidge becomes its candidate. It is notable because of its courageous endorsement of principles which have not been popular with party leaders, such as putting under the civil service all postmasters and all officials for enforcing the prohibition laws. In his outspoken stand for the World Court and his plea that such a question should rise above partisanship, he will find a responsive echo from the great majority of the women of the country. His endorsement of the Child Labor amendment, of the proposed department of education in the Cabinet, of the reorganization of Congress, and of a better enforcement of prohibition will meet the approval of women of both parties.

It is certain that there will be much opposition in Congress, from members of his own party, to his program. Secretary Mellon's plan for the reduction of taxes, the President's opposition to a soldier bonus and especially his stand for the World Court find their bitterest enemies inside the President's own party. But there's a third party to action in government and that is the people—public opinion. If public support of a measure becomes strong enough and its voice rises loud enough, Congress is compelled to action. We share the responsibility for what will be done during the next few months by Congress.



English Women and Their Election

CONGRATULATIONS to Plymouth and to England for having sent Lady Astor back to Parliament, and a thousand good wishes to Lady Astor herself! Her position in Parliament is full of opportunities for service which she has shown herself eminently qualified to take.

From the press reports, the women of England have set a new standard in a political campaign. Mrs. Wintringham, who sat with Lady Astor in the last Parliament but who belongs to an opposing party, toward the close of the campaign sent her a telegram saying; "I hope Plymouth women of all parties will remember that they have a national responsibility to return you to Parliament as the champion of the nation's children."

Imagine one of our Republican senators urging the election of a Democrat, or the reverse!

Even among women of the poorer classes, party canvassers are said to have found great interest in the election, and the questions asked showed a real consideration of the issues involved. Wives of workmen are quoted as disapproving of the government unemployment dole as tending to promote shiftlessness. Women showed much interest in the argument of the Conservatives for a tariff as helping unemployment, and in the counter Liberal and Labor argument that a tariff would produce an increased cost in living. Free trade won by a large majority, in which the women's vote is conceded to have been important.



A Good Example

ENGLAND now has eight women sitting in Parliament, three Conservatives, two Liberals and three members of the Labor Party—a "respectable representation," the *New York Times* calls it. It is a record that may well fill American women with envy.

There are many issues before our Congress in which women are especially concerned. Such questions as the Federal Child Labor Amendment, the Minimum Wage bill for women, the proposed Cabinet Department of Education, and especially the World Court, are very close to the hearts of women of both parties.

It is unquestionable that a group of women representatives in Congress could do much to further such measures, especially as women of opposite parties find it more easy to drop partisanship and work together for common ends than do men. Practically all women's organizations are behind the measures just mentioned. With representative women of high standing and proved ability sitting in Congress their work would be vastly more effective.

To elect a woman to Parliament is far easier under the British system, which permits a person to represent a district in which he does not live, than under ours, where a person must live in the district which elects him. But in England as in the United States, the political parties are not easily persuaded to nominate a woman for a district in which as the candidate of the party she is sure to be elected.

As has been explained before in the *CITIZEN*, English women of all parties have combined to persuade party leaders to permit the election of certain women to Parliament. Is it not time that Republican and Democratic women leaders in the United States should do the same thing? Have they not secured enough influence to persuade party councils, both Republican and Democratic, to nominate women in districts where they would have at least a fighting chance for election?



Seeing America

IT is hard for this country to weigh its blessings at this holiday time without seeming to say, "Oh Lord, I thank thee that I am not as other men are!"—so much more security and prosperity have we than almost any other country in the world. At peace—with no menace hanging over us; prosperous—certainly with actual prosperity enough for all if we managed it rightly; the year ahead, by most prophets, bound to be a good year in business; a standard of living for labor that is simply incredible elsewhere, and a high percentage of employment.

This, of course, is generalizing. The dark spots are easy to see—the farmers' serious distress, child labor, the exploitation of cheap woman labor. But, comparatively, there is no question that this country is a paradise.

Realizing that, as the foreign news in every morning's paper compels one to do, it is a good thing to translate "Noblesse oblige" into the obligations conferred by wealth, prosperity, happiness. If, with our vast power to help heal the world's wounds, we turn aside from the opportunity, we are nationally the priest and the Levite who went by on the other side, leaving the man who had fallen among the thieves to his sufferings. Nor are "pouring in oil" or "binding up wounds" enough. Beyond that, real world fellowship would mean united effort to make that "road to Jericho" safe for all travelers.

Childhood for Children

IF we could have just one Christmas gift for the world, probably we should all say Peace, with our first thought on that open wound to peace in the Ruhr. If we were asked to choose just for our country, perhaps we should say, a sure way to stop child labor. Congress can give us nothing better than that. As CITIZEN mothers prepare to make the regular Christmas happiness for their children, it will not hurt them to stop and think of—

Loyd, who at four has picked as much as sixty-four pounds of cotton in one day—the youngest cotton picker in his Texas county. Or—

Frank, who helps his father and brothers in the beet-fields—creeping on hands and knees over the rough ground, or bending over and pulling . . . and almost never going to school. Or—

Alice, who is twelve and lives in a dirty city tenement where the laws about children's work don't bother much. She embroiders before and after school—at a penny apiece for a simple design on the front of a gown worked in two or three colors. Sometimes she makes five dollars a week.

Such as these are the reasons why so many women want from Congress—more than they want almost anything else—an amendment that can be used to give childhood back to these children—and their thousands of brothers and sisters.



Dr. Nansen's Message

A TRUE apostle of peace, and a vivid personality, is the Norseman who is just finishing his visit to America—Dr. Fridtjof Nansen. By virtue of his prowess as a North Pole explorer, Nansen carries the glamour of adventures among icebergs into the unknown. But of late years Nansen's concern and life work have been different altogether. As the League of Nations delegate to repatriate a million or more war prisoners; as its high commissioner for the relief first of Russian refugees, then of refugees from Asia Minor, and last as the man in charge of bringing about the economic reconstruction of Greece, Dr. Nansen's business for three years has been healing and rebuilding. And those who know him say that through it all he has kept sane and human, despite his keen sensitiveness to the horrors into which he has plunged.

The message of a scientist who has known the world's after-war woes up close, of a man whose heart and mind and will are all big, is worth hearing; Dr. Nansen believes wholeheartedly in the League of Nations as the one hopeful center in the European situation; believes that America's presence in the League would have saved much of the trouble and turmoil. Of the present situation in Europe he says: "There will be no solution of the problem of the Ruhr and reparations and no peace in Europe, until force is abandoned and an agreement reached with the consent of all the parties and which all the parties genuinely desire to carry out." In a word, Dr. Nansen's message is, "Good will alone can heal the world."



The Recreation Cure

HERE is a heartening bit of news, cut by one of our contributing editors from *Playground*. The Police Justice of Passaic, New Jersey, wrote to the Recreation Commissioners of that city, and said:

"A study of juvenile delinquency in the city of Passaic reveals that there has not been a session of our Juvenile Court since November first of last year. A few boys have been before the Police Court, but these have been old offenders or lads from neighboring cities. The winter program of your board started early in November at three different schools and Recreation Hall, and it is my firm belief that these social and

recreational activities are responsible for this decrease in juvenile delinquency and the discontinuance of the Juvenile Court."

May all Juvenile Courts fall into disuse by the same sound and wholesome means.



Community Christmases

THE community Christmas tree seems to have struck deep strong roots since we first marveled, a few years ago, at its strange fruit of lights and a star. And the idea of community celebration not only about the tree but in other ways, has grown steadily, supplementing, or better still, taking the place of the smaller church, school or club celebrations. Surely, if there is any time for taking in the whole town, it is at Christmas, and it is only natural that an effort to create more "peace on earth, good will toward men" at holiday time should make for finer community expression all through the year.

Last year Community Service (315 Fourth Avenue, New York) launched a new idea for celebrations in several towns—a twentieth century adaptation of the medieval miracle and morality plays (the original theatre) which creaked about on carts from inn courtyard to courtyard. Holiday pageantry was presented on a traveling stage in several places. At two points in Boston a beautiful pageant was given atop the truck theatre of Boston Community Service—colorful pictures of the Nativity, interspersed with carols and hymns sung by the audience. In Dothan, Alabama, a pageant on floats was carried to different parts of the city—a softly lighted simple Nativity tableau, a Santa Claus scene—all ending in carol singing around a lighted holly tree.

Many cities have recently revived the charming old custom of the "waits"—traveling bands of carolers, who stop and sing at every home where a lighted candle in the window signifies a wish to hear them: at hospitals, old folks' homes, and the houses of shut-ins. The community carolers in Denver last year carried lighted trees into the darkened wards of the hospitals, singing as they came. Christmas really ought to be town-wide, and such programs and pageantry heighten the sense of friendliness and sharing which is essential to make any town a real community.



IT is getting close to Christmas now, and many people are watching anxiously for the hoped-for amnesty to the remaining political prisoners. Now thirty-two—only a fifth of the original number—are still behind bars, but the length of time they have suffered makes their release the more urgent. The details of long suffering, especially of those who are ill, is a dark chapter to those who have taken the trouble to find out the facts. A thick pamphlet collection of editorial opinion in favor of amnesty—taken from a huge total—has been published recently—an impressive showing of the general will in this business. Any one who wishes to make his own will clear should ask the President not to overlook this Christmas gift.



CITIZEN readers, surely, need no exhortation to include some of the world's needy in their Christmas lists. This year the great new appeal is for the hungry children of Germany, two million of whom must be fed. "Whoever may be at fault, it is not those who will go hungry," says Mr. Hoover. On another page you will find a brief list for your convenience. All such appeals are confessions of human failure; but until we can build better, we must mend.

What the American Woman Thinks

The Senator and the Citizen

By Harriet Burton Laidlaw

Vice-Chairman, Woman's Pro-League Council

YEARS ago, Secretary Hay spoke in sorrow and bitterness of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate as "that morgue of all international hopes." How he would have "ragged despairing" if he could see the wretched thing now! Never has the obvious intention of the members of that Committee to play their own political and self-seeking games been as blatantly exhibited.

The League of Women Voters nationally under the leadership of its Foreign Relations Committee has been doing one of the most outstanding pieces of work in the history of that purposeful organization. During a certain week in October deputations went to every senator in the United States. These deputations were very carefully selected, outstanding Republican women interviewing the Republican senators and similarly Democratic women waiting upon the Democratic senators. These interviews sometimes lasted an hour or two. In many cases they constituted a fine, sincere clearing-house of opinion on international affairs, especially upon our entrance in the World Court, but in many cases the amount of bunk and hokum that was uttered, the red herrings that were trailed across the paths of the women who spoke in these conferences, was unbelievable. It is to be regretted that in place of the hundreds of women who attended these conferences, thousands could not have been present, for every woman came away from such of these conferences as were at all disingenuous with her thinking clearer and her purpose stiffened.

Wishbones vs. Backbones

Two things were urged by the League of Women Voters deputations and must be urged upon the senators by hundreds of other organizations and hundreds of thousands of individual citizens—our entrance into the World Court this winter, which involves their promise: one, to vote for this measure; two, to vote to discharge the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate from further consideration of the World Court proposal if it is not reported out in reasonable time, say in January or February.

All over the United States men and women are holding meetings in which noble sentiments are being uttered about world peace, our entrance into the World Court, and the present-day re-

sponsibility of the United States. Such meetings are characterized by an intensity of desire that the United States shall take its proper place in international organization for world safety, but nothing happens. It remains one of the quaint old expressions of futility, whereby it was suggested that people would get ahead faster if "they would depend upon their wishbones less and their backbones more."

What we must realize in the forthcoming campaign for the World Court is that no matter how noble the utterance of ideals, how large the meetings, it is all waste motion if it does not reach the political mark. Definitely the political mark is: letters and telegrams showered in upon the President of the United States, Calvin W. Coolidge—holding up his hands, encouraging him in his advocacy of the World Court, and helping him to see the demand for still wider international co-operation; upon the Secretary of State, Charles Evans Hughes, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, Henry Cabot Lodge. But that is not enough. No political stone must be left unturned. A political network of influence, a political urge whose push will be irresistible, a flaming fire of public opinion which will smoke out the smug, self-seeking politicians from their fastnesses—all these things are demanded by the tense exigencies of the situation.

Let us remember that at one time there was no intention of calling the Arms Conference of 1921-22. The project after having been broached was given up. The powers in Washington became a little afraid of the "entanglements." Then came that nation-wide campaign for the Limitation of Armament—literally millions of communications rained in upon the Washington offices. This sort of thing is evidently the white man's and the white woman's burden in actualizing democracy—until another decade or two has trained up representatives who will represent, without being beaten and driven into doing so.

What other political action must we take then if we are worthy of that franchise which has been wrought out through the ages by the martyrs of liberty; if we are worthy the guardianship of the youth of this present generation; if we shall not richly deserve the terrible reproach that may well be heaped upon our heads by a future generation who will realize that this was the time and this the opportunity to safeguard the future peace of the world?

In addition to writing to the three

executive heads of our Administration mentioned above, in addition to keeping unremittingly after each United States senator, state by state, we must make every congressman feel his responsibility to bring influence to bear upon the senators from his state. Every one knows that the "delegation" in Congress is the representatives and the two senators, that there is a great deal of running back and forth between the two houses. The running back and forth is frequently on very local, log-rolling, pork-packing issues. Let us see to it that some of the "running" is done on the subject of the World Court. Senators are elected by the whole state. If every time a congressman comes home, if every time two or three are "gathered together" in his district, he hears from them on the World Court; if every minister in his district preaches a sermon or has a meeting in his church and sends a resolution and a shower of personal letters from such a gathering, he is going to "run over" and see the senator and he is going to rub his perplexed head and remark: "Say, Senator, those people back home are just after me all the time. There's nothing that I hear more about than this World Court, and they all say that I must try to do something to get you acting on the subject." There are 435 members of the House of Representatives. If 300 of them were moved to camp on the trail of their senators on the World Court question, something would happen.

Begin at Home

Furthermore, there is a special piece of work for this year. That is, to begin to interview delegates to the national convention as soon as may be, pledging them to as wide an international plank as possible in the party platform. It needs a good wide plank to take us over the international chasms today.

But this is not enough. By a comparatively small individual local effort, a tremendous political pressure can be brought to bear further "back home" than that. Every member of every state Republican and Democratic committee must be visited. A network of influence from party leaders, campaign contributors and prominent voters must be established. Moreover, to make the work thorough—and again remember this is not going to be burdensome—all county committeemen of the leading parties must be bombarded. The other day in a speech I made this

remark, and a wise old politician with a twinkle in his eye said: "Now you are talking!" The county organization is the bulwark of the political party.

Think of the issues at stake. Isn't a definite concerted effort like this worth while? If you belong to an organization of only fifty women, *district* those women by congressional districts. If they all live in one congressional district, let them talk as citizens of *that congressional district*. Let no gesture be lost. Talk the language of the politician and the office-holder. There is no time to-day for lost motion. Everything that we do must count. Be determined, be implacable; do not be afraid to be called dogmatic. Remember that this question, for instance, of the World Court is practically not a controversial question, either in its historic bearings in these United States, or in its present portent. Do not be frightened at those who speak to you in pious reproach against your "impugning motives"—that invidious phrase has backed down so many people who are pursuing a path in "righteous sincerity."

Mrs. Winter, the national president of the Federation of Women's Clubs, recently wrote a wonderful letter to the club presidents of the United States, in which she spoke of the question of World Peace as "the subject nearest to women's hearts."—It is near to our hearts but let us strive to see that it gets nearer to our heads! Subtle, clever, treacherous leadership wantonly blind to national honor or to world safety is again raising its head in this land.

There is no doubt that women earnestly and often prayerfully desire world peace, but it is also certain that they do not feel the personal responsibility for it that they should, and that they are often futile. It is simply because we have not a lively, day-by-day working sense of what democracy means, of what a republican form of government, a representative government like ours, does and can mean. It is a thing to inspire every simplest man and woman in the United States—this realization of political power.

All the real political power there is in spite of the highly evolved rings and political organizations and "influences" at state capitals and in Washington, is us. The plain, unadorned fact is that there is just one medicine for all the ills of democracy, and that is the "vote back home." There is just one bitter dose that will cure the moral iniquity of those senators who have played politics with the solemn urge of international responsibility for the United States; and that is the medicine of retirement—defeat at the polls.

There has been nothing in our history so criminally irresponsible as this determination to make a party football of pressing international matters. It is humanity's life and death. The co-

operation of the United States is the keystone of world peace and welfare.

Use every bit of political influence you have. Write to your congressman to get pressure to bear on your senator. Talk to the county and state committeemen of your political party. Form around yourself a network of influence to bring pressure to bear where pressure counts—that is through political channels. If enough voting citizens of these United States will exercise this passing, casual influence which resides in them as voters, our servants in Washington will know that they have either got to do an honest job on this question or we will hire someone else to do it. If we are in earnest, we will have what we want. Is there anything that we want that counts compared with our need of sound international co-operation?

"One for All"

By Helen Fraser

English feminist, who put up a good fight at the recent election

THE United States is today the most prosperous and one of the most powerful countries in the world. Its women are voters, as are the women now of twenty-four other countries, and their power can be used to great ends in a distressed and distracted world. The desire of every thoughtful woman is a world at peace, a world at work, a world discovering more and more of the wonder and majesty of its destiny, a world in which the material power we control will be used for the good of all, a world of happy homes and free peoples.

Are there any truths by which women can hold—any courses of action, political and social, they can follow that will help to give us these? There is one great fundamental truth worth clinging to all the time, no matter how dark the way and how far off the facts of life it often seems—the truth that unity is one great secret of the universe. We are, to use the word of that wise mystic, the Lady Julian of Norwich, "oned" to God and to each other, and we know that the highest wisdom is to love one's neighbor as one's self.

Therefore, women who are good nationalists will realize, as Edith Cavell said, that "Patriotism is not enough." They will be good internationalists also. They will, also, if they possess that proportion and wisdom that gives humor, the salt of life, be wise enough to know that "the other fellows" among the nations cannot be expected to see truth only in our way.

Truth has many facets, and the nations work toward unity in diversity, not to dead uniformity.

So we will exercise a wise tolerance,

born of understanding and charity.

We know, too, that only by the substitution of reason (and I would add love) for force can we climb higher. The supreme challenge here to our civilizations is whether we are going to be wise enough to have reason manifested in law, expressed, unified and accepted internationally. Can we finish what Rome, mother of law, began? Some of us believe we must if we are to go on without breaking up civilization again. Then, clearly, as one of the practical steps to our ideal, the women of the world should put their power behind the International Court of Justice, the most profoundly important and hopeful of all international structures of today.

Our wisest policy is to seek all the time for what women and the nations can do together in the world. Discovering points of agreement in individual, national and international life is a happier and a better thing than looking for causes of dislike and antagonism, and constructive things we can do together are not far to seek. There is suffering and distress to be alleviated. America has already done much in this. There are diseases to be eliminated, slavery to be wiped out finally, dangerous drugs to be gotten rid of, civilized standards in industry to be established and maintained. The whole field of human life needs our united wisdom and effort.

The United States goes inevitably on to its great destiny among the nations. Its power is already great, its possibilities of doing good as great. Its women can be trusted to take their share of its great duties and responsibilities.

The Monroe Doctrine: The Other Side

By Alice Stone Blackwell

"Who Needs No Introduction"

THE hundredth anniversary of the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine has called out various expressions in its praise. Every one has had a chance to read them. There is another side to the matter, and our women have a right to hear it.

As proclaimed a hundred years ago, the Monroe Doctrine set forth that the United States would regard it as an unfriendly act for any European power to try to extend its system of government in the Western Hemisphere, or to seek to "oppress or control" the new and weak Latin-American republics. Those republics hailed it with joy, and it was a strong factor in promoting good feeling between them and the United States.

In more recent years the interpretation of the doctrine has changed. The

(Continued on page 28)

The Woman Voter

(This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

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The Joint Congressional Committee

THE Women's Joint Congressional Committee held its annual meeting and election on November 19 in the national clubhouse of the American Association of University Women. The officers, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman, Mrs. Ellis Yost, treasurer, and Mrs. Arthur Watkins, secretary, were unanimously re-elected. After the meeting the committee entertained at dinner a company of women who illustrate the great advance women have made in public affairs and how clearly the interests of women transcend politics.

The diners fell naturally into three groups: First, women who hold high official position under the Government: Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, Civil Service Commissioner; Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt, Assistant Attorney General; Miss Grace Abbott, chief of the Children's Bureau; Miss Mary Anderson, head of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor; Miss Anita Phipps, director of welfare work of the War Department; Miss Lucy Minnegerode, director of nurses in the Public Health Service; Dr. Louise Stanley, director of the Bureau of Home Economics of the Department of Agriculture. It is interesting to recall that these women have been appointed by more than one President and are of more than one political faith. The several tributes they paid to the services of organized women as aids to the welfare work of the Government in general and to bureaus in particular was a further evidence of the value of the woman point of view in public affairs and a testimony to the practical worth of the joint committee's program.

Women of high rank in the major political parties made up the second group. Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, vice-chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee represented one party, and Mrs. Marion Bannister, who spoke for Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, represented the other. The third group of women was made up of the representatives (and their alternates) of the seventeen national organizations of women included in the committee.

The chairmen of the three standing committees, the Lookout Committee, the Admissions Committee, and the Publicity Committee made their reports, after which reports on various bills were made by the chairmen of subcommittees having them in charge. The reports showed the position of each measure at the end of the last Congress, and made recommendations for procedure in the present Congress. The principal work of the subcommittees of the Joint Congressional Committee this winter will concern: the amendment

to the Constitution giving Congress power to regulate and prohibit child labor; the entrance of the United States into the World Court; an amendment to the Home Economics Law to promote vocational education; the carrying out of the Reclassification Law affecting the Civil Service; further compulsory education in the District of Columbia; a measure for physical education; a social hygiene measure; a measure for the custodial care of Federal women prisoners; a uniform marriage and divorce law, and appropriations for the Children's Bureau, the Women's Bureau, and the carrying out of the Maternity and Infancy Act. A subcommittee of representatives of eleven organizations was formed to oppose the so-called "blanket" amendment to the Federal Constitution. It is the opinion of the subcommittee that the amendment would be a step backward since it might operate to nullify the special protection given to women by such measures as the eight-hour law, provision for special accommodations for the women workers, age of consent laws, widows' pensions, etc. Some authorities believe that even the Sheppard-Towner Act for the welfare of mothers and infants would be nullified by such an amendment.

A new standing committee was created to study, through state organizations, the fashion in which measures worked for by the Congressional Committee are enforced in the states. Just as the Lookout Committee watches for measures before they become laws, the new standing committee will observe the results of measures enacted into laws. The next meeting of the Joint Congressional Committee will be held December 17.—ANN WEBSTER.

Policies and Raw Materials

Mrs. William G. Hibbard, director of the fourth region, has secured for the WOMAN VOTER the following summary by Hazel M. Cornell, of the round table, conducted last summer at the Williamstown Institute of Politics by the Hon. William S. Culbertson, vice-chairman of the United States Tariff Commission.

THE political world today thinks in terms of the nation. The statesman's policy is directed wholly toward obtaining national security for his people. This security is based upon economic factors. Whenever the factors which obtain security for one nation come into serious conflict with similar factors of another nation, difficulties arise for which war has appeared to be the only solution. Frequently wars have seemed to be the result of personal and political conditions but if traced to their sources, they will be found to have been the "natural consequences of forces arising out of the processes of production, trading, and financing."

To think, then, of outlawing war by mere agreement that war shall not be is a naive conception. War cannot cease until the cause of national conflicts is removed. Since national conflicts are the results of national struggles for control of markets and raw materials and of new opportunities for the investment of capital, the preservation of world peace depends upon a complete understanding of the economic basis of society, and through this understanding, upon the building of some structure which can adjust economic disputes before they reach the acute stage of political estrangement.

The first factor to be considered in discussing the economic basis of society is economic imperialism, or capitalistic expansion. The outstanding feature of the modern business nation is imperialism. To further this, nations have erected discriminatory tariff barriers, sought foreign markets for their excess production, created spheres of influence, and obtained concessions in distant lands. They have tended,

either through actual investments of government capital or through protection of private enterprise, to make themselves economically independent of every other nation. They have felt their existence as a nation to depend upon this independence. To such a degree is this true that the philosophy of the national mind has formulated this dictum: the power of the state depends upon its control of sources of raw material and of markets, upon its colonial possessions, and upon the investment of capital in economically backward countries. To protect their economic empire, thus created, nations have built up vast armaments which have completely overbalanced their national development along other lines. They have defended and justified war on the ground that it is the only means by which they can keep intact the economic empire upon which their security rests.

The second factor to be considered is the actual geographic distribution of necessary raw materials. The following digest of ten of the fundamental products of world commerce has been prepared by Mr. Culbertson himself. The percentage is based on the part of the world supply thought to exist within the boundaries of each of the countries. Where the world supply could not be used as the unit of comparison, world production for 1914 or 1923 is substituted.

Iron Ore and Coal

Iron ore is widely distributed. The steel industry, however, which rests on iron and coal, is controlled in three areas: the United States, Great Britain, and the Franco-German areas along the Rhine. The production of iron ore in metric tons in 1920 was reported as follows: United States, 68,690,000; France, 13,922,000; United Kingdom, 12,911,000; Russia, (in 1913) 9,514,000; Germany, 6,373,000; Spain, 4,768,000; China, 1,490,000; Italy, 390,000. The production of coal in metric tons in 1920 was: United States, 515,886,000; Germany, 252,391,000; United Kingdom, 233,216,000; Japan, 30,820,000; France, 25,300,000; China, 19,485,000; Russia, 6,162,000; Spain, 5,973,000; Italy, 1,724,000.

Petroleum

The United States at the present time produces approximately seventy per cent of the world's supply of petroleum. Production of different countries in 1920 (barrels of forty-two gallons) was: United States, 442,929,000; India, 8,375,000; Japan (including Formosa), 3,226,000; Russia (average for 1909-13 under old boundaries), 25,430,000; France, 356,000; Germany, 246,000; Canada, 196,000; Italy, 35,000; England, 3,000.

The political and economic significance of petroleum, however, rests not in the present annual production, but in the control of petroleum resources. The contest among nations is for future production. Great significance therefore attaches to control of oil deposits in the Near and Middle East, the Dutch East Indies, Latin America, and elsewhere.

Potash

Before 1914, Germany was monopolistic in production of potash. War conditions stimulated production in the United States, but these sources of supply have so diminished as to have little effect on the world market. As a result of the Versailles Treaty, Alsace potash beds were transferred to French ownership and their product is becoming an important factor. (The bulk of potash produced in the United States in 1920 came from lake brines and molasses waste.) In 1922, Germany produced about 1,650,000 short tons of actual potash, Alsace 225,000 tons, and the United States only 11,714 tons.

Rubber

Before 1900, the world's rubber supply came chiefly from wild areas of the Congo and the Amazon. Since that time, the production from cultivated plantations has increased till this source now furnishes virtually the whole supply. In 1920, Brazil produced 30,790 tons of rubber and the East India plantations, 304,800 tons.

Wheat

The world production of wheat ranges from three and a half to four billion bushels. The United States is the greatest

producer, producing, with Canada and Russia, most of the world's hard wheat. The average production of Russia for the years 1909-13 was 522,794,000 bushels. The 1922 crop for the principal wheat countries (in bushels) was: United States, 810,123,000; Russia, 522,794,000; Canada, 388,773,000; British India, 308,187,000; France, 235,380,000; Italy, 163,629,000; Australia, 132,282,000; Spain, 125,908,000; Germany, 69,655,000; United Kingdom, 60,800,000; Japan, 26,495,000; New Zealand, 10,565,000; Union of South Africa, 8,689,000.

Nitrates

The only natural deposit of nitrate of soda of commercial importance is in Chile where outputs since 1910 have approximated 3,000,000 tons annually. Prior to the war, more than eighty per cent went to Great Britain, Germany, and the United States for the manufacture of munitions. During the war there was a considerable increase in the proportion of nitrogen produced by fixation processes. The world's output of pure nitrogen in 1917 (in tons) was: Chile, 383,000; Germany, 413,000; England, 112,000; United States, 76,000; France, 53,000; Italy, 40,000.

Cotton

The United States is the largest producer of short and long-staple cotton. In 1920, the United States produced sixty-eight per cent of the world crop. In the same year, the United States produced 1,317,000 bales of long-staple cotton as compared with about 1,000,000 bales produced by Egypt, the next largest cotton producer. In extra long-staple cotton, Egypt exceeds the United States in production. Cotton production in bales of 478 pounds in 1921: United States, 7,954,000; India, 3,360,000; China, 1,175,000; Egypt, 837,000; Brazil, 612,000; Peru, 157,000; Mexico, 126,000; Russia, 95,000.

Copper

The United States produces more than half the world's copper and in addition has large interests in Canadian, Mexican and South American mines. In 1918, Chile ranked third in production and has vast resources. Japan has never produced much more copper than would supply domestic needs, and has limited deposits. Principal producing countries and their outputs in 1918 (tons): United States, 853,000; Japan, 94,000; Chile, 84,000; Mexico, 74,000; Canada, 52,000; Peru, 44,000.

Manganese

Manganese alloys are used in the manufacture of steel by the open-hearth and Bessemer processes, producing ninety-nine per cent of United States steel. The largest known manganese deposit is in Southeastern Russia in the Caucasus. Deposits occur in India, Brazil, Chile, Spain, and Austria-Hungary. Relatively small deposits have been exploited in the United States, Great Britain, France, Japan, and Cuba. Production of chief producing countries in 1918: Russia (1913), 1,310,000 (tons); India, 526,000; Brazil, 351,000; United States, 311,000; Chile, 3,000; Spain, 78,000.

(To be concluded)

Work for Peace

DURING the week which ended with Armistice Day, a window exhibit of the Ramsey County (Minnesota) League was enjoyed by all St. Paul. The local League Committee on International Co-operation, with Mrs. A. J. McGuire as chairman, secured the use of a book-shop window in the most crowded shopping district. Half the space was given up to a stage setting of the World Court with the eleven judges represented by eleven dolls in white wigs and black gowns. A doll dressed in national costume represented each of the countries in the court and opposite the group they made, were five dolls representing the nations, including the United States, which have not come into the World Court. The other half of the window showed a war scene with toy soldiers and toy cannon on a miniature battle field. Justice, tall and stately, stood at the back of the scene with a globe encircled by the slogan, "Law not War." Inside the store, League women took signatures to the World Court petition.

Elsewhere in St. Paul store windows were dressed in honor of World Court Week and merchants gave up space to petition booths and signature collectors. The League gave precinct teas to discuss international friendliness. A prize of ten dollars was offered at each of the city's four high schools for the best essay on the World Court, and the College of Agriculture on request prepared a "no decision" debate on the same subject. More than 23,000 peace sticker stamps were sold.

The Webster Grove (Missouri) League with the help of the Kirkwood League and other organizations of women, and the churches, held a community peace celebration of Armistice Day in the Ozark Theater, with a peace pageant by the students of Loretto College. The peace work of the Missouri League was not ended when stamps had been sold and sermons sent out, nor even when two luncheons had been given for the discussion of international relations. The League is giving a series of lectures which began on Tuesday, November 27, and continues on every following Tuesday till March 4 when Dr. Roland Usher is to discuss imperialism and war. Other speakers in the course are Dean Scarlett, of Christ Church Cathedral, St. Louis, Percival Chubb, of the Ethical Culture Society, the Hon. Charles Nagel, Professor Manley Hudson, of the Harvard School of Law, Mr. Frederick J. Libby, of the National Council for the Prevention of War, Miss Ruth Morgan, Mr. Bertrand Russell, and Mr. John Raeburn Green.

In Richmond (Virginia) the League co-operated with the Federation of Churches and the Y. W. C. A. in a special service at St. Paul's on Armistice Day, with a half-hour service on four days of the week which followed, to give further emphasis to the need of international understanding. The Virginia League was first to send a delegation, with representatives of other organizations, to Washington to present a plea for the World Court to its senators.

In Wisconsin, League Armistice Day plans were carried out in many different places. In Neenah there was a union church service and Mrs. E. E. Lampert, on the part of the League, urged the signing of a World Court petition which was placed in a convenient place near the exit door of the church. In Janesville the League asked each clergyman to have the three-minute "Woman's Plea" read. In Columbus, where there is no League, Mrs. J. Russell Wheeler saw to it that the plea was given to each pastor. The Wheeler children sold eleven dollars' worth of peace stamps.

In Sheboygan, Eau Claire, Prairie du Chien, Superior, Hartland, Menomonee Falls, and in the larger cities there was a spirited selling of stamps, a special Armistice Day service, and work for the World Court. In Oshkosh the League exercises at the First Congregational Church brought out a congregation of 350 and 700 signatures to the World Court petition were secured in the town. A mass meeting of 400 women added its strength to the appeal.

Appleton, Minnesota, is a small town but it gets tremendous things done. On Armistice Day there was a free dinner in the armory, served to fifteen hundred persons from the town and the country round, and it is safe to say few of them went abroad that day without seeing the window exhibits arranged by Mrs. Bertha Dahl Laws, who is chairman of the state League's Committee on Living Costs. Mrs. Laws used two windows of her husband's drug store. One of them was dressed in miniature reproduction of a cemetery of Flanders. There were forty-eight graves, each with its tiny white cross and its cover of real-looking green sod made of sweeping compound. Small red tissue paper poppies bloomed among the graves. In one corner of the window was a large cross of white draped with an American flag and on the deep red of the curtain which served as background to the scene were the words, "Lest we forget." In the other window, a large American flag was the background for a forty-foot disk which Mrs. Laws had covered with muslin on which she drew in colors the peace sticker stamp. The completed disk was mounted on wood and set in the middle of the window with a

large red candle at each side and flags of all nations in standards at the base. The effect, everybody who saw it says, was beautiful in the extreme and as impressive as beautiful.

It is not possible to detail the work of every League, but a prearranged program which bids fair to become the Armistice Day standard was followed in many states.

California's New Booklet

THE relation of women to the financing of national and state programs is in about the stage of the wife who takes any money from her husband with a thankful heart and no knowledge of whether the gift is all she deserves or not. Women plead for legislation requiring adequate financing in order to be successful, and then must plead further for the funds. In the program of the Committee on Education of the League of Women Voters is elementary practice in finance through the study of school budgets, in themselves a very small part of the total budget of many states, but also in themselves complex enough to illustrate most of the problems and difficulties of budgets in general. The League is trying in every way possible to state the complexities in terms understood by the average woman, and to make studies of school budgets comprehensible to the average woman, by giving her a simple plan to carry out. The League hopes to lead groups of women throughout the country to understand school finances so well that they will know what to do when school budgets are threatened by legislatures.

A notable example of the preparation of material of this sort by women comes from the California State League in a booklet of forty-three pages selling for twenty-five cents, entitled "A Study of California's Method of School Financing." The material is divided into eight lessons planned for eight monthly round tables. Each of these eight lessons consists first, of general principles, and second, of suggestions for study and investigation, divided into six or seven questions, each question to be assigned to a different member of the round table for study during the intervening period. At the end of the booklet is a short bibliography fundamental to an understanding of school finance in California, as well as the comparative place of California in the United States in this field. The more pressing school problems which indirectly would make it possible for the group to rate the school system of their own community, are put.

The understanding of the sources of school support, taxation and the disbursements of the three types of school funds, seems difficult to most women. This is simply outlined in the first thirty pages. The importance of equal educational opportunity for all children and how it may fail to be provided in districts within the state, despite an excellent plan of raising state funds, is also shown. State aid, county aid, the source of county school funds and their distribution, and the part that state and county aid to local districts plays in the high rating of California's educational position is made clear.

In Lesson 5 the district funds and sources and disbursements give the background for the efficiency of the individual school. The remaining three lessons discuss the development of excellence within the school system as a result of proper financing, and the relative drain upon the budget which these various excellencies justly make. How to judge the relative importance of various expenditures is an important thing to know.

A sufficient number of trained teachers is basic to a successful educational system. Retrenchment at the hands of the Governor this year was made in the teacher-training budget. One dynamic lesson is given to this matter.

Lesson 7 explains the cost per pupil and the so-called increasing school expenditures as compared with the increased public wealth.

1909—1.39% of national income was spent for education.
1910—1.35% of national income was spent for education.
1911—1.43% of national income was spent for education.
1912—1.46% of national income was spent for education.
1919—1.35% of national income was spent for education.

The basic and most justifiable school expenditures are for, first, teachers' salaries and training, since the success of the school is derived from the qualities of the teacher; second, cost of school buildings, to make them sanitary for the sake of health and attractive for the sake of standards; third, increased social efficiency of the school to meet the necessities of life in this century.

Not only how our schools are financed but whether they are adequately financed is the significant point of this booklet. MARIAN KINNEY BROOKINGS, Chairman Committee on Education.

Leagues and League Work

TO MAKE perfectly sure that no official remains in ignorance, the Atlanta League through its executive board has sent to the mayor of Atlanta, the clerk of the city council, the chairman of the city Democratic committee, and to the county ordinary, a copy of a League resolution calling attention to the fact that the Georgia assembly of 1922 passed the Australian ballot bill and that necessary subsequent recommendations by the grand jury have been made. No election which does not comply with the terms of the new ballot law can be legal in Fulton County and since little has been said of the change, the League thought it possible, as the resolution states, that "this matter may not have come to the attention of proper officials." They are all aware of it now.

WOMEN of Montana are not at all disturbed because they have a territory as large as all New England to work in and fewer folk to work with by nearly 200,000 than there are in the city of Boston alone. Still less are they dismayed because working means doing innumerable things all by one's self. Mrs. E. K. Bowman, for example, who as *Women Voter* readers know, is campaigning for international co-operation to prevent war, through all the churches in the state, through the women's clubs, the W. C. T. U., the labor unions, and other organizations, does single-handed all the work of mimeographing, addressing, stamping, to say nothing of getting up the letters and programs and sending out pamphlets and other materials. She does it all, too, with an eye to economizing every sheet of paper and every postage stamp. She has the fire of a crusader in her blood and manages somehow to look after a house, a husband, and five children, without neglecting anybody. Mrs. J. W. Scott had charge of the Education Week work and is getting out a report, with suggestions from the state superintendent of public schools, on the rural school situation—taxes, educational effort, facilities, etc. Mrs. Scott has three children and a husband to look after, and no outside help whatever in her League work. But that, so the woman who tells the news says, is the way they go at things in Montana—it's something in the climate.

THE Nashville (Tennessee) League did better than give a first voters' party. It called a pre-election meeting last month with Miss Isadore Smith, who is one of the year's new voters, in the chair, presiding because the League thought a new voter ought to be asked to preside. She introduced the men speakers who talked on the duties of the various offices for which candidates were contesting, and the women speakers who were Mrs. Claude Sullivan, describing the League child welfare program, and Mrs. John M. Kenny, state president, whose subject was the World Court. There was a "get acquainted" session for voters and candidates after the speaking and candidates who had been too shy to explain themselves clearly earlier were informally given another chance.

THE report from the St. Louis League is that when the four-weeks "Harvest Drive" ended last month, the team captains brought in enough "sheaves" to double the League membership, which was the object of the drive. The prize-winning membership team was headed by Miss Faye Johnson and the credit of securing unaided the greatest number of new

members goes to Mrs. H. A. Helle whose score was 204. The drive was going so extremely well when the appointed date for the end of it came that the League decided to keep on at it for another week and to bring it to a final close when Miss Katharine Ludington, national treasurer, came to town.

THE convention of the Louisiana League ended with a banquet at the Roosevelt Hotel in New Orleans, November 20, which was in effect a dinner of candidates. Mrs. D. E. Brown, state League chairman, who presided at the convention, is a candidate for the state legislature, and Miss Tinette Lichtenstein, an active League worker, is a candidate also. The men guests included Colonel Bartholomew Crayfish, who is a candidate for governor, and other aspirants for the same office, and each one came prepared to answer all the questions League women wished to ask.

"THE Reluctant Voter" is the title of an exceptionally interesting article by Martha Boswell in the November issue of the North Carolina League's *Monthly News*. In addition to being entertaining reading the brief paper has so much good advice, much of it obviously the fruit of experience, that campaigners in the get-out-the-vote crusade will find it a valuable addition to their textbooks. To the same issue, Dr. A. T. Mason, of Trinity College, contributes a paper on proportional representation with descriptions of the Hare plan and the so-called "list" system.

MRS. FREDERICK MOSHER, vice-president of the Baltimore League, was an interesting and interested neighbor who dropped in at the convention of the Delaware League at Wilmington last month. Miss Florence Harrison, regional secretary, made her first appearance and speech at a Delaware convention, and Miss Ruth Morgan gave two addresses. Mrs. A. D. Warner, of Wilmington, was re-elected president. The Delaware League sponsored a school of citizenship which was held at the Women's College, University of Delaware, November 21-23, with Dean Winifred J. Robinson in charge.

THE Minnesota League Committee on International Co-operation to Prevent War, which Mrs. Boyd Nixon, of St. Paul, heads, has organized a number of new round table groups, and in Moorhead, and Northfield, as well as in St. Paul, a question as to the history of our recent relations with Mexico, Central, and South America is included in the list which deals with the outlawry of war, the World Court, and international co-operation in general.

THE League of Women Voters of the Territory of Hawaii which was formed and affiliated with the National League a year ago, has taken active part in a Hawaiian election. Questionnaires were sent to fifty-five candidates before the primaries and all but three or four of them came to League open meetings and courteously replied to questions asked. Mrs. Gertrude D. Bunker is president of the Hawaii League and Mary E. White is secretary.

THE Norfolk (Virginia) League celebrated World Court Week by a special meeting at the Y. W. C. A. rooms on November 13, with Mrs. R. C. Whitehead, third vice-president, in the chair, and representatives from the neighboring Leagues, of Portsmouth, Cradock, South Norfolk, Virginia Beach, and counties near-by sitting with the local League women.

THE Boston League, in co-operation with Boston University, is giving another course of twenty lessons on laws every woman should know. The first lecture was given at the College of Secretarial Science, Wednesday morning, October 31, and the last lecture is scheduled for March 28. Torts, domestic relations, bankruptcy, landlord and tenant, common carriers, and evidence are some of the major topics in the course.

World News About Women

News From Abroad

ACCORDING to the *Medical Woman's Journal*, the Minister of Labor of Spain has drafted a bill to establish a provisional system of maternity benefits until a permanent compulsory maternity insurance society, subsidized by the state, can be organized. Spanish legislation now grants a rest before and after childbirth to all working women, including some employed in agriculture, but does not provide for any maternity benefit.

JUGOSLAVIA'S women are organized and working for the good of their country. An incident which happened not so long ago points the direction. After the war the need of giving protection to the "socially weak" was felt in Yugoslavia and a Ministry of Social Politics was founded. In an attempt at economy the Government is now going to abolish certain of the ministries, and among them falls that of Social Politics. But the Yugoslav National Federation of Women object. They have held a plenary session and drawn up the following resolution in protest: "The National Women's Federation, representing one hundred and ten women's societies, which, from the beginning of their work, have looked after the protection of children and of all the socially weak, demand from the Government and Parliament that the Ministry of Social Politics be not abolished. The most elementary justice demands that the many children whose parents were either killed or disabled in the war, the disabled themselves, and finally, all other socially weak, from whatever reason, must have one state institution which shall be responsible for the care of them.

"At the same time, the National Women's Federation demands that the ministry be thoroughly reorganized, freed from party influence, and the whole direction of the ministry given into the hands of women."

AFIRE company made up entirely of women is said to be Japan's latest boast. Aosuna is their field of action, and all the women are from twenty to thirty.

IN the November 17 *CITIZEN* we announced the appointment by the Minister of Labor in England of a committee to investigate domestic service conditions there. The report now appears in *Time and Tide*. The causes for the shortage are classified under five headings: (1) Necessity of, and lack of, facilities for training. (2) Question of status. (3) Psychological aspects. (4) Hours and conditions of employment. (5) Defects of the pres-

ent system of distribution. The committee's suggested remedy is to train girls while they are young, for they contend that to train adults already engaged in some other occupation can never be expected to produce substantial or satisfactory results. They make three recommendations: (1) Instruction in domestic science in all elementary schools for every girl between the ages of twelve and fourteen. (2) Instruction in domestic science carried to a further point for all girls in central and secondary schools. (3) The provision of advanced scholarship or funds for girls desirous of completing a specialized training.

New Tasks for New Women

MADAME JULES JEZEQUEL, who is now visiting America, has a long list of accomplishments behind her. She was educated at the Lycée Fenelon and the Sorbonne, then spent a year in England and Germany. In 1913 she was a member of the French Council of the World Alliance, and attended their meetings in 1914, 1920 and 1922. She founded the first canteen opened in Paris in December, 1914; was founder of the Union of Frenchwomen against Alcohol; a member of the Central Committee of the League for the Rights of Women and very active in the Union for Women's Suffrage, serving as vice-president of the Paris group. Her mission in America is to ask its women to help the French women in working for the peace of the world through a universal, democratic and strong League of Nations. "Men alone will not succeed in killing war; they want all the women of the whole world in to the rescue."

MRS. Henry B. Needles, of Granite City, Illinois, has announced her candidacy for the State Legislature on the Republican ticket. The primaries in Illinois will take place next April. Mrs. Needles has always been active in politics and is now president of the Twenty-second Congressional District Illinois Club of Women Voters. Perhaps her enthusiasm dates from her childhood promise to Susan B. Anthony to be interested in suffrage.

ETHEL M. COLMAN will now answer to the title of Lord Mayor of Norwich, unless some one thinks up a more reasonable label. Miss Colman is the first woman to attain this office in England. She is a deacon in the Congregational Church and a Sunday-school

teacher. Her father and her brother have both held the chief magistracy of the city, so city ruling is not unfamiliar to her.

DR. S. Josephine Baker, of New York, has recently been appointed Consulting Director in Maternity and Infancy and Child Hygiene of the Children's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor. To New Yorkers Dr. Baker needs no introduction, but the rest of our readers may not know of her twenty years of pioneer work for the welfare of the mothers and babies of New York. In 1908 Dr. Baker organized the Child Hygiene Division of the New York City Health Department—the first bureau of its kind to be established in the United States. Under her supervision the infant mortality rate in New York dropped from 144 per thousand live births to 75.

MISS OLGA ANNA JONES, editor of the *Ohio Woman Voter*, president of the Columbus, Ohio, Y. W. C. A., who does a number of other useful social tasks besides, was reelected last month to the Columbus City Council.

DR. JANE WALKER, of London, has been for some weeks in this country investigating our tuberculosis sanitariums. She is one of the most noted specialists on tuberculosis in England. In her private sanitarium near Colchester she cares not only for her own patients but for a hundred pre-tubercular children from the London Board Schools. Dr. Walker has lectured as well as studied during her weeks here. The Medical Women's Association of New York City gave a dinner in her honor.

In the Interest of Children

ANATIONAL Children's Amendment Committee, made up of fifteen national women's organizations, has been formed to win favorable action on the proposed Constitutional amendment enabling Congress to enact a federal child labor law which will give Congress power to limit and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age. Local committees of women are to be organized in every congressional district to put the proposed amendment before their respective members of Congress. The urgent need of this action is driven home by government reports, which show that 1,000,000 children from ten to sixteen years of age are working in factories and mills; and nearly 400,000

between ten and fourteen. Nine states have no law prohibiting children under fourteen from working in both factories and stores. Thirty-seven states allow children to go to work without a common-school education. Fourteen allow children under sixteen to work from nine to eleven hours a day, two have no daily hour regulation at all. Five have no protection for children under sixteen from night work.

ENGLAND, so we learn from the *American Child*, has a much better record. In 1922 only 496 children under fourteen applied for examination under the factory act for certificates of fitness to leave school and become "industrialists." This meant a decline over 1921 of 92.2 per cent. The credit should go to the educational board, which at the commencement of 1921 put in force the clauses of the education act of 1918 relating to child employment.

AND while speaking of children, another organization working in their behalf should be mentioned. It is the **AMERICAN CHILD HEALTH** Association. Its latest literature about the "Runabouts in the House of Health" is as fascinating as it is instructive. Here rules for the perfect care of a child can be found, all mixed in with pen-and-ink illustrations which will serve as incentive for co-operation from the child himself. The booklet is divided into seven chapters, and deals with children between two and six. The first chapter is "On the Threshold." Then it takes each phase of his everyday life—in dining-room, kitchen, bedroom, bathroom, living-room, and play-room. With the booklet comes a "Week of Meals for Children From Two to Six Years" and small and large charts on which to keep a record of his height (from one month to nineteen years) and weight. For mother there is a "Study Outline of the Pre-School Child" which can be used as the foundation for a Pre-School Study Circle. The Outline approaches this period through eight different channels: his characteristics, his needs—divided into three groups (food, house, work and play); his health—keeping him well and first steps when taken ill, his day, and his place in the community.

Organization Doings

FOR eleven months a birth-control clinic has been in operation in New York. Under the ruling of Judge Crane in 1918 it is within the law in giving information to married women in order to protect their health or to save them from bearing sickly children. At a recent meeting of the American Birth Control League the head of the clinic reported that nine hundred

cases had been accepted by the clinic and twice that number turned away.

FOR those in the Metropolitan district, the New York League of Business and Professional Women have planned an attractive program during the winter at their new home, 25 East 39th Street. Classes in auction bridge will be held on Monday evenings and dancing taught Saturday nights. Weekly dinners on Thursday, with prominent speakers, will be another feature. Musicals and book reviews will be given Sunday evenings.

ONE hundred thousand dollars to help Southern girls, temporarily or permanently in the North, in their careers, is the goal of the newly formed New York Auxiliary to the Southern Women's Educational Alliance. The Alliance, which has been in existence in the South for nine years, has helped more than ten thousand girls, giving advice regarding vocations, or, where necessary, funds. This new branch, whose president is Mrs. Charles Dana Gibson, marks a turning point in the history of the Alliance, for its success will result in a further extension of the organization.

*To a Baby—Beside Our Christmas Tree
Thine eyes unto a tinsel star are turned,
And we, who fain would follow their wide
gaze,
Are carried back to look through lifted
haze
Where o'er another Child a great light
burned.*

*And was He then in every way like thee—
In helplessness and mystery the same?
To that wee Thing the eager Wise Men
came!*

The miracle of Christmas Eve I see.

Florence McDowell

THE National League of Women Voters is staging a contest—closing January 15—to find out the best list of books on current questions which should be in any intelligent woman's reference library. Each contestant may make two lists—one allowing for the expenditure of \$25 and the other \$50. The books and pamphlets named must be trustworthy as to facts and must not savor of propaganda for any cause. Only League members may compete. Names of persons submitting lists must not appear on the manuscript but must be clipped to it in a sealed envelope.

A NATIONAL illiteracy conference has been called by the Department of the Interior for January 11-14. The National Education Association, the American Legion, and the General Federation of Women's Clubs will co-operate with the United States Bureau

of Education in devising a program which will work toward the elimination of adult illiteracy in every state. The question is a serious one, for there are nearly 5,000,000 men and women in the United States who, according to the latest federal census, can neither read nor write.

What Club Women Want

By LESSIE STRINGFELLOW READ

ON convening this month, Congress finds the 3,000,000 members of the General Federation of Women's Clubs especially interested in the passage of six measures and the defeat of one. The six favored include:

The Child Labor Constitutional Amendment.

The Uniform Marriage and Divorce Amendment.

The creation of a United States Department of Education with a secretary in the President's Cabinet (heretofore known as the Towner-Sterling Bill). This department is deemed necessary by the organized women of the country as preliminary to a successful campaign toward the elimination of illiteracy.

The modified Immigration Bill.

The bill opposed by the women of the country is the Snyder Bill, which is considered the successor to the Bursum Bill (concerning the Pueblo Indian lands), defeated upon the General Federation's initiative during the last session.

One more bill holds especial interest for organized women and unorganized—the Blanket Amendment. While in theory all members of the General Federation believe in equal rights for men and women, the **Blanket Amendment**, in the opinion of the majority of the Board of Directors, who are believed to represent sentiment in their states, is considered at this time somewhat too drastic, for the reason that it will nullify certain legislation for which the General Federation has worked for years—legislation which is believed needed to protect the laboring class of women, who cannot protect themselves. This protective legislation includes special legislation now affecting women in industry, inheritance, rights of wives, mother's pensions, punishment for rape, and many other laws which would in the various states become complicated and impossible to enforce should the Blanket Amendment be adopted.

According to a ballot of State Federation Directors, as announced by Mrs. Edward Franklin White, Chairman of Legislation in the General Federation, not one state director voted to favor the amendment, and only three or four believed no action should be taken. The remainder expressed themselves as opposed to the amendment.

The Christmas

TO puzzled Christmas shoppers, the publishers carol gayly, "Give a book!" But giving a book means so much more than just that. A careful giver of books must know the taste of her friend as well as the content of the book. She gives with it something of her own personality, so that she must always be prepared for a surprised, "Well, I never thought Jane was that kind of a person!"

Remembering all those nice adjustments, and exciting risks, here is a group of books of many kinds, together with their contents, and a hint of the likes and dislikes which they will, and won't, fit. Our business department calls over the partition that the CITIZEN will be delighted to shop for any of them for you.

Three volumes of short stories are unusually interesting, alike in that all of them stand up under the test of reading aloud, but totally different in everything else. Dorothy Canfield says she has tried a new kind of literary form in *Raw Material*. "I have set down in it," she writes, "just as if I were noting them down for my own use, a score of instances out of human life, which have long served me as pegs on which to hang the meditations of many different moods." The result is a kind of story-sketch, vivid, full of personality, ranging in locale from Vermont to Paris, and in theme from comedy and kindly satire, to suggested tragedy. They interest people who like to watch an active mind roam around among the traits of widely varying characters.

Julian Street's *Cross-Sections* scarcely needs introduction to those who know his delightful typewriter. Eleven short stories make up the book, deftly written, touched with satire which is merry in the "Jazz Baby," broadens to farce in the travesty of a "passionate serial," and deepens to savage irony in "The Silk Hat." Because they conform to the magazine formula, they have more action and less introspection than those in Dorothy Canfield's book. They are a clever and workmanlike finished product.

May Sinclair's *Uncanny Stories* differ widely from either of these collections. They are ghost stories, depending for their effect not on sighings and clankings of chains, but on problems of human relationship which they raise. A murder, a wife who wouldn't stay dead, the "wages of sin," and last, May Sinclair's Kantian heaven, provide nicely varied interest. More discursive than most of Miss Sinclair's stories, their edges aren't as neatly trimmed. Their owner should be a person who is not unhappily sensitive to the supernatural, and who lives by an inquiring



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mind rather than by religious dogma.

Novels lie around in all assorted sizes, styles and subject. Two are "first novels," though one of these carries a name well known to magazine readers. Harper Brothers' recent Prize Contest was won by an unusually good first novel, Margaret Wilson's *Able McLaughlins*. It is the story of Scotch immigrants in the far-flung Iowa farmlands before the Civil War, of winter blizzards and summer lushness, or Scotch thrift and suppressed fierce emotions. With all this goes a quaint twist of humor that makes you chuckle over the very "nearest" of her people.

Fannie Hurst's *Lummox* is her first novel, though she is a prolific writer of short stories. It is the saga of a flat-faced peasant household servant of Slavic ancestry and New York birth, an earth woman, of the dark people, inarticulate, loving beauty, understanding all the elemental things of life. She moves through the most sordid surroundings, giving life to all who touch her, a sort of earth mother renewing out of her great depths the shallow and the fevered. The story marches very much like life itself, with little sense of ordered and climactic progression. In that, as in its feeling of deep reality, the book is reminiscent of the great "Dittie." Indeed it is only a little something which keeps Miss Hurst's book from meriting that same adjective. Perhaps it is over-writing, perhaps a feeling that Bertha is a bit "too much so." But the book is distinctly worth reading and worth giving.

Panting and still damp from the press comes Jesse Lynch Williams' *Not Wanted*, bringing with it the astonishing story of its appearance on the Christmas book stands. First printed about the middle of November in a current magazine, a member of the Scribner firm read it casually, then excitedly. Within five days of the first conference with Mr. Williams, the story had been made into a small and attractive book. Whoever gives or receives it will understand the publishers' excitement and be grateful for their unprecedented speed. It tells the story of Junior and his famous father, who first did not want him, and then, longing for his affection, did not know how to

Bookshelf, by M. A.

win him. Simple, vivid, with a depth of understanding and a sincerity of sentiment that are rare and fine, it seems to explain by implication so many sons and fathers who don't quite "hit it off." And with all this, it is that rare thing in current fiction, a truly distinguished short story.

"*Jean Huguenot*" is Stephen Vincent Benét's new novel. Departing entirely from the autobiographic cast of his former books, it is the story of a vivid, wistful Southern girl whose beauty has a flame-like appeal for the moths it beckons. She is full of the love of life and of love, spending both with no heed for conventions. In spite of its sometimes sensational character, the book has an essential sincerity which asks for breadth of understanding. It should not be given to a scourger of "that shocking younger generation."

For lovers of the wistfulness of Irish literature, the vivid illogic of Irish life, and the inimitable inner humor of James Stephens, his *Deirdre* has a fresh delight. The story of that lovely and troublous girl is an old Irish folk tale, older than Queen Mab herself. In Stephens' hands it keeps its mystic, dawn-like quality, and yet becomes intensely human. To read *Deirdre* is to understand Ireland with the heart instead of the mind.

Four books of poetry and a play round out the Christmas shelf. First comes Alice Brown's *Ellen Prior*, a poetic narrative of high tragedy, almost Greek in its stark simplicity and its sense of a moving fate, which she, ingrained New Englander, calls by the name of the One God. Without the insistent beat of Masefield's couplets, clearer than Robinson's tangled beauty, this is a thoroughly satisfactory poetic narrative drama.

Truth o' Women is Josephine Daskam Bacon's feminine Spoon River cemetery. Her poems are the expression of dead women, able now to tell their truths. They are interesting always, strangely uneven, sometimes sharply aphoristic, sometimes long and diffuse. Frequently they laugh at themselves, even in their honesty. Perhaps their chief value lies in their expression of feminine viewpoints.

A slim gray volume bears in red its title *After Disillusion*, and the name of a poet new to formal publication, Robert Wolf. Demure contradiction lies in the book's color scheme, for it is the red-printed title which is, misleadingly, gray. These poems are no quiet backwater after disillusion. Rather are they in full strength and vigor, gorgeously assertive, trumpeting a new phi-

losophy, which is to say illusion. They have beauty and power, wry satire, honest passion, and a current of religiosity strangely beautiful. They also have verse that is trivial, and lines that are unsatisfactory, but those unfortunates are the rare exception. Those friendly folk who are interested in the present, and the future, of young poetry cannot afford to miss this.

John Drinkwater's *Preludes* have a beauty all their own, a beauty of limpid verse and love of land. They have a quality which captivates their reader to forgetfulness of cold radiators, lowering skies, and city din.

His "Robert E. Lee," recently played in New York, comes in interesting contrast to the earlier "Abraham Lincoln." This Lee is a thoughtful, beloved man, slow of speech, caring greatly for his men and his country, but first of all for Virginia. His definition of war is specially interesting in view of the present campaigns against it. "War," he says, "is the anger of bewildered peoples in front of questions that they can't answer." The play is particularly readable, carrying with it the imaginative sense of its own action.*

National Power

(Continued from page 9)

prosecuted accordingly. He was appealing the decision on a writ of error. One of the first questions to come up in the trial concerned the authority of Congress to establish a bank. Nowhere in the Constitution is there an express reference to such an institution. Marshall, however, sustained the right of Congress so to act by evolving the theory of "implied powers," that is, that the Constitution did not enumerate in detail all possible actions of Congress, but merely the ends for which the Federal Government was established. "Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited but consist with the letter and spirit of the Constitution are constitutional."

From this beginning the judicial expansion of the Constitution has been enormous. Meat inspectors find themselves stationed in slaughter houses of

the big meat companies in Chicago by virtue of the fact that Congress has been given power to regulate interstate commerce. The line of reasoning that has made possible this development has been this: Congress has power to regulate interstate commerce. Therefore, Congress has power to prevent the use of interstate commerce in a way injurious to the people. It follows that it has the right to prevent any injurious food products from being carried in such commerce. Therefore, next, it has the right of inspection. And the right to determine how that inspection shall be carried on, and the right to enact rules and regulations for the enforcement of its object. Thus a simple grant of power to the national government to regulate commerce between the states has grown by implication to mean the right of the national government even to send federal inspectors into the abattoirs where the cattle are slaughtered.

More "Implied Powers"

By a similar process of reasoning the Federal Government's jurisdiction over navigable waters enables the national authorities to purchase forest reserves. The postal clause empowering Congress to establish post offices and post roads has been the means of putting in jail swindlers in oil stocks and other bogus enterprises. One will search the Constitution long without finding even a remote reference to such procedure. The pure food and drug acts, the meat inspection acts, the federal trade commission act, the anti-trust acts, the federal reserve act, the rural credits acts, the Mann white slave act, the Harrison narcotic drugs act, the federal water power act, all exist by virtue of powers found only impliedly in the Constitution. How far this doctrine has been developed can be seen from the last named act. Federal control over navigable waters has been extended so that we find New York complaining that it covers water-power projects on practically all streams in the state, large and small, except brooklets. Somehow there seems to be some inconsistency, for where water power is developed there must be falls, and where falls exist navigation is likely to be slight.

Without question the expansion of federal power through implied powers has been greater than in any other single way. It is not, however, the whole story. Simply by virtue of its power to expend money, with seemingly no provision in the Constitution upon which to hang its expenditures, the Federal Government has still further broadened the scope of its activities. It is difficult to see, even with the most liberal interpretation of the Constitution, upon what provisions a great part of the recent development rests. Upon what clause of the Constitution, for example, can the appropriation of money for the eradication of the boll weevil, or the cattle

tick, be constitutionally justified? Is the power to fix weights and measures constitutional warrant for laboratory experimentation on leprosy? Where is education mentioned in the organic law or in the nineteen amendments thereto?

How great has been the expansion of federal influence by this method, is difficult to say. Certainly it is true that the bureaus and divisions established by virtues of only the appropriating power are today spending more money than did the entire Federal Government in the days of its founders.

A recent development of this type of expansion has taken the form of grant-in-aid. A grant-in-aid is a subsidy by the Federal Government with certain strings attached. For example, to those states which in 1923 would duplicate the grant, the Federal Government appropriated \$125,000,000 for roads. The money was to be divided among the states, one-third according to rural population, one-third according to area, and one-third according to post-road mileage. The roads could be built, however, *only in accordance with plans and projects approved by the Bureau of Roads in the Department of Agriculture*. Thus although the states have doubtless been benefited, the determination of questions of policy in this particular has, in a measure at least, been transferred from the state capitals to Washington.

Grant-in-Aid

The policy of grant-in-aid has thus far had only slight development. Besides the Federal Aid for Roads Act, already mentioned, the Smith-Lever Law (carrying an appropriation of \$6,080,000 for the encouragement of agricultural extension work in 1923) followed the same principle. The vast majority of the states accepted its provisions and a further portion of state sovereignty was transferred to the Federal Government. The Smith-Hughes Act, carrying an appropriation in 1923 of \$4,623,000, designed to stimulate vocational education, operated upon similar lines. Of a similar nature was the Industrial Rehabilitation Law, appropriating \$1,034,000 for the current year. Even greater was the supervisory power demanded and obtained by the Chamberlain-Kahn Act. In it the Federal Government practically dictated the passage of particular laws regarding venereal disease before the subsidy could be obtained. The last step in this development has been the Sheppard-Towner Act, which is designed to promote maternity and infancy hygiene.

Those who advocate the system of grant-in-aid do so upon two grounds, administrative and economic; and upon the same two grounds is it opposed. Its proponents maintain that by means of this administrative device it is possible for the Federal Government to bring the entire nation to a fairly high standard and to stimulate lines of develop-

- Raw Material: Harcourt Brace, 1923. \$2.00.
- Cross-Sections: Doubleday Page, 1923. \$2.00.
- Uncanny Stories: Macmillan, 1923. \$2.50.
- The Able McLaughlins: Harper, 1923. \$2.00.
- Lummock: Harpers, 1923. \$2.00.
- Not Wanted: Scribner, 1923. \$.75.
- Jean Huguonot: Holt, 1923. \$2.00.
- Deirdre: Macmillan, 1923. \$2.50.
- Ellen Prior: Macmillan, 1923. \$1.50.
- Truth o' Women: Appleton, 1923. \$1.50.
- After Disillusion: Seltzer, 1923. \$1.25.
- Preludes: Houghton Mifflin, 1923. \$1.25.
- Robert E. Lee: Houghton Mifflin, 1923. \$1.50.

ment beneficial to the nation. They point out that very few functions of government, health, education, agriculture, road building or what not, remain a matter of mere local or state concern, but that every one of them reacts upon the nation. An epidemic of plague in Florida is now a serious matter for Philadelphia and New York. The loss of the cotton crop in Mississippi would cause hardship to the mechanics of Boston. Hence they firmly believe that activity on the part of the national government is entirely justified. In the system of grant-in-aid they see the device which will accomplish their purpose. Everywhere will federal influence be felt. Those regions too poor to maintain an efficient administration, or to develop on modern lines, will find themselves enabled to do so through the federal subsidy.

A Remedy for Inequality?

There are those, also, who view the development from the point of view of redistributing the wealth of the country. They are not Socialists but consider themselves realists in economics. Their interpretation of the present system of distribution of wealth is somewhat as follows: The farmer, laborer, manufacturer, distributor, and capitalist, all contribute something of value to the production and distribution of goods. The return each group gets for the effort it expends (*above a certain minimum of existence*) depends upon the relative strategy of the position the group occupies. Of all the groups engaged in the production of goods those least strategically situated, so they believe, are the farmers and laborers. Thus, these economists maintain, the return to these classes above the minimum of existence is little indeed. With this philosophy it is quite evident that huge incomes are credited not to the value of the contributions made by their recipients to society, but to the strategic positions which enable them to take "what the traffic will bear." There is only one institution more strategically located than these vested interests, so these economists argue, and that is the government.

Hence they support the system of grant-in-aid, for they see in it a partial remedy, at least, for the injustices of distribution under the present economic order. The system of grant-in-aid does have this effect, for federal revenue is derived largely through the income tax, which is levied upon the principle of ability to pay.

The fact that such is the effect of the system has caused the vested interests in the Northeast to protest against it vehemently. Already the exalted doctrine of states' rights has been roused from its slumbers. Is it just that New York should pay 26.65 per cent of the income tax, Pennsylvania 11.05 per

cent, Massachusetts, 6.45 per cent and see that money used primarily to benefit other sections of the country? they ask. Grants-in-aid, needless to say, are not given to the states in proportion to the taxes they pay, but roughly according to their needs. Hence the point is well taken. One fact, however, should be noted. The *average* New Yorker, or the average member of any state, does not pay one whit more in taxes nor receive back one whit less return than does the inhabitant of any other state. The only persons who are taxed more heavily are those whose incomes are above the average. The great fortunes and those only!

The opponents of the system point also to certain dangers potential to it. Grants-in-aid, they say, stimulate centralization. Centralization breeds bureaucracy. Bureaucracy contains elements of danger. The history of Germany alone is sufficient to substantiate their point. So the argument goes.

Two questions very naturally arise. Has centralization been wise? Is a further development along the lines of grant-in-aid desirable? To the first the answer is: It has been inevitable. As local problems have developed a national character, some organ of government has had to arise to cope with them. To the second question the answer is only to be found in the consideration of a great many facts, too many to be set forth in an article of this character. And so the reader must attempt to find her information in other sources.

Perhaps the best source of information on grant-in-aid is some articles written by Paul Douglas in the *Political Science Quarterly* for December, 1920.

The subject of the next article—December 29—will be Home Rule.

Washington

(Continued from page 12)

reform which has highly gratified civil service experts at the capital. During Woodrow Wilson's administration, by executive order, postmasters were selected according to civil service rules, the highest rating receiving the appointment, with, however, the four-year term prevailing. Under President Harding, also by executive order, one of the first three was appointed, making it possible for politicians again more nearly to control the selections. The Coolidge recommendation goes another step farther in what is considered here as most courageous civil service reform. The President further recommends that the field force for prohibition enforcement be placed under the civil service.

Alaska

After all the travail; the high-class inspection, investigation and report on the ground; the sacrifice of President Harding and the expenditure of considerable money—this is all that was said by the President about Alaska:

"If our Alaska fisheries are to be saved from destruction, there must be further legislation declaring a general policy and delegating the authority to make rules and regulations to an administrative body."

Army and Navy

No more reduction of army and navy. Some strengthening.

Philippine Islands

Nothing definite for or against Philippine independence.

Child Labor

Recommends constitutional amendment. Also minimum wage law for women in all cases under jurisdiction of Federal Government. Advocates a separate department and a place in the Cabinet for education and allied subjects of welfare.

Immigration

Continue a policy of restricted immigration. Have inspection of immigrants at the source. Favors a law requiring the immediate registration of all aliens.

Veterans

Refers to a prospective report on the veteran situation and legislation to be made to Congress by the American Legion. Recommends stimulation of rehabilitation. Flatly opposes a soldier bonus in ten words.

Coal

Does not favor government ownership or operation of coal mines. Refers to the report to be made to Congress by the Coal Commission. The President's plan is as follows: "The supply of coal must be constant. In case of its prospective interruption, the President should have authority [legislation] to appoint a commission empowered to deal with whatever emergency situation might arise, to aid conciliation and voluntary arbitration, to adjust any existing or threatened controversy between the employer and the employee when collective bargaining fails, and by controlling distribution to prevent profiteering in this vital necessity."

Reorganization of Government Departments

The President and the Cabinet approve the plan submitted by the special joint committee and the President hopes that it will be enacted into law at the present session.

Agriculture

Agriculture on the whole is in a thriving condition. Poor prices prevail for range cattle and there is some distress in the wheat sections of the Northwest and West. The President's grasp of the situation is economically sound, say the experts. "Wheat acreage was greatly expanded and has not yet been sufficiently reduced," he said. He follows the Meyer-Mondell report in cautioning against radical plans and says that the

farmer can do a great deal to help himself, while recommending the greatest assistance the country can give in furthering agricultural organization, comparable to organization in other industries and in labor.

Muscle Shoals

Recommends that the great Government power plant there be sold and that the Congress appoint a small Joint Commission to report regarding offers and negotiations.

Elaboration of the foregoing, particularly in its fiscal aspects, is contained in the President's budget message to Congress which followed, and was the result of the stupendous work of Secretary Mellon, the other Department heads, and the Bureau of the Budget in compiling the balance sheet for the Government.

The reading of the annual message precipitated the capital into a whirlpool of activity. Congress is to proceed for thirty days only, under the agreement reached between Mr. Longworth and the leaders of the progressives, Representatives Nelson and Cooper, under the old rules, during which time the reform platform will be presented and Congress launched in the fight. The Senate at present is in the background, but only for the moment, for the direct challenge for the World Court sent today by the President will reawaken the Foreign Relations Committee and when that Committee begins to spin, the Senate is in action. The Foreign Relations Committee is in the odd position of having been relieved by death and the elections of many of its open-minded members. The isolationists and stand-patters are left. Senator George Wharton Pepper and Senator Lenroot, of Wisconsin, both talked of as possibilities for the Committee, would add leaven but the slate has not yet been made up.

Christmas Appeals

WITHOUT making any attempt to furnish a comprehensive list, here are a few addresses for Christmas giving, gleaned from appeals on our desk.

The *Near East Relief*, 151 Fifth Avenue, New York. It cares for thousands of orphans—Armenian, Syrian, Greek, etc.

The *American Women's Hospitals*, 637 Madison Avenue, is making a special Christmas plea for its medical work in the Near East, well known to CRITIZEN readers.

The *American Friends Service Committee* at 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia, receives money to feed German children. General Allen's Committee for the Relief of German Children is underwriting the return of these Quaker relief workers to Germany for the winter feeding period, November 5 to April 16.

For the *American Mission to Lepers*, 156 Fifth Avenue, a CRITIZEN reader again asks money, to buy a little Christmas cheer for the most tragic of sufferers—in this and other countries. Checks should be sent to Fleming H. Revell, at the above address.

The *National Tuberculosis Association*, at 370 Seventh Avenue (and all over the country) will sell you its cheerful Christmas seals at a penny apiece.

P. S. Help the postman by writing clearly and tying hard knots.

The Will to Health

(Pointing toward New Year Resolutions)

BY GULIELMA F. ALSOP

WILL power has fallen into disfavor. With the emergence of the subconscious into the light of day, and the emphasis upon its various attributes—imagination, reverie, intuition, etc.—the old-fashioned power of the conscious mind has been forgotten. Coué says, "Imagine yourself well and you will become so." If in this imagining, this picture of ourselves as full of a buoyant, contagious vitality, there is an emotional element strong enough to drive us to action, then the imagining perhaps suffices. But the trouble with an emotional drive is its transiency. Today, we imagine ourselves blooming and take our cold shower with an air of conscious pride. But tomorrow, we don't care. Just here it is that will power is needed.

Our children today are well, because they obey the will power of another. Their days are ordered by will power. They get up and go to bed at a stated time. They are not asked if they "feel like" taking a walk. They are trundled out in a perambulator or sent out with a new scooter to play. Their all-day suckers come at the end of their meal. With the result that, today, the children of intelligent parents are as strong and vigorous as any children the world has ever seen.

It is still true that no man by taking thought can add a cubit to his stature. But it is equally true that by a consistent diet of green vegetables and salad and a life that includes exercise in the open air, he can add at least an inch and a half. The reports for the last twenty years of Leland Stanford, Vassar and Smith colleges, show an average increase in the height of the students of one and a half inches, and this in spite of a greater admixture of southern populations with the old pioneer stock.

One of the truisms of the war was the improved figures of the men in the army. Three inches removed from a middle-

aged waist-band was the gratifying result of daily obedience to the will of another in camp drill.

The problem that is presented to us in civil life is that of obeying our own wills. The various campaigns for public and personal hygiene have taught the public the laws of health. It remains for each individual to apply them. Eight hours of sleep at night, two hours of exercise in the open daily with at least two periods of violent exercise a week, a diet predominantly of milk, vegetables and fruit—these things are guaranteed to produce health; but only if taken daily. And it is right here that the rôle of will power comes in. Knowledge about health is quite futile, unless personally applied. The end to be gained is sufficiently desirable, for, without health, at the moment of achievement will come the failure of physical breakdown.

No one should say, "I haven't time to take any exercise. I don't see how I can get it in with my work. I can't afford to take that much sleep. Fresh vegetables are too expensive. It bores me to be thinking about food all the time. I can't have myself on my mind." These phrases are a doctor's despair. The only person who never thinks of herself is a well person. The person with a headache can't help being conscious of it.

This routine of living is hard of accomplishment, especially if one has a job in the city, and demands an intelligent adjustment of time, energy and money. And behind this adjustment must be the set of a determined will.

In curative medicine, when the patient was down and out, in bed with a bad pain, the doctor had the patient's most eager co-operation. In preventive medicine, there is seldom the same satisfactory partnership. The preventive medicine doctor demands of the patient care and attention *before* she feels bad. The appeal perforce, is successful only with the most intelligent.

A Woman's Baton

(Continued from page 8)

Bellingham who played anything. "Now," said Mme. Engberg, "music students are so numerous that Carl Faeltten, the well-known Boston piano teacher, who spends his summers with us, remarked that anyone was conspicuous on the streets here if he did not carry a musical instrument."

From Bellingham, Mme. Engberg went to Seattle, and began to organize the Seattle Civic Symphony Orchestra. The leading musicians of the city were glad of the opportunity to study musical masterpieces and to improve their technique and musical comprehension. Both men and women were eligible to membership and late in 1919 the call to organize a volunteer orchestra was responded to by 110 instrumentalists. For the three years of its existence on



Eskilholm, Stockholm

this basis its programs have included the best music, it has had good soloists, and both community and players have profited. Non-professional musicians had the chance to play the orchestral accompaniments for great soloists and familiarize themselves with the finest music. And the whole field of music was made available to a community which couldn't afford then a high-salaried symphony orchestra.

Mme. Engberg works on the theory that latent musical talent is everywhere waiting to be developed, and in the civic orchestra she sees an admirable means of developing it.

Let no one suppose that developing a community orchestra is an easy task. In its early stages, Mme. Engberg might testify, it practically means private lessons for every performer. But the first need is not to find the few women temperamentally fitted for these exceptional posts, but to make sure of women's admittance into all such musical organizations. Mme. Engberg is not for the all-woman orchestra—certain instruments, like the bassoon, the French horn, and the traps should be played by men, she thinks, but the stringed instruments are essentially feminine. Naturally, she does think that women should be admitted to all symphony orchestras. "The mixed orchestra is ideal and will be universally accepted."

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The Monroe Doctrine

(Continued from page 17)

foreign policy of the United States—which has been alike in this respect under Republican and Democratic administrations—has been, in practice, to regard the Monroe Doctrine as giving us the overlordship of the Western Hemisphere, with the exception of Canada, and entitling us to do whatever we please to our weaker neighbors. In the name of the Monroe Doctrine we have again and again interfered by force in their internal affairs. When we are at peace with them, in violation of our own solemn treaties of peace and amity, we have forcibly deposed their governments, killed their citizens if they resisted, occupied their territories with our armed forces, and ruled by martial law. We have extorted treaties from them by "military pressure," as declared in the official report of our own admiral who applied the pressure. In several of them, we have maintained for years, and are now maintaining, armed forces to keep in power a government which the majority of the people do not want. These things have been done without any mandate from Congress, and often without even the knowledge of the people of the United States.

There is now in Latin America a widespread belief that the United States stands ready to recognize and bolster up any government, no matter how bad, that will grant large concessions to American investors; and to connive at and secretly promote the overthrow of any government, no matter how good, that refuses such concessions. Uncle Sam, formerly looked upon as a big

brother, is now looked upon rather as a big highwayman. The people of each Latin-American republic, remembering Hayti, San Domingo, Nicaragua, etc., wonder if it will be their turn next. In short, in almost all the countries to the south of us the Monroe Doctrine is now a cause of fear, suspicion and hate.

Our women are deeply concerned about the present situation in Europe, and they have reason to be. They should concern themselves, also, about the situation in Latin America, for which we are directly responsible. Fear, suspicion and hate prepare the soil for war.

The WOMAN CITIZEN has a particularly attractive offer of cash commissions and bonuses for new subscriptions in some numbers. If you are not familiar with the terms, please write for particulars. G. F. B.

Holiday Money Thoughts

By Eleanor Kerr

A GOOD slogan to adopt, as we go into the new year, is **SAVE THE SURPLUS**. Many will say that they have little surplus, but this season is a good one at which to look for it. To those in business it is usually a time when the affairs of the fiscal year are brought to a conclusion and account is taken of profit or loss. Bonuses and special adjustments of one kind and another are often paid, while January first is one of the great dividend- and interest-paying dates of the year. Altogether people who have investments are likely to have considerably more funds available around the first of the year than at any other time, or they know definitely that certain extra income will be coming in during the next month or so.

Now is a good time to inaugurate that definite plan of systematic saving, and besides it is possible in many cases to get a flying start by giving one's self a bonus in the form of the investment of the extras. These may be large or small, but every little bit helps and it is surprising how quickly small sums mount up in the aggregate.

Christmas giving may take the form of investment. "Baby Bonds" (the nickname for \$100 denominations) are now issued by many high-grade corporations, and, of course, there is no prohibition against giving \$500 or \$1,000 bonds. Many a reserve fund for the education of children, the building or furnishing of a home, or some other special purpose may be built up in this way, and such a gift is one which not only "wears" but gives to the recipient a gift income each year.

Did you ever stop to think that the interest on a \$100 bond will provide one theatre treat each year?

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Our Readers Say—

We like to have our readers talk. Here is a lady who doesn't agree with Mrs. Park, though she admires her none the less.

I DISLIKE taking issue with our wonderful president, Mrs. Park, whose speeches and messages are an inspiration and a liberal education, but I cannot agree with her recent recommendation to local leagues about getting out the vote. Mrs. Park urges the leagues to a crusade to get out 75% of the eligible vote at the 1924 election and says "if we are really to be a democracy, it is high time we set about it!"

With all our talk of democracy, are we really making America "safe for democracy" by getting out the uneducated, unintelligent vote no matter in what class of society it is found? Are we not simply playing into the hands of the party bosses when we urge people to vote who go to the polls tagged Republican or Democrat for reasons least known to themselves, usually genealogical or geographical? Everybody knows the voter who votes the straight ticket is the joy and the hope of the party bosses and unless we can educate the voters to a knowledge of the issues and an intelligent opinion on their reasons for voting a certain way, aren't we simply adding numerically to the vote without improving the electorate or increasing the chances of better government? At least let us women of the League of Women Voters stand for an informed electorate even though we do not get out a large vote. The vote of a person who doesn't take enough interest to inform himself about the candidates and the issues is nothing more than a "scrap of paper" and adds nothing to the public weal.

HARRIOT T. COOKE.

Orange, New Jersey.

And here's a letter which could start an active ball rolling.

I AM not in a position to do much for the CITIZEN. My years, almost eighty-five of them, are against it, but I hope to do something. I used to take the *Woman's Journal* in the days of Lucy Stone, to whom women now are so much indebted.

Now, may I ask a question? Why is it that so many good suffragists use their husband's christian names instead of their own? Isn't it enough to give up their last name without further encroachment on their identity? I am so glad that the beloved and honored Mrs. Catt is known as Carrie Chapman Catt. Why should an unmarried woman go by the little school-girl title "Miss"? How would a grown-up man like to be hailed by the young boy title "Master"? Why not say "Madam" for both the married and single? Why should the wife wear the marriage certificate on her sleeve while no such distinction is required of her husband? But in mercy I will lay aside my shaky pen, though there is more in my heart to say.

We're glad to publish this letter which gives some farmer and food facts well worth pondering.

THE CITIZEN has asked for food facts. I am a farmer, both in Florida and on the Hudson. The census report ignores my other occupations, such as housekeeper, etc.,

and records me as a Florida orange-grower. As such I do not have to "look up farmer facts." I have plenty at first hand.

The smallest return I ever saw was a check of five cents for a shipment of blue plums from the Catskills. Another shipper less fortunate received a bill of several dollars for transportation charges. Because of the altitude the blue plum is the only fruit the farmers of this locality can raise for market.

In 1915 we received returns of nine cents per box on a shipment of fifty-two boxes of grapefruit. The owners of a neighboring grove received returns of two cents per box. These shipments represented the very best.

Last spring, with grapefruit selling at \$8.50 per box, they would give me only fifty cents a box for it. A cent apiece for grapefruit is what the thieves who are harvesting our crops are receiving from dealers who buy of them in preference to dealing with the growers, who will not accept the penny wage of the thief!

Mulberries retail at 25 cents per quart, yet dealers will give only eight cents for them. After paying for raising, picking and delivering them, what is left for the grower?

It was claimed the epidemic of influenza several years ago had its origin in a lack of fresh fruits and vegetables in the diet. That winter my grapefruit, like the rest of Florida's fruit and trucking crops, wasted on the ground. Some unfortunates had the loss of having their perishable crops rot in the cars, side-tracked for weeks and months, while the people suffered for their lack.

I will give you a single instance of how an industry can be wiped out by an overcharge: At one time St. Petersburg's leading industry was the raising of large shedded pineapples. These are expensive to raise, as pineapples attain a great size only in half shade and require specially constructed buildings called pineries. Neither the East coast nor Orlando could compete with large Smooth Cayennes produced at St. Petersburg, Florida, on the sub-peninsula of Pinellas. My place produced the champion crop of Smooth Cayenne pineapples of St. Petersburg and the largest fruit in Florida. The express charge raised to \$3.00 per crate to Chicago, the best market of shedded pineapples, killed out this important industry, as sometimes pineapples only sold for that.

No pineapples are raised in St. Petersburg now; yet many of our winter residents located here purposely so as to be where the pineapples grew!

A. V. G. THOMAS, St. Petersburg, Fla.
(There's more of this — for another time.)

Shall we let you into the secret that we were sure Miss Peck's article would draw comment—and we wanted it to? We publish two opinions here.

JUST finished reading Miss Peck's article, "Drama for the Middle-Aged," and am going to take up the invitation to "talk back." First and foremost, I was amused by the article itself, which was written in such splendid style, but why lay the blame for deplorable conditions of the drama solely on the playwrights? . . . Doubtless, the history teacher could have found some genuine drama in New York if she had used her judgment to look for it. No one is compelled to go to an entertainment without finding out something as to its plot and character. A seasoned playgoer uses his judgment to pick and choose his entertainment, just as one should to pick and choose clothes or food or literature. What is needed desperately is education to create a demand for the right kind of drama.—RENA J. STERN

I ENJOYED immensely the middle-aged lady and the modern drama—A. E. M.

Adele "Gray Shop"

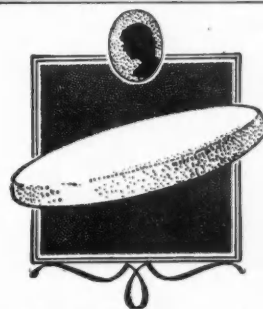


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OUR OWN DINGBATS

HERE it comes again, streets full, stores packed, bells and stars and wreaths showing in shop windows. ♦ ♦ ♦ But where, oh where, is the snow? Not a flake in Our Town yet. ♦ ♦ ♦ We ask you, what can Santa and his reindeers do with such a situation? Must the jolly old fellow exchange jingles for honks, hoofclicks for tires? ♦ ♦ ♦ For us (and we don't care who knows it) Christmas is different this year—since there is a child in the family. ♦ ♦ ♦ Though it is a drawback that he lives across the continent. ♦ ♦ ♦ We hope he'll like the—we sent him. ♦ ♦ ♦ We did. ♦ ♦ ♦ And we may as well say right now we hope you all like everything that happens to you, and everything you make happen at Christmas. ♦ ♦ ♦ May you have the peace of those who sent no gifts they didn't truly want to send. ♦ ♦ ♦ We are much thrilled over the election of eight women to Parliament, but that cannot blind us to the monstrousness of that pie episode. ♦ ♦ ♦ Did you know that on Thanksgiving Day the American Society in London faced—in due course after turkey—a pumpkin pie with a crust? ♦ ♦ ♦ Shades of our foremothers, what a sight! ♦ ♦ ♦ If we are to have true friendship with England, there must be economic sanctions to guarantee that this shall never happen again. ♦ ♦ ♦ We recommend confiscation of one gross of English plum puddings, to be eaten by English residents of this country with syrup! ♦ ♦ ♦ If there's anything wrong with the proof-reading toward the end of this column, it will be because the Citizen has gone *en masse* to the wedding of a former staff member. (Will the office of the National League of Women Voters, which got out a proud story about its office weddings, kindly take note?—though our case is weak compared with theirs, as our bride had to leave the Citizen before she could decide to be one.) ♦ ♦ ♦ The wedding occurs about the same time the printer's gong strikes for our last proof, and this is one function we haven't felt free to try postponing. ♦ ♦ ♦ We haven't been to a home wedding since the fee used to go in our family's pocket, and we fear we may not know how to act. ♦ ♦ ♦ Heywood Broun has raised (and not settled) a question that has long bothered us—why all Chinese restaurants are on the second floor. ♦ ♦ ♦ We want some help on another culinary consideration. ♦ ♦ ♦ A man we know has a violent aversion to parsley. He maintains that all men have, and in the course of developing his denunciations of the innocent leaf, he averred it is often served grated. ♦ ♦ ♦ Ever since we have been picturing the broken fingers of parsley graters. ♦ ♦ ♦ Can any Citizen reader grate parsley painlessly? ♦ ♦ ♦ So Congress is at it again, and every one has read the President's message (or a summary). We overheard two of the w. k. political sex discussing it, in extra-weighty tones, thus: "Just like Mr. Harding's policies."—"Yes. But—who ever heard of Mr. Coolidge before?"—"Well, I'll say he has a chance."—"Yes, I guess he has a chance." ♦ ♦ ♦ We're holding our breath over those contest papers on How to Get Out the Vote, because two of the judges have returned their lots and the third one hasn't. ♦ ♦ ♦ It looks exciting. ♦ ♦ ♦ Well, anyhow, no matter how votes are or aren't got out, MERRY CHRISTMAS.

A Line on the Movies

By LAURA L. LAEDLEIN

LONG LIVE THE KING—A comic opera picture of Mary Roberts Rinehart's story of the little crown prince of Any Land, with florid and funny happenings to the toot-toot-tooting of royal bugles, and the fight that ne'er was seen on land nor sea. A children's picture, with the part of the prince played by Jackie Coogan, that facile little mimic of adult acting, and another boy and a dog ducking in and out. A Metro picture, directed by Victor Schertzinger.

THIS FREEDOM—A novel of this sort—social problem in terms of character—is a little difficult to put on the screen. Choice of incident and especially of text almost narrows the picture-outline to an interpretation, and that may be why this film has a faint flavor of dogmatic propaganda. It makes a woman begin to count her babies a little nervously. The casual critic doesn't quite accept Mr. Hutchinson's endorsement of the picture as the novel's second self. However, it is interesting and fairly done. Fay Compton, as *Rosalie*, has very good moments, notably the business scenes, where she exhales competence and success and untroubled certainty. The *Keggo* who dodged boredom by drink—Athene Seyler—is the best of the fair-to-good English cast. Children will be sitting on the backs of their necks before it is over. A Fox picture, directed by Denison Clift.

THE LIGHT THAT FAILED—Kipling's story—of an artist-war-correspondent who begins to lose his sight just as he turns from popular quick-selling work to his best painting endeavor, and goes totally blind as his first serious picture is finished. An ignorant little model, in a temper, destroys this picture when his sight is too far gone for him to know what has happened. This difficult part—*Dick Heldar*—is fairly played by Percy Marmont. Boys will like the attack of the Arabs on the British camp, but will yawn over art for art's sake the rest of the reels. Might as well yawn at home. A Paramount picture directed by George Melford.

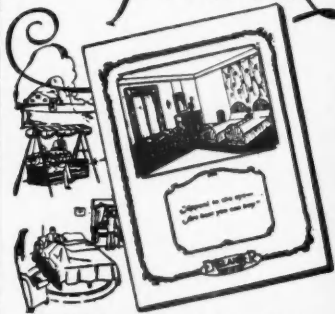
COLUMBUS—This is not historical drama—there is not enough personal story in it—but it is history beautifully dramatized, and not to be missed by children who want to see examination-papers come alive, or by grown-ups who don't want to miss an unusually spontaneous chance to tell their young that they didn't have things like that when they were children. This takes in the family. Produced by the Yale University Press as the first Chronicle of America in their series of that name, it has a scholarly exactness of detail that colors interest in the romantic happenings. A little humor might add to the force of reality. Adapted from "The Spanish Conquerors" by Irving Berdine

Richman, and directed by Edwin L. Hollywood.

TIGER ROSE—This is a melodrama of the north, and a Canadian-French girl, "Tiger" Rose, who doesn't hesitate to spit and claw when a Crown's mounted police tracks down her lover on a murder charge. The man-hunt ends in a cabin by the river, with Irish *Michael* and French *Rose* in an all-night tête-à-tête over her revolver, which he knows "dam' well" she'll fire if he moves. Leonore Ulric plays *Rose* gracefully, gesture accented by expressive hands. Forrest Stanley is as good, as the stubborn police officer. Boys will like the picture—too. A Warner Brothers and David Belasco production, from the Willard Mack and David Belasco stage play of the same name, and directed by Sidney Franklin.

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The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII

DECEMBER 29, 1923

Number 16

News Notes of the Fortnight

Greece—A Republic

GREECE is the latest country to have an upheaval. An election has just been held and at its conclusion George II, King of Greece, and Queen Elizabeth, who is the daughter of Queen Marie of Rumania, were requested to leave the country. The request was made on the initiative of army and navy officers, and the ground of objection is to the whole Glücksburg dynasty. It is blamed with having prevented Greece from making a timely entry into the war on the side of her natural allies, and in general for having been pro-German. The late King Constantine's undesired return after his first exile, it is charged, resulted in the Asia Minor calamity, and the present king is accused of having fomented the recent unsuccessful rebellion. Probably the banishment is actually final, but whether the government will involve another king or a republic remains to be seen. Meantime the Council of Greek Ministers urged former Premier Venizelos to return and take the political situation in hand, with no limitations on his control, and he has consented to come, though with the understanding that he will not become president.

All the changes in policy in Greece since Constantine's first exile have been rather violent, and the Greek people have not yet clearly and unitedly made up their minds what they want.

Henry Ford Speaks

HENRY FORD threw a bomb into the camp of the numerous Ford-for-President clubs by announcing that in no circumstances will he run for President against Mr. Coolidge. "The country," he says, "is safe with Coolidge"—and the President should have every opportunity to attend to his duties without worrying about a campaign.

Both Mr. Bryan and Senator Johnson promptly attacked Mr. Ford, and—despite their differences of opinion on both matters—in much the same tone and manner. Mr. Bryan considers that Mr. Ford has "deserted the masses." Senator

Very Briefly

DECEMBER 17th was celebrated as the twentieth anniversary of the first successful air flight, by the Wright brothers. A gold medal was presented to the surviving brother, Orville Wright, by the National Aeronautic Association.

Switzerland seems to take its elections easily. They are held annually, and the practice is to elect the Vice-president, President, at the end of the year's term. The new chief is Dr. Ernest Chuard, an eminent college professor.

A fight is on against the reappointment of Edward P. Farley as Chairman of the Shipping Board. Many protests, charging inefficiency and inexperience, have been sent to the President.

The Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches has urged that the United States shall either enter the existing League of Nations or shall propose some more effective substitute.

The head of the Moslems of India demands restoration of the Caliph's power, which the Angora Government reduced a few months ago. He claims that the elimination of the caliphate would mean the disintegration of Islam, and pleads that the Caliph should retain the same rank and relation to the State that the Catholic Pope holds.

The contest has begun over the seat in the Senate of Earle B. Mayfield, a Ku Klux Klan Senator from Texas, with every sign that the Klan will put up a stiff fight. A committee of the Senate has been named to hear charges of corruption, and an inquiry will begin shortly after the holiday recess.

Application for review of the impeachment of former Governor Walton of Oklahoma has been made to the United States Supreme Court. The petition alleges prejudice by the Oklahoma Legislature. This is the first instance of the Supreme Court being asked to review the impeachment of a state officer.

President Coolidge has directed Secretary Mellon to withhold the usual Federal road appropriation from the State of Arkansas, pending an investigation into charges that the manner of assessing road taxes in the state is leading to confiscation of farms and proving a burden to the taxpayer.

Johnson intimates that the introduction in Congress of a bill to sell Muscle Shoals to Mr. Ford has something to do with it, and denounces him for changing his mind since he condemned Secretary Weeks and, inferentially, the Administration, last October, when Mr. Weeks permitted the sale of part of the Muscle Shoals project.

The English Puzzle

THE days of discussion that followed the Conservatives' defeat in the recent British election ended in the decision of Premier Baldwin not to resign. The present government will remain in power until January 8, when Parliament opens, or as much longer as it can; it will almost certainly be overthrown on the first vote. Ramsay MacDonald, Labor chief, leader of the next strongest party, will then be called by the King to form a ministry; but as it too will be a minority party, its tenure of office is likely to be brief. Though no coalition seems possible, Liberals will probably vote with Labor on many measures. Labor will hardly bring up the capital levy and state ownership of railways, mines, banks, etc., which are among its chief issues, but which it could not possibly carry. Altogether the English situation is bound to be unsettled for some time to come.

War in Mexico

THE revolution in Mexico goes on, with continued fighting, involving many thousands on both sides. The ranks of the Obregon opponents have been swelling, but President Obregon continues to declare that the "uprising"—he won't allow it the rank of a revolution—will be a failure and will be over by the first of the year. Actual fighting has driven rather close to the capital, and has affected a wide territory. The recent loss of Puebla by the revolutionists seems to point toward Obregon's success, but at the moment rebel forces are concentrated on Mexico City.

The International Commission for the adjustment of the Mexican Government's foreign debt has meantime pronounced operative the plan that has been worked out under the Obregon régime, which indicates its belief that Obregon will win out.

Coming—the Peace Plan

VERY early in the New Year the manuscript chosen in the American Peace Award, as embodying the best plan for the cooperation of the United

States to bring world peace, will be ready for a popular referendum. The press has responded in tremendous volume to the suggestion that they print the plan and a ballot to be voted, nearly six thousand daily and weekly newspapers and magazines of various kinds having signed up by December 20. All manner of organizations will provide for a vote—the ninety that are definitely cooperating with the Award and many others besides, as well as public libraries, universities, etc.

Only the month of January will be allowed for sending out the plan, getting in the vote and tabulating the result. Therefore it will be necessary to move quickly when the plan is released.

The CITIZEN expects to carry the plan, or a digest of it, in the next number.

Mr. Hughes and Russia

IN the President's message to Congress there was a phrase which was interpreted in some quarters as indicating a shade more tolerance toward Russia than had hitherto been shown. It was to the effect that we would be willing to "make large concessions for the sake of rescuing the Russian people." M. Tchitcherin, Soviet Foreign Minister, was among those who interpreted the message hopefully. Under its inspiration, he made a proposal for a conference looking toward recognition by the United States. In response to Mr. Coolidge's declaration that the Soviet Government must not only recognize its financial obligations but abate any active enmity to American institutions, M. Tchitcherin intimated that there had been no recent objectionable activities. Secretary Hughes's reply was a prompt and blunt refusal even to confer. Restoration of confiscated property; assumption of the debts incurred by Russia under the Czar's régime; most serious—cessation of propaganda against our institutions must come first, he said.

In immediate response, Senator Ladd of North Dakota, who favors recognition of Soviet Russia, challenged Mr. Hughes to provide the public with proof of his claim that Soviet propaganda is being carried on here. At about the same time Mr. Hughes issued an instalment of alleged proof. The gist of it is that the Communist International and the Soviet Government are indistinguishable, and that the Communist International had issued orders to the Workers' Party of America which revealed plans for "raising the red flag over the White House in the not too distant future." There was a clamor for details and dates. M. Tchitcherin issued a statement, claiming that the document Mr. Hughes referred to was a forgery, denying that Russia is any longer conducting propaganda here, and that the International and the Government are linked. The next step was Mr. Hughes's publication of his authority—

a copy of a paper considered an official Soviet mouthpiece, dated November, 1922, in which the editor, over his own signature, admits the practical identity of the two bodies.

The genuineness of the "Zinovieff document"—the order to the Workers' Party of America—has not been established. Senator Wheeler, of Montana, will introduce a resolution asking for fully detailed and dated proof.

American Experts for Europe

THE United States has decided to join unofficially the committee to be appointed under the Reparation Commission for a consideration of Germany's financial situation. This is part of M. Poincaré's plan, evolved shortly after the refusal of the United States to join in the conference proposed by Great Britain, because of French restrictions. Two committees are included in the Poincaré plan—one to consider ways of adjusting German finance, balancing the budget, stabilizing the currency, etc., the other to locate and retrieve German capital which has escaped into foreign investments. For the former committee two Americans have been chosen—Owen D. Young, attorney and chairman of the board of the General Electric Company, and General Charles G. Dawes, attorney and financier, known for his service in France, and as former director of the United States Budget—

the man who won the nickname of "Hell and Maria" by his habit of vigorous expression.

As the American member of the second committee, H. M. Robinson, of Los Angeles, is chosen. He is a banker and a lawyer, and was a member of the Supreme Economic Council at the Paris Peace Conference. Like the others, he is to be formally invited by the Reparation Commission. Despite the formality under which the Reparation Commission is making these choices, of course the nominations come from Washington.

Germany has formally asked the Reparation Commission to grant priority to a loan of \$70,000,000 to supply food for the thousands on the verge of starvation. A bill to grant food credits has been introduced in Congress, and Great Britain is understood to be in favor of the loan; but France and Belgium, it appears, are opposed. The French estimate that German citizens hold abroad nearly four billions and claim that Berlin should arrange with the owners of this money to finance food purchases. Unfortunately, anything that means serious delay probably means more deaths by starvation. Fresh testimony to the grave condition of the German city population comes in constantly. Dr. J. A. Morehead, of the American Lutheran National Council, is the latest to bring back a report of widespread distress.

Election Troubles in Honduras

THERE is trouble in Honduras as well as in Mexico over elections, but the election in Honduras has already taken place. There were three candidates. The Government supported Dr. Bonilla for president. General Carias received the largest number of votes; but it was alleged to be an insufficient number under the Constitution, which prescribes the proportion required. General Carias charged that the Government had terrorized his followers and failed to count his votes, with the object of throwing the contest into Congress, where Bonilla would be stronger. There was a storm of disapproval of the Government when the charges were made, and President Lopez Guitierrez declared martial law and imprisoned all the prominent followers of General Carias—a novel proceeding on the part of a Government.

Meantime, when this situation threatened, our Government sent in a long note of warning, offering to support any Government "elected as the expression of the will of the Honduran electorate through the medium of free and fair elections," and reminding the Honduran Government of the Central American agreement of February, 1923, which forbade the recognition of any government won through a coup d'état or a revolution. The Honduran Government ignored our note.

December, 26, 1923.



Portrait by May Fairchild

Art writer and critic, painter of landscapes and portraits, could be used as a classification of Alice Judson (our cover artist), should one care to classify her. And following the form of a Who's Who, membership in the Pen and Brush Club and the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors should be mentioned.

Miss Judson studied in Europe and under Twachtman here. She has shown in Pittsburgh, Buffalo and Rochester, and is especially well known in the South. The outdoors holds her interest, and half of her time is spent in Beacon, where she paints in the open; in the summer it is Gloucester. Her hobby is human nature.

The
First
Fortnight



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The
Outlook
Ahead

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

December 20, 1923.

In Congress

BEFORE the new session is organized and under way, the Republican leaders have let it be known that it will be idle to expect much more than routine legislation, that is, appropriation bills, at this session, as they contemplate getting through by June 1, preparatory to the opening of the final stages of the presidential campaign. Therefore, the worry about what will happen to the World Court, immigration, railroad legislation, child labor and other pressing matters is useless, for unless by some trick of fortune they will not be completed. This informal statement from Capitol Hill has taken the edge from the elation caused by the excellent impression of President Coolidge's annual message to Congress. The country and the capital had been languishing for a program. President Coolidge outlined one—and a constructive plan. To suddenly find that Messrs. the Senators Lodge and Curtis considered it a pleasant statement, but of little concern to the present Congress, is another matter.

Bonus vs. Lowered Taxes

For a long time there have been political excuses of one kind or another why Congress could not launch into immigration with some serious intention of acting; or could not take up the dozen and one vital and crying matters; to say nothing of foreign relations. To have the inaction evident so early in the Congressional year and work again put off, this time until next December, only fires the radicals with more stubbornness. Moreover, there has been apparent indecision about starting Congress on the Mellon tax revision plan because of the insistence in certain quarters that discussion of the ways and means of a soldier bonus be opened. Tax revision has won out and is on the Congressional program ahead of any other controversial matter.

This temporary slump at the capital comes from the realization that although

THE fortnight since the opening of the Sixty-eighth Congress on December 3 has been marked by the struggle of the progressive members of both houses, led by Senator La Follette, against the regular Republican machine. This has hindered the course of legislation, particularly in the Senate. Noteworthy bills introduced are as follows:

Introduced in the Senate

By Senator Lenroot, Wisconsin, an appropriation of \$20,000,000 for the relief of starving people of Germany.

By Senator Ladd, South Dakota, member of the insurgent group, legislation increasing the duty on grains and grain products.

By Senator Capper, Kansas, chairman of the Farm Bloc, bill repealing the section of the present Transportation Act recommending the consolidation of railway systems.

Constitutional amendments giving Congress control over the limiting or prohibiting of child labor; providing for uniform marriage and divorce laws; requiring that at least one house of the legislature ratifying a constitutional amendment shall have been elected after the amendment has been proposed; and another providing that the President have a six-year term and be ineligible thereafter.

By Senator Gooding, Idaho, bill creating a corporation with a capital of \$300,000,000 to stabilize wheat and establish a minimum basic price.

By Senator Curtis, Republican whip, the "equal rights" constitutional amendment originating with the National Woman's Party.

Constitutional amendment authorizing the President to negotiate treaties with the consent of a majority instead of two-thirds of the Senate.

By Senator King, Utah, a bill for a world conference on disarmament.

By Senator Lenroot, Wisconsin, resolution for participation by the United States in the World Court, provided the court is completely separated from the League of Nations.

By Senator Capper, the "truth-in-fabric" bill, requiring the tagging of all contents of cloth.

By Senator Lodge, constitutional amendment giving Congress the power to regulate child labor.

By Senator McNary, appropriating \$2,500,000 for a national reforestation policy.

By Senator Borah, bill requiring the approval of at least seven members of the United States Supreme Court in declaring an act of Congress unconstitutional.

By Senator Sterling, proposing a Department of Education.

By Senator Dill, Washington, constitu-

the Senate was polite, gracious and receptive to the President on the occasion of his annual message, it has now in reality little intention of doing what he asked, and in the end at election time will have to square itself somehow for the sake of appearing before the country in the same polite, gracious and receptive guise with which it heard the President's speech. For it must stand behind the President in his campaign as a Republican Congress. But let us take up the important points of the President's program: those things for which the country generously applauded his courage and clarity, and see where they stand in Congress.

World Court Prospects

World Court: The majority in the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate is isolationist in policy. Senator Lodge, chairman, himself is not enthusiastic about the President's proposal. There is no stir within the committee indicating that it intends to work actively for the Court; rather to the contrary. There is lassitude and indifference. Some observers here predict that the World Court proposition will not be reported from committee. Senator Lenroot, Wisconsin, a new member of the committee, who has taken a middle ground but has usually been found against the League of Nations when a vote is taken, recently individually has introduced legislation proposing that the Senate favor the participation of the United States in the Court provided that it is divorced from the League. But the committee itself has been ominously silent.

Bonus: The President, it will be remembered, in ten words stated his adverse attitude. Congress now spends the first few days of the session in serious discussion as to whether it will proceed to pass a soldier bonus bill or take up tax revision, postponing the bonus legislation until later. Noses are being counted in both houses of Congress to

determine whether or not a soldier bonus bill could be passed, vetoed by the President as would be expected from his declaration, and repassed by the statutory two-thirds vote of Congress, which would override his veto. Some think it could be so maneuvered; others that undoubtedly it could be passed by both houses of Congress with ease, in view of the desire on the part of individual Senators and Representatives to be found on the side of the soldier vote prior to an important election. Now and then at the Capitol you will hear the opinion that although a large majority of Congressmen and Senators would vote for the bill the first time to set their records straight, they would do so with the expectation that the President would veto it, and when the final vote came to override his veto they would at once be found voting with the President to defeat the bill. However, this does not show that the President made much impression upon Congress by his bonus declaration; it will vote politically.

The Coming Railroad Debate

Railroads: Senator Cummins, former chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee of the Senate, went to President Coolidge with his recommendations for revision of the present Transportation Act. The President incorporated them in his message to Congress. This same Congress, in the Senate, so far has been unable to reseat Senator Cummins as chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee, a post he has held with distinction for many years, becoming one of the foremost railway experts in the country. The next-ranking member on the Committee in point of seniority is Senator La Follette, leader of the progressive insurgent group. The La Follette followers, more than anything on their program, desire the repeal of the Transportation Act, particularly in certain sections which they consider give the corporate railroad interests too large a share of the returns. They, therefore, desire La Follette as chairman of the Committee; or failing that, the defeat of Senator Cummins and the substitution of a compromise candidate such as Senator Smith, Democrat, of South Carolina, who once was chairman of the Committee, without distinction, or Senator Couzens, of Michigan, a comparatively new member of the Upper House who is not particularly well-versed in railroad matters but has been devoting his time lately to arduous study of the railroad situation.

Senator Cummins as President pro tempore of the Senate has undertaken the confining duties of the Vice-President, and incidentally his salary of \$12,000 a year, with automobile and other emoluments of the office. There is no legal restriction to Senator Cummins' acting also as Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee; but there is a

tional amendment prohibiting declaration of war without national referendum except in cases of revolution or invasion.

By Senator Harris, Georgia, requiring the use of steel cars on all passenger trains within six months.

Introduced in the House

By Chairman Johnson, of the Immigration Committee, legislation revising the restrictive policy already in force to two per cent of the nationals in the United States in 1890.

By Representative McKenzie, a bill providing for the acceptance by the Government of the offer of Henry Ford to purchase the Muscle Shoals nitrate plant.

Two District of Columbia bills of particular interest, one giving the right of suffrage to the District and the other making a permanent regulatory body of the present Rent Commission, which has fought the exorbitant high rents of the capital.

By Representative McLaughlin, Nebraska, a bill repealing the Interstate Commerce act and the present Transportation act.

By Representative Stalker, providing for heavy fines and prison terms for violation of prohibition.

By Representative Crisp, of Georgia, Democrat, resolution enabling the House to discharge a committee from consideration of legislation and to make it easier to bring up a measure for immediate consideration.

By Representative King, Illinois, providing for the independence of the Philippine Islands.

By Representative Clancey, bill to permit the sale of five per cent beer and to levy taxes upon it, with which to pay a soldier bonus.

By Representative McKenzie, a soldier bonus bill similar to that vetoed by President Harding.

By Representative Celler, New York, authorizing the President to appoint a commission to determine what alcoholic content is intoxicating.

By Representative Victor Berger, Socialist, Wisconsin, bill establishing a credit of \$1,000,000,000 for the purchase of food by Germany.

Passed by the Senate

A bill providing for a pension of \$5,000 a year and the franking privilege for Florence Kling Harding, widow of President Harding—by unanimous consent.

A resolution by Senator Lodge for the appointment of a joint committee to consider how the Congress of the United States can express the deep sensibility of the nation to the death of President Harding.

Resolution for adjournment from December 30 to January 3.

real physical objection if that committee were actively to take up revision of the Transportation Act. The strain of the two positions would be tremendous, if humanly possible to bear at all. In all probability, considerable of the work of one or the other offices would have to be delegated to understudies.

Ballot after ballot has been taken in the Senate producing only a deadlock. The radicals of the La Follette group hold the balance of power and by maneuvering this power they have effectively blocked the proceeding every time. Railroad experts still believe that Senator La Follette will not succeed to the chairmanship and that nothing radical will happen. The tempest is all in a teapot so far as the actual effect upon railroad legislation is concerned.

The impression created upon the general public with respect to railroad interests is the damage. Such a political controversy cannot help but discourage the investment of capital in railroad stocks and further depreciate railroad interests all over the country.

As a matter of fact, if Senator La Follette did obtain the committee chairmanship, which is unlikely, he could himself report bills for the abolishment of the Interstate Commerce Commission and the repeal of the Transportation Act once a week, and not get the legislation favorably voted upon in the Senate, for there is not a handful of sentiment for such a radical course in dealing with the railroad problem. On the other hand, there is considerable faith in the knowledge and experience of Senator Cummins, even from the Democratic side of the chamber. Members of the La Follette group already have introduced bills repealing that section of the Transportation Act which permits voluntary consolidation of the railroads, in the face of the suggestion from President Coolidge that this be strengthened and finally made compulsory if railroads do not voluntarily comply with the consolidation plan.

With this difficulty in electing a committee chairman, it is unlikely that much progress will be made with the subject matter. Railroad legislation can be a major subject for a long session of Congress and still be left unfinished with the excuse that the complexity of the study precluded conclusions in so short a time. It took concentrated effort by the committee for about three years to finish the work on the present Transportation Act of 1920.

Second Thoughts on Taxation

Taxation: The annual report of the Secretary of the Treasury issued during the fortnight further explains his plan for tax reduction, which the President reflected in his message to Congress, following the annual message, on the subject of the Government's budget. The first reaction from Congress was general approval with statements from some members of the Democratic side that they would consider supporting the tax plan. Second thoughts, however, have been disastrous. Democrats in the House upon reflection are beginning to announce that they are not sure but the tax program is unwise at the present time, and the radical elements in both houses are flatly opposed to it on the ground, for one thing, that it reduces the toll of the rich without benefiting the poor. If the Democratic opposition becomes positive and the radicals throw in their strength, the tax legislation is defeated before it is argued. However, it is certain that some on the Democratic side will support the plan and prediction at this time is unfair. It has been

(Continued on page 25)

Pennsylvania's Welfare Woman

Dr. Ellen C. Potter—Who She Is and What She Does

By Harriet L. Hubbs

A SHORT time ago, speaking before the annual meeting of the State Federation of Pennsylvania Women, the Governor of Pennsylvania, Gifford Pinchot, took occasion to say right out in meeting that Dr. Ellen C. Potter was making good as Secretary of the Department of Welfare of the Keystone State. Of course, this statement directed even more attention to the personality and work of Dr. Potter, the first woman member of a Governor's Cabinet in Pennsylvania. She looms large in the public mind of the Commonwealth. As a personality, she is unique; as a public official she is courageous, logical and efficient, with more than a dash of what is comprehensively described as "human interest."

I remember that when Dr. Potter was appointed Secretary of Welfare a newspaper correspondent, in trying to give the public some idea of the real Dr. Potter, wrote that she was reminiscent of "Tish," the heroine of a series of stories by Mary Roberts Rinehart. All of which reminds me of what Dr. Potter said of herself, in a little tête-à-tête, not long ago. "I am," she confessed, "a well-intentioned female of uncertain age who is doing the best she knows how. Being human, I am likely to make mistakes. And because I am unwilling to sit quiet and safe in an office chair, I do trip my toe on ancient customs which prefer to remain undisturbed."

Feminine, Anyhow

Dr. Potter is a rare exemplification of positive and aggressive femininity who, paradoxically, loses none of her appealing femininity in her most vigorous moments. Nor is this phase of her personality concealed by the efficiency, rather than so-called style, with which she clothes herself. Dr. Potter prefers to go about the business of the day in the kind of attire which social workers find so much comfort in; these devoted women, as you know, really have a sort of uniform. This disdain of Parisian frocks, for example, sometimes appalls her friends, and now and then they take her in hand and almost make her over, for a few hours at least. I recall an occasion when the Secretary was invited to a more or less state luncheon at the Executive Mansion. Now her idea would be to arise from her desk, dust off a little and hurry over to the Mansion. But certain friends, members of her staff and others, insisted that she



© Keystone Photo Co., Harrisburg

Dr. Ellen C. Potter
In her chosen office uniform

get "dressed up" for the function. They virtually kidnapped her and when the ordeal was over Dr. Potter presented herself at the luncheon with a new hat, a new fur neck-piece and other new things. I presume Dr. Potter feels certain sacrifices simply must be made in the public interest.

As a preface to a brief record of the work accomplished under Dr. Potter, let me quote from a recent conversation with her.

"You can sum us up," said Dr. Potter, "as a fact-finding agency for the whole state in the field of social welfare; as an agency for the improvement of standards of work in all fields chiefly by means of education. The material upon which that education is based is not evolved at a desk in Harrisburg, but is the accumulated best practice of institutions and agencies in this and other states. If every institution was administered as well as the best institution in its own class is administered, we would be out of a job; and that is exactly what we are working toward. For no Department of Welfare justifies its existence unless it is working to make its existence unnecessary.

"We are trying to diminish poverty by wise and modern practice in the administration of our poor laws, without neglecting the immediate relief of those in distress. We are trying to diminish delinquency by applying the best principles and methods of child care to all dependent and delinquent children. We are trying to diminish mental disease and defect by early diagnosis and the application of the known principles of modern mental hygiene. We are trying to diminish crime by getting the principles of curative treatment adopted in our penitentiaries and jails."

Now, I happen to know that Dr. Potter is sincerely and earnestly striving to work out the ideas in the foregoing statement. Because she is considering the people and the state in an unselfish spirit she is making enemies. Politicians do not like to see the modern principles of social welfare upset the traditions of political welfare. Institutional heads do not like, in some instances, though they are beginning to realize the benefits, to have their ancient methods scrapped.

Dr. Potter is the second to head the department. The department was created by the legislature in 1921 and Dr. J. M. Baldy was appointed commissioner. Dr. Potter had served under Dr. Baldy and therefore was admirably equipped by actual experience to carry on the work of the new branch of the state government when Mr. Pinchot became Governor.

Saving Money, Bodies and Souls

Primarily, the department works for prevention of delinquency, dependency and mental defects. Prevention will save huge costs for custodial care. Such care cost state, county and private philanthropy more than \$47,000,000 in 1921. Hence the department is saving at once money, bodies and souls. At the same time, the department is introducing real business efficiency in state-owned institutions. This means that the Governor's plan of budgetary control, a uniform system of accounting and a centralized issuance of supplies are being put into practical operation. Thus, for example, one institution reports, under the Pinchot system, a balance of \$10,000 instead of the usual deficit of from \$10,000 to \$25,000 for the quarterly period. Credit departments in hospitals, besides increasing the self-respect of patients, have increased collections. One hospital reports an increase of 37 per cent—from \$63,000 to \$90,000 in a year.

Then, again, the records show innumerable instances of practical and daily social welfare work. A judge in a rural county interrupted the trial of a delinquent girl to call up the department on the long-distance telephone to find out what institution could handle her case. Another long-distance call was for the purpose of finding out how to provide for two children whose mother had died and whose father, with no relatives, had no way of taking care of

(Continued on page 30)

The Why and Why-Not of Home Rule

By Schuyler C. Wallace

Of Columbia University

IN striking contrast to the relation of the states to the Federal Government is the relation of the states to the localities. In the vast majority of cases the states came first; cities were a later development. This fact explains, perhaps, why it is that the states have absolute control of their subdivisions. So strongly does there exist a sentiment for local autonomy throughout the country that many a reader of this article will find it difficult to believe that there is no inherent right of local self-government. Yet such is the case. Legally the state is supreme.

If your state desires to do so it can—tomorrow, metaphorically speaking—abolish the city or county in which you are residing and wipe it out of existence as a legal entity. Nothing in the world can legally prevent the state of New York from doing away with the city of Greater New York and administering the necessary functions from Albany. Should Pennsylvania so desire it could place the administration of the police departments of Philadelphia in the hands of the head constable of Girard or Oil City. The reverse of this is likewise true. It would be entirely possible to give to the fire department of Erie jurisdiction over North East or McKean or any other village physically possible of access, and apportion taxes in those areas to support the Erie department. *In its relation to its subdivisions the power of the state is absolute.*

The localities have only so much authority as the state has expressly delegated to them, and even this may at any time be withdrawn. The term "expressly" in this connection has been purposely chosen, for there is no doctrine of implied powers by which the cities or other subdivisions may expand their activities, as the last article shows the Federal Government can do. In fact, the contrary is the case. Doubts have generally been resolved against the cities.

Bad Cures for Bad Evils

The fact that the state is paramount and the cities are strictly limited in their powers, does not mean, however, that the state legislature is unlimited in its sphere. The state and the state legislature are two different things. There was a time when all power possessed by the state, with slight exception, was vested in the legislature. That time, however, is long past. The power of the legislative authority over localities was called in very frequently in the

period immediately following the Civil War to remedy the ills of municipal government. Very often, however, the remedy was worse than the disease. "The transfer of control from City Hall to State Capitol," says the Everts Commission, "[had] no other effect than to cause a like transfer of the methods and arts of corruption and to make the fortunes of our principal cities the traffic of lobbies.

"Cities were compelled by legislation to buy land for parks, etc., because the owners wished to sell them; compelled to grade, pave and sewer streets without inhabitants for no other purpose than to award contracts for work. . . . Laws were enacted abolishing one office and creating another with the same duties, in order to transfer official emoluments from one man to another; laws to change the functions of offices with a view only to a new distribution of patronage, to lengthen the term of offices for no other purpose than to retain or place officers who could not otherwise be elected or appointed."

Legislatures on the Rampage

As pernicious examples of legislative interference as need be cited were the erection of the City Hall of Philadelphia at the cost of \$25,000,000 to the city by a self-perpetuating commission designated by name in the act of the legislature—at what profit to themselves no one can say; and the erection of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument in Cleveland. In this latter case it is not the cost of the monument that riles, it is not the principle involved—it's the looks of the thing! So at least certain residents of Cleveland have said. Of another type was the action of the powers that be at Harrisburg in abolishing the office of mayor in all second-class cities and establishing a state-appointed recorder in his place. In 1901 the legislature of the same state removed the elected mayors of Pittsburgh, Scranton and Allegheny, and empowered the government to appoint successors till 1903. And this practice was not unique with this particular state.

As a result of this type of activity on the part of legislatures, specific prohibitions upon this, that and the other thing have found their way into state constitutions. The most outstanding malpractices have been singled out and prohibited. Most common among these prohibitions were, and are, those which restrain state legislatures from interfer-

ing with the local election of municipal officials and the corollary restriction of the appointment of state commissions for the administration of local functions. State imposition of local taxes is also very frequently banned, as well as state interference with streets or local franchises.

Partisan and spoilsman activity was not, however, the only, nor the chief, difficulty in the relation of the states to the local governments. The fact was that the burden of properly supervising the cities was greater than the legislatures could bear. The task, if properly performed, would have consumed an inordinate amount of time. Between 1896 and 1912 thirteen thousand three hundred and one special laws were passed in New York, five thousand two hundred and sixty-six of which affected cities. As many as four hundred and sixty were passed in one year. In 1908 over one hundred special laws affected New York City alone. When one considers that the average session of a legislature is less than ninety days, from which must be subtracted time for organization and time for the preparation of bills, it becomes apparent what great inroads upon the time of the legislature really adequate consideration of these measures would take. *The fact is that adequate consideration of local measures is not secured.*

Cities Under the State's Thumb

When one considers the character of the measures introduced it is difficult to see why a legislature should give very much attention to them. Nevertheless, under the system of legislative supervision of local units such measures have been more or less necessary, ludicrous as they may seem. Little Falls had to go to the New York legislature for permission to have a street paved; Syracuse had to go to Albany for authority to use substances other than water in the spraying of her streets; Buffalo had to petition the legislature for power to spray her trees; Geneva had to go to the policy-determining body of the state to raise the salary of her superintendent of streets from \$75 to \$90 a month. Binghamton had to ask power to appoint a stenographer for the corporation counsel; Newburgh, to use the city funds for band concerts; Cohoes, to borrow money for the fire department.

Massachusetts cities had to obtain legislative permission to use the school buildings for social centers, to celebrate the Fourth of July, to build footpaths

in certain localities, to open the schools to foreigners and to offer rewards for murderers. One writer, in describing the situation, says:

"There is scarcely a single item in municipal administration, from the construction of a \$20,000,000 city hall to the increase in the salary of a bridge tender, . . . which has not at some time and in some state been the basis of action by the legislature."

As the impossibility of the system became apparent various attempts were made to remedy it. In some states provision was made that legislation regarding cities could take only a general form; in others a number of charters were drawn up from which the cities could pick at will; in Illinois and New

York the greater cities, at least, were given a veto more or less final; in still other states the cities were granted home rule.

All of these measures improved the situation somewhat. Most widespread, perhaps, is the requirement for general laws. It is obvious, however, that it is impossible to pass one detailed law which would at once meet the necessities of Chicago and Peoria, for the peculiar circumstances of each would demand individual attention. To overcome this difficulty the legislatures resorted to classification; that is, grouping cities according to population, with the result that in some states every city was put in a class by itself. This meant a return to the days of partisanship and

special legislation. And so it came about that in some states certain reasonable classifications were inserted in state constitutions; in others the courts read them in.

The device of home rule was also resorted to; that is, the cities were given power to run their own affairs. The arguments which have generally been advanced in favor of this device may be briefly summed up.

First, the legislature is very often partisan. Supporting this claim unlimited data can very well be advanced.

Second, the legislature does not have time to consider local affairs. The mere division of the number of minutes a legislative body is in session into the num-

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Women's Handicaps in Hungary

No. 3 in the Series on Europe's Business Women

By Marjorie Shuler

IN the Swiss mountain trains there is a poster with a very blue lake for background and a somewhat spotty green bank for foreground. There are also two Alps, green and brown, with some white clouds perched precariously on their sides, looking as though they might roll off at any moment and engulf a small rowboat. In the boat is a man taking his luxurious ease. He is elegantly appareled in white trousers, morning coat, straw hat and a flower in his buttonhole. There is also a woman in summery attire with broad-brimmed hat. But the woman is not taking her ease. She is rowing the boat and casting an anxious glance over her shoulder at the artist, who must have been standing near the point of the beholder. Doing the work, but being obliged to look pretty for the artist!

That is typical of the women of Hungary—beginning to enter business a little later than most continental European women, because in an agricultural country where food has flowed with a delicious profusion, the sheer pressure of hunger has not been so much felt until later days. The war has hit Hungary hard. The peace treaties have hit it even harder. And its women must work, but they must work under conditions which make it especially difficult.

Pioneering

They are winning their way, and in time they will be accepted. But at the moment the business woman of Hungary has about as hard a time as the business woman of any country in Europe—harder because she is a pioneer. The falling exchange makes the money she earns today of no value to buy food tomorrow. She is fortunate if she can

have meat once a week; she is fortunate if she can afford to pay the rapidly rising tram fares to take her to and from her work; she is fortunate if she can buy shoes with which to go to work.

The attitude of the Hungarian man is summed up in the statement of one of them. "We have always given everything to our women. It is our pleasure to do it. We do not want them to work." Familiar words to the pioneer business woman of the United States, but unfamiliar to the ears of the average business woman of today.

Fortunately, the educated Hungarian woman knows at least three languages and usually six. She can always teach, therefore, and she can always act as correspondent in an office. Three women now have their own typewriting offices in Budapest and two women own furniture shops.

One of the most interesting of the women in the banks—there are several—is Mrs. Gisela Somlo. She loves her work and when she married her husband—a director in the bank—she stipulated that she should be permitted to continue. It is a comfortable thing for the patrons of the bank that she has been permitted to continue, for Gisela Somlo, with her attractive gray eyes and brown hair combed straight back from her high forehead, is a very agreeable figure to the depositor who is in difficulties, or the tourist bewildered by the present money exchange conditions and the drastic government regulations.

Mrs. Somlo entered the bank in Budapest as a clerk—not such an unusual thing because women bank clerks are paid less than men and are, therefore, accepted by the bank officials, even though the families of the women clerks

may be none too well pleased. But at this point their acceptability to the bank officials stops. Women are all right in their place as clerks, say the officials. Aren't they in the bank? Isn't that enough to satisfy them? Mrs. Somlo, however, by dint of much smiling patience—that smiling patience by which the patrons are profiting—pushed her way out of the clerical department into the public office. It is a position which she likes far better than bending over a desk, people being more interesting than figures on white paper in her estimation. To push behind the scenes into the offices which Mrs. Somlo has left one sees those hidden upper offices completely filled with women. But in the "important" public office Mrs. Somlo is the only woman official, as she is the only woman to hold just that position in Hungary.

In the Professions

There are many women making jewelry, doing the work of interior decorators, designing textiles and doing the artistic side of various businesses. That is more readily accepted than the position of women actually in trade. But one woman owns her own bookshop and a number of them are acting as secretaries in offices. There are several tailor shops and some bakeries in Budapest of which the owners and managers are women.

In the professional world there are women doctors—but no women lawyers. Hungary has not yet been ready to accept them as such. It is only within the last ten years that women have gone into the factories, but there are now great numbers of them employed at machines, especially in the textile plants.

Hannah Kempfer's Hard Trail—Up!

By Gertrude Hanson

Four women, representing a variety of political faiths and personal backgrounds, were representatives in Minnesota's last legislature: Mrs. James Paige, well-known social worker and League of Women Voters leader; Mrs. Sue Dickey Hough, an experienced business woman; Miss Myrtle Cain, active in the National Woman's Party and in labor circles—all three of these from Minneapolis—and Mrs. Hannah Kempfer, a Farmer-Laborite, the first and only woman representative from rural Minnesota. The story here, told by a Minnesota woman not of Hannah Kempfer's political party, has nothing to do with the fine record these four women rolled up. It is a brief sketch of Hannah Kempfer's career—"a life story," says the Minnesota Woman Voter, "of the kind that Americans thrill to read."—EDITORS.

A WAIF in a Norwegian harbor—this was the opening of Hannah Kempfer's life story. Last year she sat in the State Legislature of Minnesota, one of four pioneers in that responsible place—a credit to her party, her county, herself. And the years between were filled with a hardihood and courage that make her stern experiences an inspiration.

Hannah—Johannah Josephine she is, really—was born on the North Sea, the child of a ship stewardess who was unable to care for her. A ship missionary, making his preaching rounds in the harbor, discovered her, took her in at the seamen's mission, and made arrange-

ments to have the little waif placed in the home of a worthy shipbuilder and his wife, Mr. and Mrs. Jensen, who had lost their own baby. There followed for Johannah Josephine a few short years of happy babyhood. But when she was about six years old the Jensens decided to immigrate to America.



One of Minnesota's four

the "land of plenty." Sacrificing what little they had, they left their native shores, and after many hardships and privations reached Mower County, Minnesota, where a brother of Mr. Jensen had already taken a homestead. The years which Hannah had spent with her foster parents in Norway were happy ones in comparison with the years after her arrival in the United States. There was no land left for Mr. Jensen to homestead in Mower County and work was scarce for a shipbuilder in that prairie section. Finally the family found shelter in an empty house with a small garden. Here they were allowed to live

in return for pumping water for thirty horses in an adjoining pasture. The father and mother were forced to go long distances in order to get work so that they might buy food, and the task of pumping fell to Hannah and her younger brother. The well was deep and the pump poor, so the work was hard and tedious. But Hannah didn't shirk. She did her job well and developed that perseverance and integrity which have characterized her entire career.

For two years the Jensen family struggled against all odds to make a livelihood in Mower County. Then Mr. Jensen became ill and the family was scarcely able to keep body and soul together. Learning that there was a possibility that they might procure a piece of land in Otter Tail County where a sister of Mr. Jensen lived, the family sold their only cow to get money for the long journey, and moved. Fortunately they were able to "squat" on a piece of railroad land, and Mr. Jensen's sister gave them logs with which they built a tiny cabin. They could afford only a sod roof and for a time had only the dirt floor. Whenever it rained the roof leaked. Hannah and her little brother had no shoes, so they tied old rags on their feet and in the snow they cut poplar wood for a dollar a cord—not to buy shoes with but to buy text books, so that Hannah might attend the country school near by. They did sell enough wood to pay for the books needed, but there was no money left for

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A Modern Diana

By Agnes Lockhart Hughes

IF you would verify Kipling's assertion that "the female of the species is deadlier than the male," just journey to the "Crescent-U" ranch, near Camas Valley, Oregon. Here, in a sleepy frontier settlement, dwells Lena Joyce—wife of Ed. Mrs. Joyce is a professional guide for the sportsmen of the Coast cities, and during the hunting season leads them to the haunts of cougar, bear, deer and other forest denizens.

Do not picture this modern Diana as a husky he-woman. Lena is slim, a truly feminine character, standing five feet and a trifle over one inch in her logging boots and tipping the scales at one hundred and ten pounds. She adopts khaki

breeches, a flannel shirt and a rakish felt hat—but she wears them because they are the most practical for her rôle. She does not use rouge, face powder nor a



lip stick—nature furnishes her cosmetics. Her hair is not bobbed, but she is fussy about making hairpins do their duty.

A soft-spoken drawl, in a well-modulated, low tone, marks Lena's speech. She is girlish and domestic—this hunter of wild beasts—assisting her mother with the housework, making her own "party dresses" and, upon occasion, tripping the light fantastic with the ablest of them. But, first and foremost, Lena is a huntress.

Mrs. Joyce is so alert that she can jab a hairpin in a truant lock one second and on the instant shoot a fleeing beast with deadly accuracy. She never grows weary and often after the hunt, when the men of the party have barely crawled into camp, Lena, with a buck weighing

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Mary Lindsley's "Lengthened Shadow"

By Catherine I. Hackett

IF you've visited Washington in the last two years, traveling by yourself, the chances are that you stayed at the Grace Dodge Hotel, and that you still talk about the hospitable way you were treated, and the beauty of the building, and the excellent food. A woman in the advertising business who spent a week there branded it "the hotel with a personality."

That personality is Mary A. Lindsley—she who makes the wheels go around in an institution unique in many ways. She is the manager of the largest hotel run by the Young Women's Christian Association, a hotel with accommodations for four hundred guests, thoroughly cosmopolitan in character, and one of very few in the country managed by a woman.

The Grace Dodge Hotel was just two years old last fall. It is no longer an experiment. It is a thoroughly business proposition and, although it has not yet begun to return a profit, it is on sound financial ground. Its other aspect is that of a social experiment, with a dual duty toward its guests and its employees.

Behind the Scenes

I went to find out how it had been done. I came away convinced that the Grace Dodge is the "lengthened shadow" of Mary Lindsley. Knocking off the curb on superlatives, I would say that I know of no one else who possesses the rare combination of business ability, high ideals and personal charm which could so have spread the fame of the hotel into distant states.

Her eyes glowing with enthusiasm, Miss Lindsley talked to me for an hour of what she wants the hotel to be, how she works out the details and what she thinks of opportunities for women in the managerial field. Then she took me behind the scenes—through the spotless kitchens where white-clad Negro chefs, who beamed at her as she approached, were preparing the dinner for approximately five hundred people; through the lower kitchens where the servants are given excellent meals at cost; through the refrigerating plant which her practiced touch determined was a bit too cold, and even through the small room where the garbage is collected and where she sniffed and remarked, ingenuously, "Doesn't smell as bad as you'd expect, does it?"

"The whole aim, as I have worked it out, is to balance service, which includes

rooms and meals, against economic results, such as making the hotel a paying proposition," she explained. "It represents an investment of one and a half million dollars; we must make operating expenses, depreciation costs, interest on the capital and a profit, just like any business project. But this must be absolutely balanced by the social service we perform.

"I believe—I believe our friends like us." She is frankly delighted at this, as a hostess would be whose friends had enjoyed her home.

"What about the servant problem?" I asked, and waited for the familiar lament of the housekeeper.

"I don't know what the servant problem is—we do not have it here," said this remarkable manager. "You see, we never consider our servants simply as laborers—we take an active interest in their welfare, advise them about their problems and try to educate them for better positions. For instance, we offer



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She manages the Grace Dodge Hotel

to attend to their banking for them, since they work during banking hours. If we see that a girl is spending too much on her clothes we try to help her readjust her budget. I feel that this is a definite social service, second only to the duty of pleasing our guests."

She has an eye on every one of the one hundred and thirty-five employees. Under her direction they are receiving invaluable training in all phases of hotel work. With Miss Lindsley are fifteen staff members, most of them college graduates and home economics special-

ists, who are receiving experience which will enable them to fill managerial positions.

To fully know Miss Lindsley one must see how the employees, from the burly baggage man, "Henry, who hasn't lost a piece of baggage yet," to the newest cloak-room girl, regard her. She says that the best moment of her managerial career was when she returned to a guest a fifty-dollar bill found by one of the colored elevator girls. On her unexpected tour of the kitchen the cooks vied for her attention as she sampled a salad, sniffed appreciatively a freshly baked pan of rolls. She personally superintends the management of the kitchen and does a large part of the ordering, browsing through the big municipal market to find the best fruits and vegetables.

"I have a finger in every department, and a pretty active finger at that," Miss Lindsley admits. "I can't sit at my desk and push buttons to make it go. I've got to know how the heating system works. I have to be an accountant, and see that they don't use too much bluing in the laundry. It's just like being an ordinary housekeeper, only on a much larger scale."

"Are Women Fussier?"

She is a graduate of Pratt Institute and her present success rests upon years of experience. Before the opening of the Grace Dodge she worked with Miss Harlean James in managing the government hotels at Washington. During the war she was connected with an officers' camp in France. There was an obvious question to ask here. I asked it.

"Do you find that women are fussier than men about rooms, food and service?"

"Indeed, I do not." Her answer was emphatic. "Men are more particular than women about service because they cannot appreciate what goes to make it. Women appreciate the efforts we make here to give satisfaction. They know what it takes to run a home of this size—and they are grateful for the results. That's one of the nicest things about a woman's hotel."

As I left she picked up the telephone to inquire about a guest who had been taken ill at the hotel and sent to a local hospital, and to ask that she be given "a private room and everything she needs." That is characteristic of Mary Lindsley—charming hostess, kindly friend, efficient manager.

Editorially Speaking

Happy New Year—Let's Make It

WHAT may we hope for from 1924? Or, better, what do we want enough to work for it?

The year that is closing hasn't held much to recommend it, internationally speaking. America's prosperity and an occasional hopeful phase abroad, such as that Miss Lathrop writes about on another page, have been outweighed by European misery, climaxing in the Ruhr, "where peace is war," and the tragic spectacle of the German republic's growing disintegration. For thousands of Americans, running through all their thought of the situation abroad has been bitter regret that their country has stood aloof, except in the helpfulness of benevolence, and in the one recent instance where a contemplated forward step was not satisfactory to France. Now it is a real gratification that three able American citizens are to take active part in a European council; though our representation is unofficial, at least we are no longer in the rôle of silent observer, and indeed the unofficialness of the Americans is pretty largely a matter of paper. Americans who are eager to see their country take its place in a plan of world cooperation welcome this step and hope much from the small beginning.

Grateful for so much, we want in 1924 many more steps toward real international cooperation; most important of all steps immediately practical—acceptance by our country of the *World Court*. To win that we have somehow to get past the Senate irreconcilables. Somehow the country's voice must rise above the perpetual alarmed clamor of our isolationists. What we need is a leader to focus the country's opinion and bring it to bear effectively. Lacking the leader, we must all act through all available channels of protest and pleading.

It may take hard work to make a happy New Year out of 1924, but it can be done.



A Word for the President

"AS head of the American Government, President Coolidge has a position of the highest responsibility. He should not feel compelled to take any of his time or strength for any sort of political campaigning. For the sake of the country, as well as for his own sake, he should not have to do so."

This statement made the other day by Henry Ford is good common sense and should have the hearty endorsement of every citizen. The responsibilities resting on the shoulders of the President of the United States are almost beyond the power of any one man to meet. They should have his complete and undivided thought and time. Unquestionably the best campaign the President can make will be the record of his administration. What Congress will do about world relations, about taxes, the child labor amendment and the immigration problem, its attitude toward the spoils system and the pork barrel will go far to determine the presidential election.

If the present session should result in no action on these questions, as Mrs. Stokes intimates, it will be a tremendous handicap to President Coolidge's re-election. On the contrary, if the President shows high qualities of leadership and carries his party with him, as Mrs. Stokes believes he has the country with him, his election will be assured. Political campaigning the country does not want. What it desires and demands is courageous leadership.



Protection Against Pork

PERMISSION would be given the President to veto any part of an appropriation bill without his being forced to veto the entire measure, under a constitutional amendment recently introduced in Congress by Representative Magee (New York), newly appointed to the Ways and Means Committee.

Such a proposal is only common sense applied to government business. At present, the President has no power to cut out an extravagant or unjustified item in an appropriation bill without vetoing the entire bill, which would inevitably mean great embarrassment to the Government. The lack of the veto power has cost the country millions of dollars in unnecessary expenditures, and has kept the pork barrel filled. The amendment, if adopted, would result in a large annual saving to the Government, but it will not be easily passed.

Intelligent interest on the part of the public will be needed to make it possible that such a difficult, but common sense suggestion should be adopted.



The Prize Winners

THE three busy women—Mrs. Maud Wood Park, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Mrs. Emily Newell Blair—who consented to judge the manuscripts submitted in the contest on "How to Get Out the Vote," have finished their work and the results are ready to announce.

But first a little explanation. It will be remembered that the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission offered three prizes—\$60, \$25, \$15—for the three best papers. The last date for manuscripts to be submitted was October 15th. As that date approached, the *CITIZEN* staff, which was handling the details, had the bright idea of extending the time to November 1. But there is a postal ruling—of which unfortunately we had no knowledge—which forbids any change of any detail on any contest. Under this ruling we were obliged to withdraw the extension of time and to announce that the contest would be decided on the papers received up to the original date.

Naturally we were deeply distressed over this situation. We knew that many intending contestants must have held back their papers when the date was extended, thus losing their chance. So we decided, in fairness, to offer a second set of prizes, which would be awarded for papers received after October 15 and before November 1. The same judges read both lots of papers, and all of the same conditions were observed.

It should be noted, by the way, that the failure on the part of a number of contestants to observe the conditions, which were printed several times in the *CITIZEN*, was responsible for the disqualification of several excellent papers. The chief transgression was in the matter of length. Eight hundred words was the maximum allowed and obviously to have admitted a paper of more than that length would have been unfair.

Now for the names of the winners in both sets. The three to whom the Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission prizes will be awarded—papers received up to October 15—are:

Miss Alice Vignos, Canton, Ohio.....	\$60.00
Mrs. Hedley Vicars Cooke, Orange, N. J.....	25.00
Mrs. Lola Clark Pearson, Marshall, Okla.....	15.00

For the winning papers of the second lot—October 15 to November 1—the CITIZEN awards these prizes:

Miss Elizabeth Hauser, Girard, Ohio. \$60.00

The Kentucky League of Women Voters, Mrs.

E. L. Hutchinson, President, Lexington, Ky. 25.00

On the basis of the ratings, no third manuscript received enough votes to warrant the award of a third prize.

Some of the prize-winning manuscripts—or extracts from them—will appear in later numbers. The greatest emphasis in the recommendations to be found in these manuscripts, and in the many others entered, is laid on the necessity of house-to-house visitation, of careful organization, of intelligent publicity and of everlastingly following people up until the polls close. This subject is of such importance that the CITIZEN will be glad to see other papers embodying the suggestions of readers who may not have cared to enter the contest. Election year is here and the women voters of the country can render invaluable service by making a nationwide drive for full use of the franchise.



A Great Loss

NOT least among the causes that suffer loss in the death of Frank I. Cobb, editor of the *New York World*, is that of organized women and the ideal for which they stand. Mr. Cobb was one of the first well-known editors of the country to come out unequivocally for woman suffrage. He was a firm believer in state's rights; but when he was shown the technicalities that made complete suffrage by state action impossible he accepted the Federal Amendment and defended it wholeheartedly. During all the hard struggle of the last campaign his interest and his support never faltered. He was always ready to give of his crowded time, his advice and counsel, as well as the help of his telling pen. In the years after suffrage was won his interest continued keen in all plans for educating women in citizenship and helping them to count for good government. The organized women of this country have lost a sincere and a powerful friend.

Independent, fearless, simple, direct, a hater of shams, an enemy of reaction, Mr. Cobb was a powerful influence in shaping the public opinion of this country. He will be greatly missed.



One Way to Hamper War

ONE important phase of international cooperation that 1924 ought to include is united action to restrict traffic in arms. The movement began with the St. Germain convention, which was drawn up with the assistance of three Americans and the cooperation of the American Peace Commission. Its object was to provide a solution of the arms traffic question on a world-wide basis. The United States declined to ratify the agreement. When the Council of the League of Nations, which was administering it, asked us to cooperate, we answered—more than six months later—expressing sympathy with the idea but also disapproval of the convention's provisions. Later, in response to the Council's request, our Government informally listed its objections. Recently, at the suggestion of Lord Robert Cecil, the Council sent our Government a polite letter reminding us that we have so far made no positive proposals for a way to deal with this vital matter, and inviting us to appoint a representative on the League's Disarmament Commission, to help prepare a convention that would be acceptable.

Here we are unmistakably responsible for a definite delay in progress toward a warless world. Our failure to ratify that convention made ratification by other nations futile. We agree that the existence of private manufacture of, and traffic in, arms is a mighty incentive to war, and that the control of

this factor might be of tremendous effect. Surely, realizing that, we should find a way to cooperate with the League of Nations as a way was finally found for cooperation in its other humanitarian work.



A Woman Suffrage Committee—Why?

IT is something of a joke to learn that Congress, in the organization of its new session, is still appointing members to a committee on woman suffrage. Of course, men of prominence and influence in the two big parties are not being assigned to the Woman Suffrage Committee. The new members are from the Farmer-Laborites, and the one woman representative, Mrs. Nolan, of California.

A short time ago a number of congressional committees were abolished, some of which had not had a meeting for fifty years. It must be difficult to find committees enough to go round, when so many members of Congress need to be provided with committee chairmanships. Clerks, stationery and postage appropriations are also convenient, especially in a year of a congressional election.

Woman suffrage is no longer an issue. It is an accomplished fact. It would be interesting to know what the Woman Suffrage Committee would talk about if it held a meeting and what business it would be able to transact.



The Pitiful Cost of Furs

NOT long ago the papers carried news of a plan devised by a distinguished scientist for the use of a fatal gas in trapping fur-bearing animals. It is significant of the growing abhorrence of the cruelties practiced in securing certain furs, and a rising protest against them. Our Government had some 10,000 sealskin pelts left on its hands recently; the British, Japanese and Russian Governments had an oversupply and, though change in fashion was doubtless the chief explanation, the increasing knowledge of cruelties in the taking of seals may have had some influence. Recently, too, increased knowledge of the callousness of trappers and the tortures of trapped silver fox, marten, ermine has come through the prize offered by the American Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals for the invention of a humane trap. Though about three hundred designs were submitted, not one was found practical, and the Society withheld its award. The traps in use are very powerful, and inflict tortures beyond belief. An exposure undertaken by the Red Star Animal Relief showed that the traps are visited only once in two or three weeks, and meantime the trapped animals linger in an agony of pain and thirst and fear and hunger. The Red Star declares cruel trapping must go. A recent authority says no efficient humane trap has ever been devised. There are many furs—the hides of animals killed outright, some of them raised for fur, which involve no such agony. *What will women do about it?* We should like to hear from our readers.

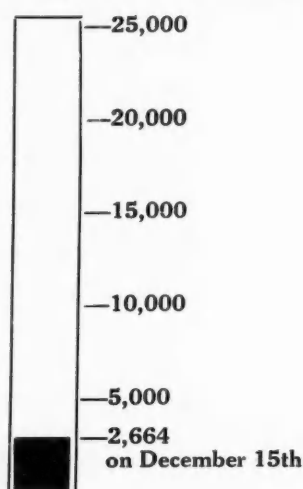


THANKS are due President Coolidge for releasing the remaining political prisoners—and without conditions. The concern attributed to an official of the American Legion over the effect of this clemency on a future generation—presumably fighting a future war—does not touch us. What should concern us, now that the wrong has at last been righted, is that this situation should never again arise. These men were punished for an offense that was made an offense only by war. When war comes, much that is precious is taken, besides human life; and the constitutional privileges of a free people are part of the sacrifice. The only way to avoid a great number of evils that go with war is to avoid war.

A Happy

Two New Year Resolutions

25,000 NEW SUBSCRIPTIONS



A SPLENDID BEGINNING

Since October 1st, in response to our plea, new subscriptions have been coming in from friends from all over the country. Up to December 15th, new paid-in-advance subscriptions amount to 2,664.

Florida, Michigan, California, Minnesota and Rhode Island Leagues of Women Voters have each won a \$100 prize for subscriptions. The California League has just won its second \$100 and is the first state to do so.

Deans and Professors of Political Economy in colleges are working on subscriptions for the Citizen.

Organizations as widely scattered and as different as the Council of Jewish Women, Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the Social Service Department of the Woman's Missionary Council of the Methodist Episcopal Church are cooperating in the drive.

For us alone to secure 25,000 subscriptions would be an almost impossible task. Together it can be done.

The American Woman's Next Job lies clearly before her.

Women, the world over, are combining against Race Destroyers.

Lawlessness, Corruption in Office, the Exploitation of Children, Disease, Liquor, and especially War, threaten the very existence of the race.

Civilization itself is in danger.

For plain facts, for continuous information about the progress of legislation, for practical help in marshalling woman's work and making it effective, the Woman Citizen has achieved leadership.

To open wide the doors of opportunity for women.

To help extend the blessings of the home into community life.

To insure a sound body for every child.

To eliminate illiteracy.

To promote general happiness and prosperity.

To make human life safe.

This is the Citizen's Program.

For the Citizen to continue a tremendous increase in circulation is imperative. 15,000 copies cost nearly as much to produce as would double the number.

Your magazine at present, for which you pay \$2.00 a year, costs \$4.00. With 40,000 subscribers it would cost about what you pay for it.

25,000 new subscribers would mean a successful magazine, would enable us to make a better magazine, one of which women would be proud, and which would be a powerful influence for progress.

HOW MUCH WILL YOU HELP?

Address Mrs. Raymond Brown
Managing Director

New Year!

for the Woman Citizen

\$25,000 is needed to carry the Citizen's message to a very much larger circle of women.

In every town and village, in far off farms and ranches are women who long to keep in touch with the big world of affairs, who want to contribute their share toward human progress, but who don't know how or where to begin.

To them the Citizen opens a wider vision, it brings inspiration and practical help.

In every city, large or small, is a group of women organized for service. To them the Citizen brings information about what other women are doing toward similar problems and gives stimulus toward effective co-operation.

To reach these women and these different groups costs money, but they must be reached if women are to be an effective power for service. Each one to whom the Citizen goes becomes a prospective soldier in the Army of Peace.

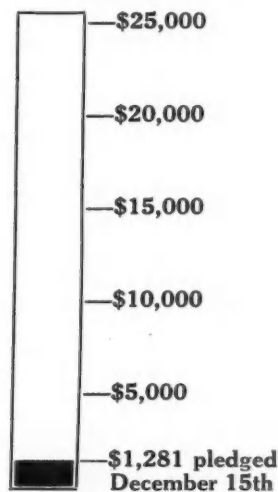
The Leslie Commission has been paying the deficit of the Woman Citizen. It will continue to do so in 1924, **provided** \$25,000 can be raised, to be used solely as an extension fund to increase the circulation of the magazine, with the double aim of increasing its influence and making it self-supporting.

Contributions of any size, large or small, are invited. Every dollar given will be kept in a separate fund to be used only to increase the magazine's circulation.

WHAT WILL YOU GIVE?

171 Madison Avenue, New York

\$25,000 EXTENSION FUND



PLEDGES ALREADY MADE

Before the plans for the extension fund were completed a few friends came forward with offers of help.

The first was a pledge of \$1,000 from Mrs. Caspar Whitney, of Irvington, N. Y. Dr. M. Carey Thomas, president emeritus of Bryn Mawr College, has pledged \$250. Smaller sums for which credit will be given in the list to be published in the next issue make a total of \$1,281.00 already pledged for this work.

What will you give? What can you get your friends to give? This fund will be used not to give away subscriptions but to get women to subscribe for themselves. It will be carefully invested to gain a larger public for the support of the Citizen. Every dollar will help put your magazine on a solid, permanent foundation.

The Woman Voter

(This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER for
THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Federal Measures the League Supports

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE, in his message to the Sixty-eighth Congress on December 6, gave great impetus to the National League's work by his favorable stand on seven items in the League's national program. These are proposals favoring the entrance of the United States into the World Court, the prohibition of child labor, the extension of the merit system in the civil service, minimum wage for women workers, provision for Federal women prisoners, a Federal Department of Education, and law enforcement. Supporters of the World Court proposal, which, like the child labor amendment, is one of the League's major interests, found great hope for America's entrance into the World Court in the following words of the President:

"For nearly twenty-five years we have been a member of The Hague Tribunal and have long sought the creation of a Permanent World Court of Justice. I am in full accord with both these policies. I favor the establishment of such a court intended to include the whole world. That is and has long been an American policy. Pending before the Senate is a proposal that this Government give its support to the Permanent Court of International Justice, which is a new and somewhat different plan. This is not a partisan question. . . . It should be discussed with entire candor, not by a political but a judicial method, without pressure and without prejudice. Partisanship has no place in our foreign relations. As I wish to see a court established, and as the proposal presents the only practical plan on which many nations have ever agreed, though it may not meet every desire, I therefore commend it to the favorable consideration of the Senate, with the proposed reservation clearly indicating our refusal to adhere to the League of Nations."

Before December 15 two resolutions concerning the World Court proposal were introduced in the Senate. One by Senator Lenroot, of Wisconsin, would provide for complete divorcement of the World Court from the League of Nations. Senator King, of Utah, has introduced a resolution asking for the Senate's support of the World Court proposal with the reservations suggested by Secretary Hughes.

Ten resolutions proposing constitutional amendments to prohibit and regulate child labor have been introduced in the Senate and House. The League has given its endorsement, with a majority of other leading organizations of the country, to the resolution presented by Senator McCormick, of Illinois.

The President confined his recommendation for Federal child labor regulation to the following words: "For purposes of national uniformity we ought to provide by constitutional amendment and appropriate legislation for a limitation of child labor."

In the next issue of the *Woman Voter* bills introduced embodying legislative principles the League has endorsed will be listed and the Child Labor Amendment discussed.

ANNE WILLIAMS.

Economic Imperialism

(Continued from WOMAN VOTER, December 15)

FROM a study of the foregoing lists what raw materials are lacking in each of the countries is readily seen. To acquire necessary foodstuffs, fibers and minerals Great Britain, France, Italy, Belgium, and, until 1918, Germany, with some of the smaller countries, have partitioned Africa, Oceania, and parts of Asia; they have acquired spheres of influence in the Asiatic lands. Great Britain, the United States and France sought concessions in Mexico, Russia, Peru or Mesopotamia. The United States has extended her foreign policy to include the annexation of Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines, and the military control of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean.

To increase production within the country itself nations have erected tariff barriers and, if necessary, have carried on tariff wars. Where profitable exchange between countries could be made, the most-favored nation clause has been inserted in the tariff agreement. Commercial treaties without number have been made.

The need of raw material for manufacturing is conditioned by the energy resources of the country—coal, petroleum, and water power. If the following statement of energy resources is compared with statements of raw materials an interesting conclusion may be drawn:

Country	Coal Millions of Hp. yrs.)	Petroleum (Millions of Hp. yrs.)	Waterpower (Millions of Hp. yrs.)
United States.....	500,000	400	37
China.....	200,000	60	20
Germany.....	48,000	2	2½
Canada.....	40,000	40	22½
Great Britain.....	27,000	(?)	1
Australasia.....	19,000	(?)	4
Russia.....	17,000	280	16
Poland and Czechoslovakia...	14,000	45	1
India.....	11,000	70	27

No other country than these has as much as one-fiftieth the energy resources of the United States, and it is quite evident that many parts of the world can never support an industrial civilization of any magnitude because of lack of such resources. The United States not only controls a large part of the world's raw materials, but the greater part of the energy resources. China, Germany, Great Britain, and Russia constitute a secondary group.

The question naturally arises: Shall these favored nations hug to themselves their riches and because of their increasing power continually seize more, or shall some plan be formulated whereby those who have not a just and livable amount shall be guaranteed, in order that the national integrity of the less fortunate shall not be forfeited?

World Markets

The search for world markets for ever-increasing industrial products has carried Great Britain, the United States, Germany, France, Belgium, Italy, and Holland into every corner of the world. This third factor in the economic basis of national life has a far deeper significance than at first appears. The desire for raw materials and markets has brought the major part of the Eastern Hemisphere under

European control. Asia has furnished a fertile field, especially for manufactured products, since industry there is largely in the hand stage. This desire for markets has brought with it a new cause for conflict—the Oriental vs. the Occidental. The introduction of Western machinery, Western business methods and Western standards of living has brought about a revulsion of feeling on the part of Asiatics. They resent Occidental commercial and financial methods. They by no means admit the superiority of Western civilization. They do not desire to follow the methods of the West.

Colonial Possessions

One corollary of economic imperialism is colonial possessions. The desire for control of raw materials and of markets carries with it overseas acquisitions. Annexation of territory may appear to be for some higher, more altruistic motive—fundamentally the motive is economic. This fourth factor carries with it another cause for conflict. The most desirable parts of the world have been appropriated by European races. When the Asiatics try to emigrate, as they must because of pressure of population and relative decrease of food, they find that the white race has "signs up in certain valuable areas telling them to keep off." The following lands are closed to Asiatics: United States, Europe, British self-governing dominions, Java, the Philippines and Hawaii. The only temperate regions still open to them are Northern Asia and the comparatively small part of South America in the temperate zone. Tropical or sub-tropical regions to which Asiatics have already migrated voluntarily or as recruited laborers, and which are still open to them, include certain Caribbean countries, most of Oceania, Southeastern Asia, Southwestern Asia, East Africa. The valuable areas from which they are barred are the lands where lie the sources of the raw materials so necessary to the Western World's progress. "As Asiatic peoples become more conscious of their nationality, this policy of the white race is resented not only by individuals but by whole races. The fact that parts of Asia and South America in the temperate zone and large areas in the tropics are open to Asiatics, does not greatly lessen this resentment."

In spite of resentment, Western industrialism continues to overwhelm the Asiatics. Against their ethical desire they are adopting Western methods. Japan has taken bodily the Occidental scheme of industrialism and is adapting it to her needs. Others may do likewise. If so, the Westerner may well pause over this thought: If the teeming millions of Asia waken to a full realization of nationality, and back this national movement with an industrialism perfected by Western methods, what chance has the Western World to hold its spheres of influence, its concessions, and even its immigration barriers?

The Western World is now wasting its resources, its manpower and its wealth in internecine strife. It is preaching Christianity and practicing war. The Eastern people not only smile at the Western profession of Christianity, but they bide their time. They watch the West consume itself with greed of material things.

Little is to be gained from criticizing this Western domination. "Imperialism is the overseas economic expression of Western civilization." It is an integral part of modern life.

Imperialism has developed the world in many ways. "At this stage of the world's progress probably no better method is possible." It has been misused, it is true, but it is a fundamental of the world's system. Any structure for peace which does not consider some solution of this vital factor is built on shifting sands—it cannot last.

No longer must imperialism parade as a self-sacrificing agent of humanity. "Nations as such seldom, if ever, engage in purely altruistic enterprises." Imperialism is founded upon the business of producing, trading, and financing, and must be treated as a great business problem.

Raw materials and markets are world-made. They are being controlled by national units. National control of international affairs never has succeeded and never will succeed. If each country could be guaranteed by some great international structure its necessary supply of raw materials and an

uninterrupted transportation of such materials, spheres of influence would disappear. Nations will seek to secure for themselves, by all kinds of methods, their supply of the materials essential to their existence, so long as they have no international guarantee that supplies from the outside world will be forthcoming under all circumstances.

The Great War is a fatal example of the results of economic struggles. "Had these issues been candidly faced by the statesmen of the warring countries, the conflict might have been avoided." One needs only to note the large number of articles in the Treaty of Versailles which deal with economic matters to realize what a vital part raw materials and markets played in the cause of the conflict. "The philosophy of force is frankly held and boldly acted upon."

An army and navy are absolute essentials in a world based on force. They are the vocabulary of an unorganized, unregulated economic world. No nation will give them up until she is assured some other form of security equally effective. Until the world is differently organized it will be a national duty to "maintain defensive forces at an adequate level." War and armaments do not provide real security. They are destroying the very thing they have undertaken to preserve—the nation. War has become a struggle between whole peoples, and whole peoples must be annihilated in its progress.

Some form of international co-operation must take the place of national control of world needs. "National sovereignty, international economic anarchy, and war are an inseparable trio." Nations will give up nothing worth keeping in building such an international structure. "It is the only course which in the long run will preserve the finest features of nationality. Where nationalism breaks down international co-operation must begin. . . . Catastrophe awaits civilization if the world is not willing to develop social and political controls which will regulate with justice the great forces of modern material civilization."

Proportional Representation

THE Department of Efficiency in Government watched with interest the first testing out of proportional representation in a large city in this country. Cleveland has just elected twenty-five councilmen by that system and the basement of the new Public Auditorium where the count was held was filled with spectators from many parts of the United States, as well as from Cleveland. In addition to members of the Department of Efficiency in Government, Miss Elizabeth Hauser, secretary of the National League; Miss Charlotte Conover, of the Dayton, Ohio, League; Miss Sybil Burton, of the Ohio League, and Miss Virginia Wulff, of the Wisconsin League, witnessed the count. Miss Helen Rocca and Miss Margaret Johnson, of the Department of Efficiency in Government, took part in the official count and transfer of ballots.

The whole count of approximately 106,000 ballots was made in forty-six working hours, a record for speed which will be hard to defeat. It required a force of 250 persons to count the vote; one tally clerk was appointed for each candidate (there were 119 candidates) to receive and check his ballots; distributors stood behind large nests of boxes (resembling rural postoffice boxes) and placed in the various boxes according to other choices the ballots which came to them through the transfer of surplus ballots or of those of defeated candidates; runners took the ballots from the boxes and carried them to tally clerks, who stamped and tabulated them and entered them on their candidate's tally sheets; four officials mounted four especially built stepladders and chalked each transfer on the four huge blackboards that ran entirely across the room; comptometer operators kept a constant check to make sure that no single ballot went astray; official scorekeepers kept a continuous check on the additions of each transfer; and behind the rail, fifteen feet back from the workers, stood the interested public led by a row of anxious candidates, some of them with field glasses for the purposes of

closer examination of the blackboard and the work of the tally clerks.

That the expense of the election will be far above that of former elections is a foregone conclusion, but counterbalancing that are other facts: the elected council is the most competent the city has had for years; it includes certain outstanding members who probably would not have run under the old ward system; it is truly representative of Cleveland; it represents over 20,000 more voters than the former council; many voters who were practically disenfranchised formerly, because they did not agree with the largest organized groups in their particular wards, have been able to elect councilmen they really want.

Whether or not the council as a whole will function as ably as the ability of its individual members would indicate remains for time to tell. Whether or not proportional representation is a success cannot be told after one election. Many voters were suspicious of proportional representation; they voted only one or two choices, with the result that, after the fourth or fifth transfer, the number of ineffective ballots increased out of all proportion; the public must be taught to vote a proportional representation ticket if the proportional representation system is to work. It is not fair to judge proportional representation a failure in Cleveland by the expense involved, inasmuch as much of the equipment is permanent and can be used year after year; the cost, therefore, should be distributed over the years.

The new council goes into office January 1 and the first test of its efficiency will come when it chooses Cleveland's first city manager under its new charter. M. J.

The Manhattan Convention

THE Manhattan League had an "experience meeting" on December 11, which the notices called an annual convention. Miss Mary Garrett Hay, leader in Manhattan from the League's beginning till last year, was first speaker and told her fellow-workers that if women would but stand fearlessly and firmly together for what they thought right they could make over the old political parties.

Miss Ruth Morgan talked of the work of her department of international co-operation and stressed support of the World Court. Miss Katharine Ludington talked so entertainingly of exactly how she goes at the task of raising funds for League work that Manhattan members sat on the edges of their chairs in their eagerness to learn her methods. Miss Ludington prophesied that some day every League member will be a money raiser and that the work will be financed by thousands of small contributions brought in by the efforts of all the members.

Mrs. F. Louis Slade, state chairman, told of the work during the past year in New York for the League's four objects—education in citizenship, efficiency in government, needed legislation, and international co-operation to prevent war. The citizenship schools held throughout the state last summer hark back to the first Mrs. Slade ever heard of, the classes opened by the Manhattan League directly after women were given the vote. The candidates' meetings, among other results, are provoking the question, "Can't we get another type of candidate?"

Mrs. Slade congratulated Manhattan on having the hardest task in the whole country, repeating the comment of a man who watched the Cleveland convention of 1921, "I believe that not since the days of the fathers who met earnestly and prayerfully to lay the foundation of this Republic has there been such a gathering of citizens completely devoted to the building of just and righteous government."

Under its eager and earnest leader, Mrs. Walter Timme, Manhattan's 1923 experiences have been good. First, there is the Thrift Shop, opened to help League finances, which has cleared \$1,225 since the opening day in June. The shop is a whole story in itself.

Then there is the "Political Information to Voters" that

tells every woman in Manhattan and all the men in her family what their election districts are—aldermanic, assembly, senatorial, judicial, and congressional—who their representatives are and what are the dates of primaries, registration and elections.

Time was lacking in which to tell of the representatives' meetings of last spring and the candidates' meetings of last fall held in every organized A. D., through which Manhattan League members have clearer ideas than other Manhattan voters of their legislators in Albany. Nor was it possible to go into detail as to work in shops and stores before registration days, because there was the questionnaire to tell about. This contained answers to carefully chosen questions on public measures from all the sixty-two candidates for the assembly and sixty-five candidates for alderman. Fifty-three thousand questionnaires were distributed to registered women voters and twenty thousand through forty or more social agencies. The New York Public Library helped, every branch having questionnaires to give out. Public schools got them from the libraries.

Of course, every League that hasn't tried it, on reading this, will want to issue a questionnaire itself next fall. Before you begin, write to Mrs. R. T. Oliver, Executive Secretary, 37 West Thirty-ninth Street, New York City, for particulars. E. V.

Reclassification Endangered

THE Sterling-Lehlbach Law for the reclassification of the civil service, a measure which the League was instrumental in securing, is of extreme interest to women because it establishes, so far as the Federal Government is concerned, the principle of equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

The goal of the women who worked for the law, however, was not reached when the law was enacted. It must be properly administered, and women should understand precisely what its makers and advocates intended, in order to be prepared to insist that its provisions be carried out.

So far the Government has never really taken stock of its jobs and put its house in order. What each position is and what the qualifications the person who holds it must possess have never been clearly defined. "Clerk" has been, for example, a general term applied to persons doing many different kinds of work requiring different training and experience. Women rated as clerks have been known to do auditors' work at clerks' salary, and under the vague system of classification by salary, not by work done, it has never been possible for the Government to know what work is doing or, indeed, whether employees are economically allotted.

Government service has been like a spice-box in which everything is so mixed that under the lid marked "cloves" one may find nutmeg and allspice and cinnamon. The Sterling-Lehlbach Law was framed to sort out all the things in the spice-box and put each under its proper label so that economical government housekeeping may begin. The Act provides for the grouping together of positions which are alike, so that they may be given uniform treatment as to salary and so that the duties of each kind of job may be defined. Such a classification will make it possible to set up standards by which to measure the relative importance of positions. For all anybody can tell now, the Government spice-box may have ten times as much nutmeg as it needs and not nearly enough cinnamon.

Proper classification in the contemplated way should bring about an equalization of salaries for like work and should disclose any instances in which positions of one kind, the majority of which are filled by women, are placed on a lower salary level than other kinds of positions of equal difficulty and responsibility in which men predominate. Proper specifications of the duties of positions, and of the qualifications required to fill them, will bring out clearly all of the facts with respect to the kinds of positions that exist and the ranges of pay allowed. Not until all of the facts are disclosed can any

effective effort be made to correct inequalities or to overcome the tendency to perpetuate existing inequalities between men's salaries and women's.

Recent developments show a very strenuous effort to modify the interpretation of the law, as conceived by the legislators who wrote it, and to shape the administrative policies of the Personnel Classification Board, which was established under the law to administer it, in such a way that a mere salary grading based, to a considerable extent, upon the present salaries will be substituted for the systematic and definite classification structure the law intended should be developed.

One of the principal differences between these two methods is that under the latter the facts with respect to the various kinds of positions will not be disclosed, and no systematic presentation of the facts with respect to existing positions will be available, either to the Congress or to the public, by which the thoroughness and soundness of the work done may be judged.

The whole question as to the proper administration of the law will, undoubtedly, be brought before Congress at its present session and representatives in Congress should know that women are interested in seeing that this law is so administered as to insure a sound classification on the basis of duties and qualifications as a means of making effective the principle of equal pay for equal work regardless of sex.

The Famous Mile

THE Minnesota League brought its collecting of signatures to the World Court petition to an official close on December 10 and celebrated the occasion by a luncheon at the Curtis Hotel in Minneapolis. Dr. David Bryn Jones, of Carleton College, talked on the World Court, Miss Ruth Ramsey read her poem on the same subject, and members of the delegation to Washington made witty responses to the demand that they tell exactly what they meant to say to statesmen in the capital. After the luncheon there was a parade led by the Fireman's Band, with mounted horsewomen bearing banners. "Peace before Politics" were the words on the first and "Enlist for Peace" the message on the last. Preceded by the banner-bearers, the delegates, Mrs. Sumner T. McKnight, president of the Fifth Congressional District League; Mrs. N. C. Peterson, of Fairmont; Mrs. A. J. McGuire, of St. Paul, and Mrs. Richard Hargreaves, of Minneapolis, marched to the railway station and entrained. Mrs. Andreas Ueland, honorary president of the League, was chairman of parade arrangements and saw the delegation safe on its way to Washington. The petition, which was nearer two miles than one mile in length, was stowed away in more big bandboxes than any similar number of women ever carried before in the history of the country.

Arrival at Washington headquarters on December 12 created a sensation. Photographers by the half-dozen besieged the house and the petition was unrolled and rolled again till arms ached. At noon the delegation and one section of its petition went to the President and Mr. Coolidge was extremely interested, asking several questions as to how signatures were obtained and commenting to his secretary to the effect that the names were remarkably clear.

After luncheon the Secretary of State received the delegation, looked at the petition with interest, congratulated the Minnesota women on their enterprise and told them their "big job" was with the statesmen on Capitol Hill. On the thirteenth the Minnesota senators were visited in alphabetical order and the petition, all of it, the biggest petition that ever came to Washington, was left in Senator Shipstead's office.

Leagues and League Work

CANDIDATES for freeholder in New Jersey will receive from the state League a list of questions which includes open specifications for public highways, removal from party politics of the control of county institutions, awarding of con-

tracts to the lowest bidder regardless of party, a budget system, the appointment of experienced executives for administration of county affairs without regard to party, the establishment of a special ward in county hospitals for delinquent venereal disease cases, and workshops or some other form of healthful employment for prisoners in the penitentiary when the weather does not permit them to work out of doors. Mrs. Hedley Cooke, Miss Florence Halsey, Mrs. Wells P. Eagleton, and Mrs. Andrew Steelman are the committee on questionnaire.

ON December 10 the United League of Rhode Island, which has lately moved into new quarters at 109 Washington Street, Providence, held a get-out-the-vote symposium in the foyer of the Providence-Biltmore. There was a short speech on each of the "seven steep steps" as outlined by the Department of Efficiency in Government's famous leaflet, and several speeches on Step 3. Mr. Sevellon Brown, editor of the *Providence Journal*, spoke for the press; Dr. Edward Holyoke, of Calvary Baptist Church, for the church; Mrs. Caesar Misch, president of the Federation of Women's Clubs, for individuals, and Mrs. Henry A. Eldridge, president of the state Council of Women, for organizations. Work in local and primary elections was discussed by the chairmen of the Democratic and Republican Central Committees. Mrs. Raymond Brown, of the *WOMAN CITIZEN*, was especially interesting in her talk, "The League's Contribution."

THE Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War has received an appeal from the women of Wales and of Monmouthshire addressed to the women of America in which their longing "for the day when the affairs of nations shall be subject no longer to the verdict of the sword" is eloquently expressed. In the closing paragraph of the little memorial the famous passage from Lincoln's second inaugural address, beginning "With malice toward none," is quoted and in the accompanying Welsh version it runs: "Heb falais at ungwr, gan garu pawb, yn gadarn yn y gwirionedd, fel y rhoddo Duw i ni weld y gwirionedd."

THE newest addition to the list of League periodicals is the *Arrow*, published monthly by the Waukesha (Wisconsin) League. The new bulletin is printed, like the *Weekly News* of the New York League, the *Monthly News* of the North Carolina League, and the *Bulletin* of the Saginaw (Michigan) League, on paper seven inches wide and folded to fit an ordinary envelope. The *Arrow* is longer than the other sheet-sizes and is folded into eight pages. Helen M. Moore is editor and has made her first two issues crisp, readable and helpful to women who wish to know exactly what League fundamentals are.

IT IS believed that the Connecticut League was first to send the President a word of comment on his message to the Congress. Mrs. Herbert Knox Smith, president of the state League, telegraphed President Coolidge as follows on December 6: "Your message to the Congress, with its clear and definite stand for the Permanent Court of International Justice in the form and with the reservations proposed to the Senate, has the sincere support of the Connecticut League of Women Voters. The League is gratified that you are also in favor of the Child Labor Amendment to the Constitution."

MISS KATHARINE LUDINGTON was guest of honor at the luncheon of the St. Louis County (Missouri) League when \$1,055 was raised to carry on League work. The sum is \$55 in excess of the amount the League had pledged.

MRS. JOHN R. PARKES, of Minneapolis, has been appointed secretary of the fifth region under Miss Marguerite Wells.

What the American Woman Thinks

A Chain of Hope

By Julia C. Lathrop

Formerly Chief of the Children's Bureau

THIS is the fifth holiday season since the armistice and we know now how fatuous was the hope that we could have war tunes and not pay the piper. With the wreck of Continental Europe today it seems almost trivial to intimate any solid reason for believing that sound democratic growth somewhere may be making progress—that there is any cause for hopefulness in Central Europe. Yet signs may be recalled to mind which offer encouragement.

* * *

Nothing is more sympathetic to our national tradition than the emergence of younger democratic republics. To all of them our successes are an inspiration—our failures a warning. As citizens of the United States, whatever our differences of opinion, we have turned of late to our Declaration of Independence and to our Constitution with a new sense of their vitality. Some of us think the Constitution ought not to be touched, but that like the ark it is the complete and finished vehicle of a sacred utterance. Others of us believe that the Constitution is a living testament admitting of adaptations to the changes which are taking place in our country. All of us respect the patriotism, the courage and the statesmanship of the men who wrote it. Even those of us who have no legal training feel that human struggle to reach just agreements of which our Constitution is the result. Men of differing lives and characters and social traditions came together eleven years after the Declaration of Independence to try to find a way by which they could agree upon a joint expression of the essential principles on which they believed the union of the states must rest.

They never thought they had written a perfect thing. They knew they had set up after many compromises the minimum framework of a common government. And it stands with repeated modifications after one hundred and fifty years of extraordinary national growth.

Surely those who believe in the government thus created must look with interest and good-will on that line of new republics which lies like a long, narrow bridge between the Baltic and the Adriatic. Out of whatever diplomatic exigencies they came into being, there they are with a series of written constitutions which would be of world-wide

popular interest were they not obscured by the wretchedness and confusion which still exist to the east of them and to the west of them.

Finland, with a population about as large as ours in 1789; Latvia and Estonia, each half as large; Lithuania, with four millions and a half; Poland, with more than twenty-six millions; Czechoslovakia, more than thirteen millions, and Yugoslavia, with eleven millions—these republics form a federation which, though still monarchical in form, has in most respects a genuinely democratic framework. In all, close on seventy millions—a vast beginning compared with ours!

For centuries that expanse from north to south has been a changing battle ground—its nations despoiled and parcelled out among conquerors. Foreign governments, inevitably tyrannical, inevitably hated, governed from St. Petersburg or Berlin or Vienna with



bureaucratic rigidity. Ingenious humiliations were enforced, cutting deep into national pride and family life. Native languages were forbidden in school and court and public use—an alien tongue was forced upon the conquered.

A Czechoslovak mother placed her little deaf mute daughters in a school for the deaf. When she visited them they could read the lips, but not *her* lips; they had been taught to speak, but she could not understand their words, for the schools were in the conqueror's tongue. Boys in German Posen, we are told, were flogged at school for speaking their native Polish, and women exiled to Siberia in Russian Poland for the offense of teaching Polish to the peasants on their estates.

What opportunity for revenge when subject nationalities are suddenly in control! Yet the new constitutions show that the contempt for conquered peoples under which these nations have suffered has taught a quite different lesson. Dominant in all of them is the sweeping

away in a sentence or two of the old distinctions of birth and title and race, and the recognition of the equal rights of men and women.

Prudent, undoubtedly, but none the less generous, are the recognitions of the rights of ethnic and national minorities, the provisions for teaching minority languages in schools and for their use in courts and proclamations. Freedom of religious belief and practice is guaranteed. Proportional representation, a voting plan in the interest of minorities, is provided in every state. I was in Warsaw when the Diet was framing the Polish Constitution, and one day received a note from a woman member of the drafting committee enclosing a paragraph on the rights of children, which she had written, and which the committee had that day accepted. She wrote "I trust this meets your aspirations."

I could not express to her how deeply moved I was. Here was asserted the new confidence in the parental care of the state for neglected childhood simultaneous with the statement of the parents' rights, the protection of motherhood, a strong declaration for education and working ages and for the protection in industry of the health of women and young persons. The passage reads:

"Children without sufficient parental care, neglected with respect to education, have the right to state care and aid within the limits to be determined by statute.

"Parents may not be deprived of authority over their children except by judicial decision.

"Special statutes determine the protection of motherhood.

"Children under fifteen years of age may not be wage-earners; neither may women be employed at night, or young laborers be employed in industries detrimental to their health.

"Permanent employment of children and young people of school age for wage-earning purposes is forbidden."

In many, perhaps all, of the new parliaments women were seated, but whether there or not the men who wrote into those constitutions the freedom of their women also set forth in one form or another a conviction of the rights of childhood and of the family—strong assertions of the social and industrial meanings of democracy never before written into constitutions.

The political structures of parliaments and presidents provided in this series of charters vary widely. All are of great importance and their working out and effects will be watched closely by students of political science. But that is another matter.

The United States has contributed to

the writing of these constitutions by example—sometimes followed and sometimes avoided. Men who have lived long in the United States have gone back to their fatherlands to help organize the new states, and men from the new republics have visited the United States to observe and consult. These states do not all love each other, but they all need each other as friendly neighbors. They have much in common. The same Slavic blood predominates in most. A closer view than this superficial statement would reveal the ardor and hope with which these constitutions were written, the common eagerness for a just chance for themselves and their children which these basic laws set forth as the acknowledged end for which laws are drawn.

I quote from the admirable volume by McBain and Rogers, "The New Constitutions of Europe":

"The problems in the new states of Europe all fuse into this one. 'The state,' Aristotle said long ago, 'was formed to make life possible and it exists to make life good.' Can the new democracies insure their citizens a good life? Their written instruments of government are merely a first step, for, as Burke pointed out, constitutions 'must be defended by the wisdom and fortitude of men'."

This question interests the United States for every reason, but for none more than because millions of our population have ties of blood relationship with these new republics. Those of us who have personal acquaintances among the immigrants from all the countries I have named know that they have shown great fortitude at home and in coming here to labor for "a good life." And if a love of education for the young is the beginning of wisdom, we have only to remind ourselves of our census illiteracy figures for 1920, which show that six per cent of our whole population cannot read and write, while only eight-tenths of one per cent of the children of our foreign-born parents are illiterate.

May 1924 bring better fortune to all Europe!

Everybody Voting

By Maud Wood Park

In the correspondence department of THE CITIZEN for December 15 there was a letter criticising the get-out-the-vote campaign of the National League of Women Voters, on the claim that it involved an increase in the illiterate and irresponsible vote. Here is an answer from the National President of the League. It would be a good idea to reread Mrs. Cooke's letter before you begin here.

THE letter of Harriot T. Cooke in the WOMAN CITIZEN of December 15 is extremely encouraging because of its clear evidence that women are thinking for themselves on matters of public policy and are not taking their opinions ready made.

This is exactly as it should be. Mrs. Cooke, however, does not think quite

far enough, for she fails to see that it is impossible for the National League of Women Voters to increase the number of votes cast without at the same time increasing the general intelligence of the electorate.

The League is not a political party with rewards to offer henchmen. It is an unpartisan union of women of all parties and must, therefore, appeal not



to the lowest self-interest but to patriotism, to conscience, to love of good government. Such appeals reach the untaught but not the unteachable, and it is because there are in every community certain voters who are of the unteachable class that every effort must be made to rouse every thinking man and woman to a sense of citizen's obligation.

The League's campaign to get out the vote is wholly an educational campaign and the methods used are too well known to require repetition here. I should like to point out, however, that even if there were no deliberate or incidental education involved in League work, the mere getting out of a large vote regardless of the intelligence displayed by the voters would be a thing tremendously well worth doing. A large vote cannot be manipulated. It cannot be controlled by the party boss with only a certain number of favors to grant. It upsets party machine politics every time.

We play into the hands of the party boss only when we make no effort to get out the vote. With a certain number of voters to be counted on he can be sure of his results. With a large vote assured, he must fall back on the fitness of candidates, the appeal of sound policies.

If Mrs. Cooke will read any of our get-out-the-vote campaign literature she will see that it is our hope to get out a large vote and to assure that that vote will be intelligent, but I wish to repeat that if we made no effort to inform the voter, if we worked merely for numbers, we should be doing a desirable thing for we should be returning to the ideals of the founders of this nation, who decreed that it shall be ruled by the will of the majority, not by the will of the self-seeking minority, and that it shall be, in very fact, a democracy.

Practice vs. Preaching

By Blanch B. Ottenheimer

Third Vice-president, Council of Jewish Women; an Official in the Kentucky League of Women Voters

WHAT is the cause of "this deep-seated disharmony" in our civilization, this something wrong within the nations that comes out in their dealings one with the other?

The first unit of society is the family, where, gathered around the hearthstone, the children of the world first listen to the teachings of right and of love as symbolized by the mother.

The next unit is the church, where the more mature children go for meditation and for inspiration. There they hear preachments of ethics—"Thou shalt not kill—Thou art thy brother's keeper—Love thy neighbor as thyself," etc. And then they go forth into the world to wield their influence for good or for evil.

Why do they not lead with these ethics they heard preached? Why do they not enact them? Were those commandments made for a consciousness that exists only within the four walls of the edifice known as the cathedral, the church, the temple, the synagogue? Surely something is wrong when such teachings cannot be humanized; when our leaders, our diplomats, cannot carry them into practice.

We hear, "one cannot change human nature." Surely it is not necessary to change human nature. But it is necessary that we vitalize and direct into better channels its higher impulses.

We know the things which bind us together are far greater than the things



which separate us. One's creed, one's denomination, is largely a matter of inheritance and should be respected and loved as such. But that creed or that denomination must demand of its followers ethical enactments—first within the denomination, then interdenominationally, so that the enactments may become not only national, but also international.

Nothing in this world just happens, but everything follows as a result of certain causations. We cannot have justice in international relations, if we

(continued on page 26)

World News About Women

In the French Senate

THE question of woman suffrage is before the French Senate again, having just passed the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 440 to 135. This is the second time—the first was in 1919—that the Chamber has given its sanction to suffrage, and it remains to be seen whether or not the Senate will still remain obdurate. Every effort is being brought to bear—literature is being circulated, and an intensive personal campaign is being carried on. Interest is high, for the situation is a particularly delicate one because of the January elections.

The bill which goes before the Senate was drawn up by Justin Godard, a member of the Cabinet under Premier Clemenceau. It is very similar to the American bill, differing only in one respect: twenty-five is set as the voting age.

Attention, Democrats

JANUARY 7 to March 31 are dates to be remembered by all those interested in the Democratic Party, for it is during these twelve weeks that the Correspondence School of the Democratic National Committee will be held. The purpose of the school is to give to Democrats the things every Democrat should know—the historical development of the party, its political and social composition and its mechanism; the approach to public questions and the technique of public speaking. Registration is five dollars for membership in the school with examination and certificate, or without examination if preferred. One dollar will purchase the lesson leaflets without instruction or examination. Checks should be made payable to Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, 710 Bond Building, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Halsey W. Wilson will direct not only the Correspondence School, but also the Schools of Democracy, for the Democratic National Committee. Last year she conducted twenty-one Schools of Democracy in fifteen states, from Augusta, Maine, to Pasadena, California, and their success has warranted a broader program for this year. The schools are to be regional (the first was in Worcester, Massachusetts, for the New England Region), and are to be conducted on the Round Table plan, which has proved so successful a medium for political study. There will be four Round Tables, covering much the same topics as those in the Correspondence School.

Mrs. Wilson has had admirable training for her work. In 1917, during the

suffrage campaign, she made a program for one hundred and twenty-five Watchers' Schools. Later she conducted nineteen schools in the interest of suffrage. Then the war opened the demand for Speakers' Schools for the Council of National Defense, and Mrs. Wilson managed many of these. When Mrs. Blair started organizing Democratic women, Mrs. Wilson's aid was sought in shaping a School of Politics, out of which grew the more popular title, School of Democracy.

Republican Committeewomen

AT the first meeting of the Republican National Committee, after President Harding's inauguration, the question of women's place on the National Committee arose. A sub-committee with Mr. Kean, the National Committeeman from New Jersey, as chairman, was appointed to consider the matter and ascertain whether, under the present rules of the party, women could be admitted to full membership on the National Committee without action being taken by the National Convention. The committee ruled that this could not be done, but advised that the National Committee go as far as it legally could, and as a result it was recommended that each National Committeeman be instructed to appoint a woman from his state as an Associate Member, which was done.

At a recent meeting of the National Committee, the Committee on Rules reported the following resolution, which was unanimously adopted: "The Republican National Committee having appointed a woman from each state as Associate Member, 'Be it Therefore Resolved; by the Republican National Committee, that they instruct the Rules Committee of the National Convention of 1924 that they report a rule that in future the National Committee be composed of one man and one woman from each state'."

HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON.

A Centennial Celebration

THE Women's Bar Association celebrated the centennial of the Monroe Doctrine in Washington, December 1, at its annual dinner. A message from President Coolidge expressing his approval of the celebration was read by Mrs. Ellen Spencer Mussey, honorary president. The program was an interesting one. Miss Sheldon Jackson told of her recent trip around the world; Miss Katherine Pike reported the success of the first national convention of

women lawyers in Minneapolis; Miss Helena Doocy Reed, prominent woman banker in Washington, told of the broadening field for women in banks. Miss Emilie Bullock, president of the Association, was scheduled to speak on the Monroe Doctrine, but illness in her family prevented, and Miss Janet Richards, current events lecturer, took her place.

Children's Bureau News

DR. FLORENCE E. KRAKER, of Philadelphia, has been appointed specialist in maternal hygiene in the Children's Bureau. She will also be associate director of the maternity and infancy division of the Bureau. Dr. Kraker graduated from the Women's Medical College of Philadelphia and has devoted her time to obstetrics. She has just returned from a year in China, where she helped to give modern obstetrical training to young Chinese women doctors.

A Woman's Company

GREAT BRITAIN has a metal company administered entirely by women—chairman, director, auditor, secretary, and even a qualified woman engineer and metallurgist.

The Women's Little Entente

THE first congress of the Women's Little Entente, so we learn from the *International Woman Suffrage Alliance*, met at Bucharest in November. Representatives from Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Greece and Roumania took part. The congress agreed to work for peace, woman suffrage, the organization of labor and the League of Nations.

In the Folketing

FROM the same source, news comes that in the debate on the budget held in the Folketing (Denmark) Mrs. Mathilda Hanschultz demanded five legislative measures concerning women. They are: (1) A speedy bringing forward of the second part of the marriage law. (We're sorry—they didn't say what this means.) (2) A revision of the Danish Penal Code dealing with criminal assault. (3) An amendment to the law allowing the rejection of jury members. (4) A law admitting married women on an equal footing with men, and unmarried women to obtain licenses for carrying on trade. (5) An amendment to the present law, which will permit a Danish woman marrying a foreigner to retain her Danish na-

tionality as long as she stays in Denmark, and to regain it by making a simple declaration.

Another Contest

THE American School Citizenship League will hold another world essay contest, closing June 1, 1924. The contest is divided into two classes—for normal schools and teachers' colleges, with the subject "Methods of Promoting World Friendship Through Education," and for seniors in secondary schools, with the subject "The Organization of the World for the Prevention of War." Prizes of \$75, \$50 and \$25 will be given for the three best essays in each set. Manuscripts should be sent to Mrs. Fannie Fern Andrews, 405 Marlborough Street, Boston 17, Massachusetts.

To Prevent Smuggling

WOMEN custom officers have been stationed on the Canadian border by the Dominion Government to prevent smuggling of American goods during the holiday season. This was done upon the request of the Canadian Retail Merchants' Association.

A German Visitor

FRAU ADELE SCHREIBER, Labor Member of the German Reichstag, has arrived to lecture on women's parliamentary work and their share in promoting international understanding.

Mme. Curie

IF the measure passes the French Senate, Mme. Curie will receive an annual pension of 40,000 francs.

General Federation Notes

By LESSIE STRINGFELLOW READ

NINETEEN new clubs were added to the Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs this year, making a total enrollment of 16,000. "The day for limited membership has passed," said Mrs. J. F. Sipple of Baltimore, president, in her annual address. "Make your organization a democratic body, remembering it is non-political, non-sectarian, and non-partisan, with no creed save the highest American ideals of womanhood. We aim for the sky. Even if we become entangled in the tree tops, we are above the dust and mud."

OUTSTANDING subjects considered by the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs at its meeting recently held at Wichita were State Federation Headquarters, Universal Membership, a Junior Section, and the South Central Group of State Federations.

"BETTER Homes," not merely those made better by money spent upon artistic furniture, harmoniz-

ing colors and novel ornamentation, but better homes because of a better spirit, is the special work being undertaken by the Northern District of the California Federation of Women's Clubs, under the direction of Mrs. Lydia D. Lawhead, district president. Mrs. Lawhead points out that the moving picture and the automobile have so monopolized the time of modern young people that intimate conversations which were once conducive to the home atmosphere have vanished from American lives. To make the home again the center of life and happiness is her aim.

FEBRUARY 17-23 are the dates set for the 1924 nation-wide celebration of Better Speech Week. Clubs are urged to celebrate. Those interested may secure information and material from Mrs. Katharine Knowles Robbins, 410 Michigan Avenue, Chicago, enclosing stamp for reply.

THE Fox Hill Woman's Club (Virginia), a small rural club, has succeeded in securing electric lights as well as a water system for its village.

Other Virginia clubs report unusual achievements, among them the Women's Club of Phoebus—a town of three thousand—which during a recent period of unemployment looked after all cases of need. This same club has established and supports a kindergarten in the public school.

The West Point Woman's Club, with only twenty-five members, has subscribed \$30 to General Federation Headquarters and has established a public library.

The Barton Heights Woman's Club of Richmond maintains a bed in each of three hospitals.

The Norfolk and Lynchburg clubs, the latter claiming Miss Margaret Christian, state chairman for work for crippled children, reports the helping or curing of a number of children who would otherwise have been helpless cripples all their lives.

Working Wives, Please Answer

YOU remember, we asked some well-known "married women with careers" to tell us their experience? Now, we want testimonies from those who may not have national names but who have tried out the "double job," and have something to say. Please, wives who work, answer these questions for the CITIZEN—and do it now.

1. What is your motive in working outside your home? For instance, larger income, because you like it better than domestic work alone, sense of independence, too much leisure—or what?

2. Do you have a double job—that is, do you actually manage your housework as well as work outside? If so, is it a strain?

3. Do you honestly like it better than staying at home?

4. What does your working do to your relationship with your husband?

5. What do you think is the effect on your children?

6. Do you think the lessening of financial responsibility a bad thing for a man?

Washington

(Continued from page 8)

known lately, however, that the Republican leaders in the Senate are not any too sanguine about the fate of such legislation, and Senator Lodge has not let himself become persuasive about it.

William Allen White, who has been in town for a few days in the interest of the Bok peace award upon which members of the jury are arduously working, always points a warning at those who concoct schemes for the edification of the Senate and who fail to remember that they are so mightily different on paper and in the hands of the Republican leader and the Republican whip. When you ask a machine politician to open his mouth and swallow something, the mouthful must be pleasant to the taste and smooth; any scrag, lumps or sharpness will be spat out.

Thus we have the President, if Henry Ford is correct in his statement endorsing Mr. Coolidge, with about 90 per cent of the people of the country behind him, but with far from 90 per cent of his Congress working to accomplish his program.

Now let us see the other side of the capital. It is nearly Christmas. The one resolution which passed the Senate without political intrigue was the motion to adjourn for the holidays, from December 20 until January 3. The Coolidge boys are here and are remaining silently upstairs while their mother traverses the grand staircase nearly every afternoon receiving groups of ladies for tea. Mrs. Coolidge, like Mrs. Harding, makes a notable effort to be cordial and enthusiastic about receiving. She has increased youthfulness. Some one remarked in the White House recently that one of the surest ways to beauty was to marry a man who some day would be President of the United States. The age of beauty has progressed with the rapidity of the age of electricity. The formula for improvement at the White House must be to get a good coiffeur, an expert from the salon de beauté, a new couturier and costumer, take a rest, and a good rub down, put on a fetching gown and go softly down stairs and listen to compliments for an hour. It made a handsome woman of Mrs. Harding, and has enlivened and heightened the attractiveness of Mrs. Coolidge.

The White House is stately with pink roses and masses of palms. There is a new young naval aide who comes bounding up to the front door just like the chap who slides across the floor at a prom to get the next one on his card. Mrs. George Harvey was staying over night at the White House and mingling with the tea crowd. There ought to be some kind of an interim institution

for those bereaved from loss of high office, for in truth we are only human and to step from Buckingham Palace to the Hoboken pier and thence past the goats and chewing-gum signs of the Jersey Central Railroad to a quiet existence must be almost more than the nervous system can endure. It is particularly hard for Mrs. Harding, her friends say, to be out of a swiftly revolving circle so suddenly and off in the dull quietude of an Ohio town where few of her Washington friends can be with her. She had expected to spend the winter in Washington at the New Willard Hotel, but, according to later advice, has postponed her coming. Again, there ought to be some sort of an intermediate court where the nervous systems of those who have been walking the tight wire, so to speak, could readjust themselves. Some place where the gentlemen still would wear their knee breeches and silver buckles would be discarded one at a time.

Washington is dividing its Christmas funds between personal uses and the huge drive for the national cathedral which is being built up on the Massachusetts Avenue heights overlooking the city. Unlike the old cathedrals of Europe and the old times, when growth was natural and according to the spirit of the community—some of the finest cathedrals of Europe took hundreds of years to complete—the Washington cathedral, after a few years of slow construction, is to be finished in a year, and a financial drive is under way with the whole capital divided into competing teams. Bishop Freeman, when the local campaign is over, is planning to visit the principal cities of the country explaining the project for a surpassing national cathedral and soliciting the necessary funds.

A huge Christmas tree has been erected in the spreading park back of the White House, the gift of Middlebury College, Vermont. It is a stately sight and Mr. and Mrs. Coolidge will be able to see it from the windows of the White House library which face the Potomac. Washington is exquisite in these December mists. The lighting of the city is as magnificent as it is impractical. The globe lights sparsely placed along the sides of the roads throw a fairy-like glimmer through the night haze and merely suggest the wraith-like shapes of people and vehicles as they pass. Drivers curse and artists rave over the scheme of lighting in the city with imagined results. Senator Edge of New Jersey sits in his seat in the Upper House today with an expanse of plaster over his eyes and nose as the result of having been knocked down on Sixteenth Street, one of the principal thoroughfares, while walking across the street with his young wife at the edge of the evening. There was a fine rain falling across the glistening street which would

have delighted the night photographer, but proved disastrous to pedestrians.

This old town is just far enough south to be dressed end to end with holly from the nearby Virginia woods, laurel and the soft, clinging ground pine which beguile the sidewalk markets. The holiday markets where the old farm wagons are backed up and the Negro mummies are caroling their wares are beguiling with Christmas red berries and geese, both live and unconscious.

"Want somepin', honey?" says old Fannie, in front of her turnip stand.

"No? Well, God bless you ef you doan' want nothin'."

An admirable sentiment.

Practice vs. Preaching

(Continued from page 23)

do not form the habit of thinking and of practicing justice in our individual spheres. Intolerance of one division for the other within religious denominations, whether Catholic, Protestant or Jewish—that is the root of a disposition that breeds injustice and hatred. That is a fundamental of world misunderstanding.

Centuries ago, on the top of Mount Sinai, came a still small voice which said, "Thou shalt not covet anything that belongs to thy neighbor." Engraving these words on indestructible tablets of stone, Moses proclaimed a basic with which he led his people out of a wilderness.

If religion could find an opening wedge into the conferences between nations, and would there *practice* its preaching of peace on earth, good will toward men; if a little more of human kindness and brotherly love could be made a part of the deliberations of diplomats and could lend a spirituality which could make them say of the past, "Father, forgive them," we might once again be enabled to proclaim to a war-torn civilization, "God's in his heaven, all's right with the world."

The special suffrage edition, printed for the WOMAN CITIZEN, of Carrie Chapman Catt's book, "Woman Suffrage and Politics," has been exhausted, but the demand for the book still continues. The WOMAN CITIZEN therefore has made an arrangement with Charles Scribner's Sons, publishers, for another edition of the book which will be bound in silver and blue and be an exact duplicate of the suffrage edition except that the numbered page will be omitted. In place of this page, the CITIZEN has persuaded Mrs. Catt to autograph each book in this new edition.

An autographed copy of "Woman Suffrage and Politics," by Carrie Chapman Catt and Nettie Rogers Shuler, \$3.00. With one year of the Woman Citizen.....\$4.00

The Bookshelf

MARGARET MONTAGUE'S "Deep Channel" is an unusual story of tragically timid people. A village dressmaker whose shyness, reserve and morbid self-consciousness lay her wide open to the opinions of the world, and a man of her own kind who is married to a virago, find their real selves in each other, and defying the world, are thereby armed against it. Miss Montague's understanding is a fine and sensitive thing, and her sense of drama in neglected details brings her book to a high climax.

Hitherto a new book by Elinor Wylie has meant specially interesting poetry, but this time it is a "sedate extravaganza" in prose. "Jennifer Lorn" is its name, a name to conjure with, full of quaint ridiculousness, matched only by the "Minniver Cheevy" of another poet. It is a novel, in the extravagantly romantic style of the early nineteenth century, retailing the startling adventures of a lorn and lovely lady who faints most of the way around the world. Whimsical, charming, funniest when apparently soberest, full of surprising beauty, it is a very mixed-box-of-candy of a book.

G. B. Stern, clever young English-woman, has written a clever young English novel about a clever (no longer young) English actress who found it easier to star on the stage and talk for publication about her home, than to stay there while her husband muddled around in business. So she was the important member of the family while he occupied the "Back Seat" and her children stayed young to save her official age. What happened when a daughter suddenly grows up to rival her, her single act of sacrifice and her ultimate solution—but it isn't hers. Miss Stern has the bad habit of shirking those headachy things. This is a bright and amusing novel, recommended for modern light reading.

Leonard Merrick's "Man Who Was Good" is a reprint of a much earlier book, and is the story of a woman who was literally "faithful unto death." Lacking Merrick's exquisite foolery, it has a depth of appeal, an almost savage earnestness. It is an excellent piece of human tragedy among human inconsiderables.

The most curiously uneven book of the year is "Bunk." Satire that is almost brilliant elbows trifling personality, clarity and fumbling stand back to back. It is the story of Michael Webb, whose profession is taking the bunk out of various manifestations of American life. If you succeed in wading through the first chapter into the delicious "Importance of Being Second-Rate," its excellencies will captivate you.

It will be interesting, if Mr. W. E. Woodward writes a second book, to see

whether he succeeds in keeping it free from the very bunk which is the fault as well as the subject of his first. M. A.

A Modern Diana

(Continued from page 12)

a hundred and fifty pounds slung on her back, makes the journey to the tethered horses with apparent ease.

Though she travels without a compass, Lena Joyce has never been lost—and at nightfall, wherever she may be, she can contentedly curl up against a log and slumber as serenely as on a bed of softest down. The forest carpets are dearer to her than any Persian rug. Lena can cook, though her preference is for the great outdoors and the sport inherited from her father. This Northwest frontiersman slew as many as one thousand deer in a season, when they were plentiful, and upward of one hundred and fifty cougar and as many bears. Lena's record is creeping upward, though she is modest about furnishing figures. She is accounted one of the best all-round hunters of the Northwest Pacific.

Hannah Kempfer

(Continued from page 12)

shoes, so the father made Hannah some with wooden soles.

The hardships that fell to Hannah's lot during her school days were too numerous to tell here in detail—how at the age of twelve she was forced to go to the town of Fergus Falls to work because of the straitened circumstances in her home; how she wandered the streets of that town looking for employment; how she was abused and mistreated in places where she did get work; how she deprived herself of all comforts when she finally secured decent work in order to send money home; how she eventually won friends who recognized the sterling qualities of this undaunted young girl and how she was at last able to resume her school work, thus qualifying herself to become a teacher.

When she was just under eighteen years of age she was able to pass the teachers' examinations, and from that time on things were easier and life seemed more kind. For ten years she taught, paying in full for the land on which the Jensen family had "squatted," and paying the debts she had incurred in order to secure her education. It was in her school that the first hot meals were served to school children, and her school became known as the "Hot Soup School." Having been hungry herself, she thought of her pupils' welfare in a way that many another teacher might have neglected.

After ten years of experience as a teacher, Hannah Jensen married Charles Kempfer, a young farmer in Otter Tail County. Mrs. Kempfer took up her new duties as a farmer's wife with the same amount of vim and conscientiousness that has marked every part of her life, and so it is not strange that she

should have become a leader in her community, awake to the needs of her section, and ever ready to lend the hand of helpfulness to make her county a better place for everyone within its confines. Her enthusiasm and intelligent interest-edness have resulted in better crops, better stock, better poultry and better marketing methods. Her example has shown others what the new woman citizen *ought* to be and *can* be. Because of her contribution to the up-building of her community she has earned a position of pre-eminence among the women of Otter Tail County.

Mrs. Kempfer says herself: "I found that my views as a rural member of the Legislature were very different from those of the city women; but we worked well together and found that we looked at the merits of a measure regardless of party." Which is surely a tribute to all four.

Home Rule

(Continued from page 11)

ber of bills introduced for consideration will reveal a very interesting situation which seems to bear out this claim.

Third, the legislature is predominantly rural and, therefore, has little interest in, and feels little responsibility for, the administration of municipal affairs. It is, perhaps, not irrelevant to ask what the legislator from Gayville cares about the concerns of New York City, or what the legislator from New York City cares about the condition of the streets in Cohoes.

Fourth, many city problems are essentially local.

Fifth, home rule fixes responsibility; sixth, it makes experimentation possible; and finally, it has a broad educational value.

Against home rule it is maintained that municipal councils are often untrustworthy—a fact easily substantiated; that all municipal affairs are matters of state concern; and that the whole trend of the times is toward centralization. And so the controversy goes.

The advocates of home rule seem to be getting the better of the argument. Eighteen states have adopted the policy, including a majority of those containing large cities, and considerable sentiment in favor of it exists elsewhere.

Two types of home rule are possible—that guaranteed in the state constitution and that granted by mere act of the legislature. The former has the advantage that it carries to the legislature from the people a mandate to abstain from interfering in local affairs. It has the disadvantage, however, of throwing upon the already overburdened courts the determination of what are "municipal affairs." Legislative home rule, although having the disadvantage of being dependent upon the whim of the legislature, at least permits

C HARLOTTE PERKINS GILMAN'S latest book, "*His Religion and Hers*," is original and brilliant, like everything she writes. Mrs. Gilman says that up to this time the religious conceptions of all nations have been colored mostly by masculine ideas; that men, having been for ages hunters and warriors, have thought chiefly about killing, and hence their religion has been too largely preoccupied with death and what comes after; that women have been the bearers and bringers up of children, and they will eventually transfer the emphasis in religious thought to birth instead of death, to the bettering of this world instead of meditation upon the next, and especially to the duty of race-improvement, which she looks upon as the great mission of women, though they are hampered in it at present by their economic dependence upon men, and other obstacles. Philosophy, according to Mrs. Gilman, has likewise expressed almost exclusively a masculine view, and she pays her respects pungently and incisively to "the perverted sex-philosophy of Freud and his followers." This chapter will be read with delight by many women who may dissent from a good deal else in the book. But what Mrs. Gilman writes is always worth reading, whether we agree with it or not. She points out that most of our proverbs also express a masculine view, often even an anti-woman view; and she suggests some new proverbs, from the feminine side, e. g.:

What hurts the mother hurts the race.
A baby is more important than a corpse.
Spend on the school and save on the prison.
I love you, said the pig to the pudding.

"*The Unadjusted Girl*," by Prof. W. T. Thomas, with a foreword by Mrs. W. F. Dummer, is the fourth in a series of Criminal Science Monographs, authorized by the American Institute of Criminal Law and Criminology. It is made up largely of "case histories," compiled by the author under the direction of Mrs. Dummer, a noted welfare worker of Chicago. It contains much valuable material, and shows, among other things, that a girl who is considered bad is often only unadjusted, and can be brought into harmony with life and her surroundings by wise and sympathetic treatment. A. S. B.

- Deep Channel, Atlantic Monthly, 1923. \$1.90.
Jennifer Lorn, Doran, 1923. \$2.50.
The Back Seat, Knopf, 1923. \$2.00.
The Man Who Was Good, Dutton, 1923. \$1.90.
Bunk, Harper, 1923. \$2.00.
His Religion and Hers, Century, 1923. \$1.75.
The Unadjusted Girl, Little Brown, 1923. \$3.00.

a more comprehensive statement as to "municipal affairs," thus relieving the courts of some of the burden and makes easier any adjustment which may be necessary between state and local functions. The general tendency, however, has been to enact constitutional home-rule amendments.

The question may well be asked: Is not this trend toward decentralization inconsistent with the movement toward nationalism? In so far as it is, the modern accentuation of national and local problems constitutes the explanation. But the inconsistency is probably more apparent than real, for as the legislature has been laying down its powers the administration has been taking them up. Today there is vastly more state administrative control than ever before—though it is still very slight. Without question, in so far as local functions are of state concern, they will come more and more under the influence of state administrative supervisory officers, who will probably be specialists in the fields under their jurisdiction, and thus able to administer a wiser and more effective supervision than the legislature's.*

The problem which confronts us, then, is in determining whether the modern trends are wise and to be encouraged, or whether they are unsound and to be discouraged.

In the next article of the Columbia University series Dr. Wallace will describe "Checks on Tyranny."

*It should be said that the similarity of functions of the rural subdivisions of the states has made the problem of their relation to the state government less acute. It is still possible in most states to govern these communities by general law. As their problems become more and more complex it can be expected that their relations to the state governments will follow a course similar to that of the cities.

Your Investments

More Bonds for More People

By ELEANOR KERR

A GREAT change has come in recent years in the number and type of corporation stock and bond holders. In former years bonds were usually held in comparatively large blocks by men and women of wealth. The Liberty Loans did much to popularize bond ownership, and there are today probably three or four times as many bondholders—exclusive of those holding only Liberty Bonds—as there were before 1917. The average individual amount is probably about one-half or one-third of the individual holding of former years.

This condition adds much to the stability of our prosperity, not only because of the indication of thrift, but also because of the greater interest taken by these more numerous holders in the affairs of the companies whose securities they have bought. Of course, there have been cases of the sale of good securities for the purchase of worthless ones, but there have probably been a great many more cases of wise investment made by these new investors.

Another form of widely distributed ownership of securities has occurred through the movements called "consumer ownership" and "employee ownership." For many years it did not occur to big manufacturing companies or public utilities that it would be desirable to interest consumers in their business through the ownership of stock or bonds, but in recent years the wisdom of this has been seen and a very large number now own stock in the enterprises whose electric light, telephones, gas, etc., they are using.

At the same time many corporations

have been selling stock on favorable terms and a partial-payment plan to their employees. The United States Steel Corporation is particularly well known in this respect, but there are a great many others. It is felt that in this way the consumer has a greater interest in the affairs of the local company and is willing to cooperate with it more fully than before, while the employee shares to a certain extent in the prosperity of the employer. In both cases there has been a noticeable decrease in fault-finding on the part of those owning such securities.

Now there is just one danger among the many advantages in this movement. As long as the securities (usually preferred or common stock, but sometimes bonds) are sound and the company's affairs are prosperous, with good dividends, etc., no complaints arise, but in a period of poor business when dividends are reduced there is almost invariably an outcry, and sometimes bad feeling develops. A very real danger exists if the securities of a company which is not organized on an exceedingly sound basis are offered to consumers or employees, for should such a company encounter financial difficulties or fail it would entail considerable hardship on those who trusted it and who were probably induced to invest in the enterprise through sentimental as well as business reasons.

If you are a consumer asked to invest in the local public utility, or in a company whose products you buy and use, make sure that it is a good business investment, for, although it may be an exceedingly well-managed firm as far as operations and product go, it may not be in the best financial condition. On the other hand, the reverse may be true—the financial condition may be sound, while operating conditions are mediocre.

Most corporations that have so far offered stock to their customers or employees have offered securities of real investment rank, whether stocks or bonds, but as the movement grows it is possible that this may not always continue to be the case.

Consumer and employee ownership ought to work to the mutual advantage of both the corporation and the individual and, from present indications, it would seem to be doing so.

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THE first League of Women Voters to win a second prize of \$100 for subscriptions to the WOMAN CITIZEN is the State League in California. Its record is all the more remarkable as both prizes were won within a limit of sixty days. Mrs. George Herron of Oakland is conducting the drive with the very energetic and efficient cooperation of Mrs. D. B. Lyons of Los Angeles, who took over the entire southern section and who has obtained almost fifty per cent of the total number of subscriptions.

A Line on the Movies

By LAURA L. LAEDLEIN

ANNA CHRISTIE—Eugene O'Neill's play of the sea and sea-going people. It is the story of an old captain, whose whole life has been an irresponsible sea-roving. He has tried to protect his daughter from the temptation "old devil sea" has been to him, and at the same time sidestep too much domesticity for himself, by keeping her far inland on a western farm. When they meet again she is a bitter and despairing prostitute, come east to find him and his help. He takes her to live with him aboard ship, where the sea seems to her to bring a kind of redemption. The drama climaxes in her attempt to reconcile her past life with what two men think of her. The picture is temperately done and directed and is above the average. It is honestly acted by Blanche Sweet and a uniform cast. An Associated First National picture, directed by John Griffith Wray.

LUCRETIA LOMBARD—This is Kathleen Norris's novel, with some of the characters of that story, as we recall it, provided with a little more opulence of worldly things than even that generous provider of luxury originally allotted them. A fair cast outlines the story of the girl and the woman who loved the same man, and their family adventures. But we wish they had fled through the burning woods in something other than chiffon and crêpe de chine: we almost shouted "Get a woolen coat!" when they started. A Warner Brothers picture, directed by Jack Conway.

IN THE PALACE OF THE KING—The palace is a castle in Spain, and the king Philip II. The time is one of those centuries when women had no monopoly of costume canniness and consciousness. Dolores and her blind sister, Inez, are in love with the king's brother, Don John, and no wonder, when he goes about like a young Romeo, clothed in white satin, white plume and a beautiful profile, and refuses to stick his sword through his relatives. Plot and counter-plot run in and out and up and down the fine halls and romantic stairways of an altogether interesting old building, and in time the not too villainous villains cease to trouble and the wicked are at rest. Teen-age romance, from the novel of F. Marion Crawford. A Goldwyn picture, directed by Emmett J. Flynn.

THE CALL OF THE CANYON—A very eastern East and a very western West meet, part, and meet again. The girl who has gone east because she cannot marry a man who wants to live in that violent country comes west again to do it, and meets him—alas—as he stands at the altar of the village church with the simple western girl. But the western girl returns him to the eastern girl as casually as though she had picked

up the wrong vanity bag. The fat little boy next to us accused his father on the last reel: "That wasn't cowboys," he said, disappointed. And it wasn't. A Paramount picture, from a Zane Grey novel, and directed by Victor Fleming.

THE ACQUITTAL—A murder, suspicion and court trial melodrama, with a more than usually interesting court scene. In it the most significant scenes of the human story and the main lines of the legal riddle are drawn from the witnesses as they testify. There is a very intent and unself-conscious district attorney (Harry Mestayer), who makes us think every one of his facts is competent, relevant and material because he thinks it is. The rest of the picture and cast are fair. A Universal picture, from the stage play by Rita Weiman, and directed by Clarence I. Brown.

Fresh Air

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP

College Physician at Barnard

THE air we breathe and in which we perform all the duties and pleasures of our lives is composed of:

Nitrogen	77 1/2% per volume
Oxygen	19 1/2% per volume
Carbon dioxide.....	3 % per volume

The nitrogen is inert. In the lungs there is a constant interchange between the oxygen, which we need as an integral part of the nutrition of our bodies, and the carbon dioxide which is given off as the result of the work of the body and eliminated through the lungs. The air in the lungs, under normal conditions, is 16 per cent oxygen and 5 per cent carbon dioxide.

In no human habitations are the relations of oxygen and carbon dioxide as low as in the lungs, the amount of oxygen in even the most poorly ventilated rooms being higher than 16 per cent. In some coal mines the oxygen is artificially kept as low as 17 per cent in order to avoid the explosions which take place when the oxygen per cent is higher.

At the first contemplation of these facts it would seem as if the subject of ventilation were a fictitious one, not of any real importance. Yet every one knows from experience the actual physical result of poor air—a feeling of dullness, sleepiness, and if the air condition grows worse, even nausea and faintness. The skin becomes flushed at first, the head aches, one has an intense desire to escape from the atmosphere producing these uncomfortable sensations. These are all real phenomena.

A long series of experiments has been performed on various classes of people, groups of healthy college students, industrial workers, giving a mass of data from which to draw conclusions for an ideal of good air.

One group of students was enclosed

in a room where the temperature was kept uniform. On the days when no outside air was admitted the amount of food the students consumed was markedly less than on the days when outside air was admitted. The vitiation of

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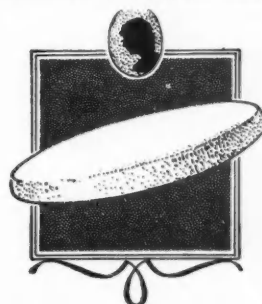
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the air in this room was due to chemical impurities given off from the bodies of the students, mostly in the way of volatile odors.

Another group of students was placed in carefully controlled chambers and allowed to breathe outside air through a tube. They still experienced all the symptoms due to poor ventilation. The breathed air from the experimental chamber was passed out through a tube to a group of students outside in a normal room, but these experienced none of the effects of poor ventilation.

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It was the heat and moisture produced by their bodies which caused the feeling of discomfort in the test room; not an effect on the lungs, but on the skin.

Electric fans were next introduced into the chamber, so blowing away the covering of heat and moisture that clings to each individual, enmeshed in the clothing, and all the symptoms of discomfort were relieved.

Many more experiments have justified the conclusion that the discomforts of poor ventilation are physical, not chemical, cutaneous, not respiratory.

The effects of poor ventilation are none the less actual and harmful. This only explains their origin and points a more successful way to their removal. If the bad effects of poor ventilation come from a change in the skin reactions, so altering most profoundly the circulation through the whole body, it is evident that evaporation from the skin and the relative humidity of the surrounding air become the most important aspects of ventilation.

Another group of students in a ventilation experiment chamber were set to doing various forms of mental and manual work, the result being a distinct lowering of mental and physical efficiency in stagnant, warm, humid air. An extended investigation was made on the effect of temperature and humidity of air upon resistance to disease, with most startling results in the frequency of chronic respiratory disease. The table gives a summary of cases with chronic respiratory disease:

Students	3%
Outdoor Workers (truckmen and teamsters under severe exposure)...	19%
Furnace men (subject to high dry heat)	35%
Laundrymen (subject to moist heat) ..	46%

Bad air is warm, moist, stagnant air, with an unpleasant odor. It produces in those living in it feelings of discomfort varying in intensity with its badness. It lowers their physical tone, lessens the appetite, deranges the circulation, destroys mental and physical efficiency.

Good air, then, has the opposite qualities. It is

(a) Cool—between 65 and 68 Fahrenheit temperature. Above 69 produces discomfort, injures the circulatory system, decreases efficiency, and predisposes to circulatory diseases.

(b) Moving—in gentle motion, the temperature varying slightly from moment to moment.

(c) Free from offensive bodily odors. A person upon coming into a room from out of doors can detect an odor to which the nostrils of those in the room have become accustomed.

(d) Free from dust.

(e) Its humidity is between 60 and 65 per cent.

The question of good ventilation will then involve a study of actual ventila-

tion contrivances: office thermometers, electric fans, bathing, clothing and climate. The most direct and simple step in the beginning of good ventilation is the purchase of an office thermometer.

Pennsylvania's Welfare Woman

(Continued from page 9)

them, particularly as he could not get a housekeeper. A judge of an Orphans Court called on the department to determine whether a large endowment fund was really accomplishing the purpose for which it was created. Conferences and investigations resulted in an entire recasting of the administration of the fund, to the great advantage of scores of beneficiaries. The head of a welfare federation wired to ask what the standard number of hospital beds should be in proportion to the population of his community. A board of trustees had plans drawn for a new institution for children. Some one suggested that perhaps Dr. Potter's department could be helpful. It was found that the plans provided for twice as many dependent children as the county was likely to have. The plans were revised.

Dr. Potter, in a special and peculiar sense, epitomizes in herself the work, aims and ideals of her department. It is fortunate therefore that she is able to find time, now and then, to go about the state addressing meetings of various kinds. For in impressing herself on the audience, she also drives home her welfare plans. Dr. Potter, her personality and her sincerity, lend a most compelling attraction to such subjects as poor-law administration and the bad conditions in county jails. These subjects, and the possibilities for improvement, are being burned into the public consciousness as never before in the history of Pennsylvania.

Coming!

THIS is a good time to look ahead a bit—not too far, but just into the next few numbers. So here is a list of things that are coming soon in the 1924 Citizen before it begins its big job of printing the records and following the activities of Presidential candidates:

An article on housing, by Edith Elmer Wood, an expert who has studied conditions in European cities over many years.

Women in insurance—their achievements and the opportunities, by Eve Chappell.

A symposium on what doctors have to say about women's alleged physical handicap in business.

An article from Mrs. Catt's speech on the Monroe Doctrine recently delivered at the Foreign Policy Association in New York.

Three articles on "The Clean City," by Caroline Bartlett Crane, well-known municipal adviser.

And—many—more.

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII

JANUARY 12, 1924

Number 17

News Notes of the Fortnight

Summed up from many sources

Tax Plans

TAXES are certainly the subject of the day. Secretary Mellon brings out further ammunition of figures in response to all attacks, and insists that his program must stand as a whole. President Coolidge also made a firm announcement that the program must stand substantially unchanged—and set the capital wondering whether he would veto any compromise measure that might conceivably be passed. Senator Borah has recommended tax reduction as a crusade, stressing the thousands of homes that have felt the burden of high taxes, and assailing the notion that tax reduction and bonus payment can go together.

The program which the Democrats propose as a substitute for the Mellon plan has been announced by Representative Garner, of Texas. It proposes still lower rates than Mr. Mellon's for small and moderate incomes, a further reduction of a third on earned incomes (as against Mr. Mellon's quarter reduction), and somewhat higher rates on the larger incomes. It makes the maximum surtax rate 44 per cent instead of Mr. Mellon's 25 per cent, or the present 50, but on a graduated plan.

The Garner statement includes no estimate as to what the revenue from this plan would be. Actuaries of the Treasury Department now at work on the Democratic schedule estimate that it will bring in about \$100,000,000 less than the Mellon plan. It was promptly followed by the "radical" substitute tax bill, framed by Representative Frear, of Wisconsin, which combines tax cut and bonus payment. Like the Democratic schedule, it reduces the taxes on small incomes below the Mellon level; it maintains the present surtax of 50 per cent, restores excess profits taxes and favors an increased inheritance tax.

Venizelos Returns

FORMER Premier Venizelos of Greece responded to the request of his countrymen that he return from Paris and undertake to straighten out the Greek political tangle. Immediately upon his return he was received by the

Mary Craddock Beale is neither a contemporary artist nor an American, but her work grants her a place in our cover series. A minister's daughter, she was born in Suffolk in 1632. Just where she studied is uncertain, some reports claiming Van Dyck as her master, others Sir Peter Lely, others Robert Walker. At any rate she must have studied in London. The date of her marriage to Charles Beale is also uncertain.

Mrs. Beale painted in oil and water-colors, and drew in crayon. Her work is vigorous to the degree that it was sometimes spoken of as "masculine"; her coloring is clear, fresh and natural; her style shows Italian influence. The most eminent personages sat to Mrs. Beale. Her portrait of Queen Henrietta Maria was loaned to the first Exhibition of National Portraits at South Kensington. The Earl of Clarendon, Lord Cornbury, the Countess of Derby and many others employed this talented artist.

She died in 1697.

National Assembly and elected its president—which gives him "all the authority there is" in Greece—but proceedings were interrupted by a sudden illness which necessitated his withdrawal. M. Venizelos was reported as saying that the situation seemed worse than he had expected to find it. The Royalists insist that the King of Greece shall be brought back before any conversations begin and that he shall remain while a plebiscite is held to decide whether the government is to be a monarchy or a republic. The republicans, on the other hand, refuse to discuss the King's return at all.

From his sick bed, M. Venizelos has sent a flat refusal to accept the Liberal Party's choice of him as their leader.

Labor Government Sure

GREAT BRITAIN is settling down to the assured fact that it is to have a Labor Government, and from speculating as to whether it would or it wouldn't, has turned to speculating as to how long the new government will last. The first few days after the opening of Parliament—January 8—will be occupied with formalities and the King will not open it formally until the 15th. In accordance with traditional proce-

dures, the Baldwin Cabinet will then submit an address to the King embodying the Conservative legislative program. Mr. Macdonald, for Labor, will oppose it and suggest an amendment which it is expected will carry with Liberal help. Mr. Baldwin will then resign, and Mr. Macdonald will be called. Parliament will adjourn to reassemble about the 27th.

During the fortnight Mr. Macdonald published in the *New York World* an interview which was not released in the British press until a couple of days later—rather an unheard-of proceeding—in which he said that he would reserve the right to demand a dissolution of Parliament and a new election if his government should be defeated on a major issue. This was a direct answer to the Liberal leader, Mr. Asquith, who had taken the position that as soon as the Labor Government should be defeated on a vote, the King ought to call the Liberals to form a Cabinet. Back of this division of opinion presumably lies the hope on the one side, and the fear on the other, that another election would strengthen Labor.

A Better Outlook in Europe

IT is good news that seven regiments of French soldiers have been withdrawn from the Ruhr, and that the passport barrier between occupied and unoccupied Germany has fallen. Germans may now travel from one section to another without obtaining French or Belgian permission, and Allied control now applies only to freight, express and parcel post, on which the occupying powers collect customs duties. As their sentences expire the burgomasters of many towns are returning from prison, and others are being allowed to return from exile. Only seven important towns still have exiled or imprisoned burgomasters.

Our three experts for the committees to study German finance have sailed, and Dr. Edwin W. Kemmerer, professor of economics and finance at Princeton, has accepted the post of adviser to the three. The committee on the Ger-

man budget meets January 14, that on the flight of German capital January 21.

Negotiations are going forward between the industrialists of France and Germany, and some agreements have been concluded, though no firm basis has yet been established. The so-called potash king of Germany, Dr. Arnold Rechberg, has for some time been conducting private negotiations in Paris and has now submitted to the French Foreign Office a definite plan for a reparation agreement based on his plan. Briefly, this is a scheme by which France would participate in German finances to the extent of 30 per cent, under the stipulations that the shares purchased could not revert to Germany for thirty years and that the French purchasers could not sell them outside of France. There will be much discussion of this plan before any action can be taken, and there are sure to be many objections, among them the obvious one that the problem of reparations concerns Great Britain and Belgium as well as France. As this goes to press, the papers report that the German government disavows the Rechberg plan.

German officials, realizing that the wealthy Germans who go on living luxuriously, either at home or in Switzerland, are prejudicing the case of the hungry thousands, have taken steps to curb them. Two special despatches announce a twelve-cent tax to be imposed on dancers, and a plan to prevent Germans from leaving the country unless they can give assurances that they will not reflect on their country by an extravagant mode of life or by criticism. Responsible observers constantly warn against confusing the extravagant living of the few with the pitiable condition of the many.

French Finance

IN France there is the curious situation of a balanced budget, for the first time in years, with the franc falling suddenly below five cents. But the balanced budget refers only to normal expenditures, not counting the great costs of reconstruction, for which the people have advanced the money by buying bonds. The country as a whole is prosperous, but the financial straits of the government raise thoughts of possible bankruptcy, and naturally the fall of the franc throws a heavy burden on the small investor and raises the cost of living. Its decline is variously given as a psychological one, owing to the long delay in reparations, or as the definite result of a scaling down of the government's payments to the Bank of France for the retirement of paper currency.

The first of the senatorial elections has just been held, with no special issues. M. Poincaré was of course reelected. It is the election of deputies next spring which promises interest, as there will be a line-up between Poincaré and his sup-

porters against the liberals, led by Briand and Herriot, who oppose his Ruhr policies.

Corfu Echoes

LAST summer, it will be remembered, the Council of Ambassadors awarded to Italy the fifty thousand *lire* which had been deposited by Greece in a neutral bank, to cover an indemnity for the murder of the Italian General Tellini and his party on Greek territory. This award was in violation of the agreement made by the Council with the League of Nations, that the amount of the indemnity should be determined by the Court of International Justice at the Hague, on the basis of the report of a special commission of inquiry.

This action was protested at the time, and the supposition was that the Council's high-handed course was considered to be the only way to make sure of getting Mussolini out of Corfu. The final report was not published. But a copy of it has now been sent to the League Secretariat, and an Anglo-Hellenic League has given it publication. It appears in detail in the *Christian Science Monitor*; and while it indicates plainly various ways in which the Greek Government was negligent in handling the situation at the time of the assassination, and a lack of cooperation between the Greek and the Albanian authorities, it

Very Briefly

EDWARD A. FILENE of Boston will shortly announce a series of European Peace Essay competitions, similar to that of Mr. Bok—French, English and Italian writers to compete for the best practicable plan to maintain peace.

An interesting invention is the ultra-audible microphone, which will make it possible for scientists to hear sounds now inaudible, such as the vibrations of the heart and brain and the sounds made by tiny insects.

The Prince Regent of Japan was fired at in an attempted assassination. Whereupon the Japanese Cabinet, formally assuming responsibility for the attack on the sacred person, resigned in a body and insisted on maintaining their resignation even against the Prince Regent's protest.

A despatch from Rome says that negotiations for a commercial treaty which are being conducted by Russian and Italian experts are almost completed, and that indeed the text of the treaty has been despatched to Moscow for approval. The first clause of the treaty contains a recognition by Italy of the Soviet Government.

The gravity of the situation in Greek refugee camps is emphasized by a cable received by the Near East from Mr. Henry Morgenthau, who is head of the International Loan Commission for the Greek refugees. Mr. Morgenthau asked for means to provide for five thousand more orphans at once—a request which the Near East was obliged to refuse for lack of funds, though it continues its regular work of caring for the 50,000 exiled orphans now in Armenia, Greece, Syria and Palestine.

The Catholic Church has again been recognized by France after nineteen years of isolation. The Government has granted it the right to occupy its former property.

According to a cable received by the W. C. T. U. from its organizer in India, the Punjab has just passed a local option bill, the first liquor legislation to be passed in India.

fails altogether to show any responsibility of the Greek Government for the assassination. The best that can be said in foreign diplomatic quarters in London is that this was a case of the old diplomatic expedient of finding the easiest way out of a difficulty.

The New Treaty

DURING the fortnight France has concluded a treaty of alliance with Czechoslovakia which has attracted a good deal of attention. It contains mutual pledges of aid in execution of the St. Germain, Trianon, Neuilly and Versailles treaties, mutual pledges to support the League of Nations, mutual "defensive" pledges of military aid in case of aggression, common opposition to the return of the Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs, and to union of Austria with Germany. Italy views the alliance with chagrin, regretting that the states carved out of Austria-Hungary were not lined up under her own supervision. Eastern Europe is now said to contain forty million inhabitants under French leadership, and Italy doesn't like it.

Great Britain has recently addressed notes to Rumania, Poland and Serbia, warning them that if the security given by them to France for French loans imperils money owed to England, it may be considered necessary to call the loans made by England at once.

A conference of the Little Entente is to be held at Belgrade on January 9, which will undoubtedly have much influence on European affairs.

Arms Embargo

AS we go to press, the latest news on the sale of arms to Mexico (see Mrs. Stokes, page 7) is that a proclamation has been made, placing an embargo on the shipment of arms or munitions of war by private concerns to Mexico. Shortly after the United States Government consented to sell arms to Obregon, de la Huerta, the leader of the revolution, sought to test out press reports that the revolutionists would also be allowed to purchase here. His agent at New Orleans was instructed to assemble rifles, cartridges and machine guns at New Orleans, first making his intention known to the agent of the Department of Justice at New Orleans, who referred it to Washington.

The response from Secretary Hughes was that there was no embargo on the shipment of war materials to Mexico, but that such shipments were looked upon with disfavor by the State Department, and that private concerns making them would do so entirely at their own risk.

The embargo followed within two days. Obregon is excepted, shipments of munitions to his government being permitted when our government approves them.

January 8, 1924.

What Has Become of the Court?

By Carrie Chapman Catt

AT present the conflicting views concerning the proposed bonus and the Mellon plan of tax reduction occupy the foreground of political attention at Washington, and the probability that these two measures will absorb many weeks, if not months, of congressional time grows stronger day by day. That the more imperative demand for their discussion has pushed consideration of the Permanent Court of International Justice into the background is obvious. Should the World Court never reach the floor of the Senate for consideration during the entire session, the careful explanation that there was no time for it will be generally distributed and generally accepted by Court supporters as a rational though regrettable reason why no action was taken.

Who's Who on the Committee

The facts are something different. The Foreign Relations Committee, to which the World Court resolution must be referred, is composed of eighteen members, ten Republicans, seven Democrats and one Farmer Labor. This committee, it will be remembered, was packed with anti-League of Nations members before the contents of the covenant had been revealed in 1919. Eight of the members, carefully picked then for their willingness to find cause for opposition to the covenant as yet unknown, are still members, seven Republicans and one Democrat. Two Republicans have been added in the present Congress who, joining with the eight original irreconcilables, have pledged themselves that nothing shall persuade them to report out the World Court resolution with the reservations written by Secretary Hughes and submitted to the Senate by President Harding. A solid majority of irreconcilables, it will thus be seen, consisting of nine Republicans and Senator Shields, Democrat, are in that committee chiefly because they are opposed to any form of international cooperation yet proposed to bring permanent peace.

The Senate was polled after President Harding submitted the World Court proposal and two-thirds were found favorable. The only steps necessary to the entrance of this nation into the World Court at that time were a report from the Foreign Relations Committee and a vote of the Senate. The Senate was ready with its two-thirds majority, hence the Foreign Relations Committee

refused to report out the resolution. The public did not understand where the hitch was.

President Harding, in the hope to win over the members of his own party who were refusing to let the measure out of committee, threw over the Hughes reservations, which two-thirds of the Senate had accepted, in his St. Louis speech, and proposed that the World Court should be self-perpetuating. This proposal brought forth such unanimous and loud protests from the lawyers of the country that it was virtually rejected, but the situation proved so bewildering to the general public that two great women's organizations, the Federation of Women's Clubs and the Women's Christian Temperance Union, so far misinterpreted developments that they passed resolutions favoring not the World Court, but a World Court, and this contributed still more to the national confusion of understanding.

During the recess of Congress a tremendous amount of work has been done, chiefly by women, to clarify the public mind, to show the advantages of American membership in the Court, and many "miles of petitions" have been circulated and signed. President Coolidge recommended our adherence to the Court in his first message, but his declaration is not clear as to whether he stands by the original Harding-Hughes reservations or whether he will endorse any reservations that can pass the Senate.

The Lenroot Bomb

Then comes Senator Lenroot, of Wisconsin, tenth Republican member of the Foreign Relations Committee and the only one who is not pledged to prevent the World Court measure from coming out of committee with the original reservations. Conscious that different reservations are the only considerations which will get the measure out of the committee and on the floor of the Senate, he now proposes some which fill all well-informed people with dismay. He creates "confusion worse confounded."

It will be remembered that the idea of the Permanent Court of International Justice was American and that this country attempted to establish such a court. It failed because the nations concerned could not agree as to how the judges were to be elected. That ugly obstacle was removed when Elihu Root proposed that judges be nominated by The Hague Tribunal and elected by the two houses of the League of Nations.

The proposal was very acceptable. Yet it took three years to secure the signatures of the forty-seven nations which now unitedly compose the Court. Parliamentary action was necessary in most countries and parliaments are not in continuous session.

Senator Lenroot now proposes an entirely different form of election of judges, yet one that is closely imitative of the present method. He would take the election out of the League of Nations entirely and throw the old controversy, which prevented the Court's existence for twenty years, into discussion again. Should his reservations pass and the World Court be accepted with them, the statute of the Court would have to be amended and these reservations adopted by forty-seven member nations. This could not be achieved, if at all, in less time than the original procedure consumed—that is three years.

Six Years' Loss

But there is no method provided for amending the statute of the Court. The Commission which wrote it has concluded its work and been discharged. Presumably the League of Nations would have to call it or another one into existence, a method of amendment would have to be framed, and if such amendment provided that it must be ratified by each member nation, the process would consume three years. If the proposal was accepted, it would then take three years more to pass the amendment, if it could be done at all, providing for a change in the method of election of judges.

These six years might easily be extended to a considerably longer time. The United States would not be a member while these questions were pending, and a troublesome, disturbing, controversial factor would be thrown into this bit of peace machinery which is in stable working order.

As a matter of fact, Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, in a recent public letter indicated, as he has done in conversations, that he would like to set up an entirely new court. One wonders if he thinks that nations groaning under the present burden of taxation will willingly assume the financial responsibility for another international court merely to please the whim of a dozen irreconcilable American senators. The motive behind the pledges of the Foreign Relations Committee is pretty well unmasked

and is clearly the determination to keep this nation out of the Court, not by a fair, frank challenge to the public sentiment which is overwhelmingly for it, but by a filibuster to prevent action, first, in the Committee, then, failing there, in the Senate and, failing there, to load the proposal with such reservations that other nations will not accept it.

This was the successful procedure which defeated the League and befuddled the public. It will be tried again.

Then, ejaculates the Court supporter, "If the situation is so hopeless, shall we not drop the question?" Yes, if you are a coward and a quitter! But if you know you are right, you will buckle on the armor of that truth and up and at them. After all, public opinion still rules in this country. Carefully distributed misinformation can so easily confuse it that it often takes a long time to arrive at definiteness, but it will arrive if there are workers to teach and to lead.

The Court is not lost. When and if

it once gets on the floor of the Senate with any kind of reservations, they may be taken off and the original ones put on. That would be a struggle, yet, with the people backing it, it can be passed.

What to Do

1. See that your own Senators stand right on the question.

2. See that they are supported by the evidence of popular opinion in your state.

3. Stand against the Lenroot reservations.

4. Stand for the Hughes reservations.

5. If a Senate blockader is coming up in your state for re-election, let his constituents know the full truth. He cannot change his mind; therefore, change the senator.

The Hughes-Harding Reservations are:

1. The United States shall not be involved in any legal relations to the League of Nations or assume any of its obligations.

2. The United States shall be permitted to participate in the election of judges on equal terms with other states now members of the League of Nations.

3. The United States agrees to pay a fair share of the expenses of the Court as determined and appropriated from time to time by the Congress of the United States.

4. The statute of the Court shall not be amended without the consent of the United States.

The Lenroot Reservations are:

1. Any state represented at The Hague may adhere.

2. The judges shall be elected by two groups of states, to be known as Group A, including Great Britain, the United States of America, Italy, Japan, Germany and Brazil; and Group B, including all states accepting the protocol. Group A shall act instead of the Council of the League of Nations and Group B

(Continued on page 30)

A
Committee
Deadlock



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And
Controversial
Questions

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

January 3, 1924.

ANOTHER year. It would take an observer on Mars to be able to discern progress in the resolutions of political civilization since last year. Looking down from the height where details would be undiscernible, we may have made progress. Near at hand it looks as if Washington were only struggling with last year's business, or possibly that of the year before. But the President is grim. He may say what's what later on when he finds Congress still making no headway with the Administration program. He is as frozen as the January air when it comes to singleness of purpose. He stood up before the onslaught of the public reception on New Year's Day like a tower of determination. It was the first day of real winter. Early in the morning the wind began to swirl with a cut on its edge and a threat in the background of approaching ice and sleet. Long before the appointed time of one o'clock—in fact, as early as half-past ten—the

In Congress

THE holiday recess extending until today, January 3, has put a quietus on the Capitol. The following report of outstanding bills, therefore, is brief:

Introduced in the Senate

By Senator Watson, Indiana, legislation to appropriate \$27,000,000, representing the interest due the Alien Property Custodian from German property, to be used by the Government to buy fats and wheat for distribution to starving people of Germany.

By Senator Dill, Washington, constitutional amendment prohibiting a declaration of war without first taking a national referendum, except in the cases of invasion or revolution.

By Senator McCormick, Illinois, bill for the creation of a large refuge for wild life and a flora reserve on the Mississippi River.

By Senator Ransdell, Louisiana, legislation permitting the organization of an inland waterways organization to control and operate government equipment on such waterways.

By Senator Borah, reintroduction of his bill in the last Congress creating a code of international law and an international court to carry it out.

By Senator Willis, Ohio, granting a bonus of \$100 to all men whose names appear on the army and navy medal of honor roll.

long line of shivering people formed in front of the White House waiting for the doors to open. Incredible as it may seem, there stood aged men with canes, women with babies none too warmly wrapped, children with obviously cold feet and all manner of ill-prepared well-wishers who remained three hours before being able to move forward.

Yet, as these receptions go, this was not a large waiting line. In the Roosevelt days the queue extended for blocks in all kinds of weather. Nor was it as long as a line waiting for a glimpse of President Harding. How difficult it is for any man to disperse the subtle filtering into the public consciousness of some elemental attribute such as extreme neighborliness or the opposite, aloofness. The public has heard so many tales of the uncommunicative and "silent Cal" that it is safe to predict that he never will be able to change it, not if he sat out on the curbstone for a week chattering to newboys. The man at the capital who goes to work with his din-

ner pail, who knows nothing and cares less about high politics, the World Court, or even so simple a thing as bonus or price of wheat, thinks of President Coolidge as a taciturn, silent customer perhaps traditionally wise like the owl. Woodrow Wilson was the "high brow." Roosevelt the nature-lover and hunter. Don't think the average man goes much farther than this. He doesn't. Women who "round up" the vote know how elemental the whole thing must be made; and how vital and dangerous are the early impressions given because they may stick like a burr, forcing out everything else and characterizing the man or the problem once for all.

Many of you recall the tale of the campaigning politician whose opponent wickedly, or otherwise, caused it to be known that he deprived half a dozen scrubwomen of their daily work. The candidate at the time was in the midst of long technical arguments upon tariff, free trade, money values and other highly political and economic problems. He had to throw them to the winds. From that time on it took every ounce of his oratorical and campaigning ability to combat the elemental impression that he was the kind of fellow who would throw over poor scrubwomen to suit his own selfish ends.

Behind the Silence

What the public does not get, of course, is the full picture of Calvin Coolidge. A man as taciturn and laconic as he who had no other attribute of merit would be entirely unnecessary to the pursuit of life and happiness, but there is one tale, a favorite at dinner tables at the capital, which reveals what this silent mind often is up to. When he was presiding over the Massachusetts Senate there were seasons of peace and storm, as there are at Albany—let no New Yorker think that Massachusetts is peculiar in this regard. In fact, there were occasions upon which the Massachusetts senators all but smacked each other and advanced down the aisle as if to settle by a knockout which should remain to be a credit to his Maker and which should cease to trouble the legislative world.

Upon one of these occasions the wrangling had proceeded to some length, with Mr. Coolidge looking down upon the fray without comment or change of expression. Finally, in a war-like tone, one shouted that the other might "Go to hell!"—whereupon the other hurried down the aisle toward the Speaker's chair, waving his arms with rage.

"Mister Speaker, did you hear what he said to me?" he asked Mr. Coolidge.

The presiding officer hesitated a second, then said deliberately: "Yes, I heard what he said, but I've already looked up the law and you don't have to do it."

By Senator Shields, Tennessee, establishing a wild life sanctuary in national forest reservations.

By Senator Shields, legislation suppressing the sale of guns and pistols.

By Senator Norbeck, South Dakota, creating an emergency commission to promote a system of self-supporting agriculture in regions adversely affected.

By Senator Reed, Missouri, resolution calling for an investigation of congressional lobbies and propaganda.

By Senator McKellar, Tennessee, resolution calling for information from the Postmaster General regarding the appointment of postmasters through political influence over former service men who passed the required examinations.

By Senator Edge, New Jersey, legislation amending the Volstead Act, removing restrictions upon physicians' prescriptions for alcoholic beverages, and increasing the legal content to three per cent.

By Senator Copeland, New York, bill to investigate the "diploma mills."

By Senator Wadsworth, New York, creating a bureau of aeronautics in the Department of Commerce.

By Senator Spencer, Missouri, bill for the investigation of the election expenses of Senator Mayfield, Texas.

By Senator Ladd, North Dakota, resolution requesting the State Department to furnish information concerning relations between this country and Russia and whether arrangements have been made to restrain Russian trade.

Introduced in the House

By Representative Frear, Wisconsin, resolution for an investigation by the House Rules Committee of Governor Wood's administration in the Philippine Islands.

By Representative Burness, North Dakota, bill for a Government loan of \$50,000,000 to wheat growers.

By Delegate Sutherland, of Alaska, resolution for an investigation of the administration of the Alaskan fish reserves by the Bureau of Fisheries.

By Representative Magee, New York, constitutional amendment giving the President power to veto or approve parts of bills.

By Representative Strong, Kansas, levying an inheritance tax of twenty-five per cent on inheritance of tax-exempt securities, the revenue to be applied to paying the bonus.

By Representative Hill, Maryland, establishing congressional districts as local option districts with respect to the manufacture and sale of beer.

Passed by the Senate

Ratification of the former treaties with France, Great Britain, Japan, Norway and Portugal extending the Root arbitration treaty for another five years.

Confirmation of Mabel C. Reinecke as Collector of Customs of Chicago.

Hearings and Investigations

Continued the investigation of the naval oil leases in the Teapot Dome matter and others.

House Committee on Immigration heard advocates of changes in the immigration law.

So there is something behind the silence.

The capital is still puzzling over the course of the conclusion of President Coolidge and Secretary Hughes to send aid to the Obregon Government of Mexico in its resistance to the Huerta revolutionists. Arms and ammunition from the United States stores are to be shipped into Mexico at once to be used on the constitutionalist side. The move

has received varied criticism, which in the main is adverse. As would be obvious, many Democrats are commenting upon the parallel between entering into "entangling alliances" with European nations and becoming unequivocally entangled in the internal affairs of a neighbor nation—a situation which might hang around the neck of the United States Government for years to come and bring it to an actual point of intervention in the affairs of the nation. If the Obregon Government lost power, there then would come the question of whether or not the United States ought to follow up its aid by marching into the mess. A queer move; charitable commentators have explained it with the statement that undoubtedly Secretary Hughes had grave and outstanding reasons which were impossible for him to disclose—compelling reasons for placing the United States in this new light before the Central and South American nations. The move has been followed by the representatives of the South American republics here with the keenest study.

On the other side of the argument is the reiteration that the United States came to the recognition of the Obregon Government only after the most deliberate conclusion and care; and that, after the decision to recognize had been made, it was imperative that this country do everything in its power to assure the continuance of a stable constitutional government in Mexico, even to the extent of furnishing material aid.

Speculation Stories

The holiday period has been punctuated with these echoes of foreign troubles. Mexico—and the involvement of General Wood's son in the Philippines which has resulted in the introduction in the House by Representative Frear, of Wisconsin, of a resolution for an investigation of general conditions in the Islands and particularly of the administration of General Wood. The whole purport of the proposal hangs upon the disorder of the stories of the gigantic stock and oil speculations of his son, which were disclosed by the Washington correspondent of the *New York Times*, Richard V. Oulahan, who was sent from here for that purpose. It takes little incentive in Washington to arouse political contention over General Wood's affairs, for they seem to carry some inherent political connotation whichever way they turn. As a matter of fact, this present controversy has not been discussed in any connection except as a personal affair of the younger Wood's. That Governor Wood should have to stand the "investigation" is the bitter end of it.

Congress reopened with the problem of the Chairmanship of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee still un-

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The New Japanese Women

By Mary Beard



The pathetic burnt tree gives the date. The women are a group of the new women's federation, in front of a working girls' home which they have just opened. Mrs. Beard in the center.

NEWSPAPERS have a stereotyped idea of what is news—what is sensational news—and therefore worthy of a place in their columns. They select devastation by flood, fire and famine, murder, looting, banditry and general horror in all its forms. Of course such things are sensational. But there is other news, equally sensational and even more significant, which is often missed entirely. For example, the battle of mankind against the elements, both of Nature and of primitive human beings, is often as titanic and creative as the battle of the elements against life is mighty and destructive.

It is not enough, therefore, to leave the story of the recent earthquake and holocaust in Japan with the chapters recording the loss of life and property, the suffering, some hysteria, individual heroics, and American material aid. That makes the drama close too soon, whereas, as a matter of fact, the significant social drama merely opens at that point. Since history began there have been more than four thousand serious earthquakes to afflict humanity. Human beings have shown individual heroism and individual fear and cruelty since the beginning of time.

The more sensational aspect of the Japanese crisis consequently is the way the survivors have set out to meet the problems created by the awful upheaval of Nature in September. Especially moving is the quick emergence of the women

to more social leadership—a leadership full of import not only for the Japanese nation itself but for our nation as well. Dramatic action now becomes unique in Japan. Women are to begin their battle

Immediately after the Japanese earthquake, Dr. Charles A. Beard, a well-known authority on economics and politics in general, and cities in particular, was asked by Viscount Goto, Minister of Home Affairs, to come and assist in the work of reconstruction. Mrs. Beard accompanied him, and she has brought back to us an inspiring story of the Japanese women's response to the crisis. She has a suggestion to make to us too, and the CITIZEN is taking it. Look at the end of the article for your part.

against primitive human elements that tend to destroy what natural elements leave behind after they have run their course.

Before the crisis came in September, the women of Tokyo had played with the idea of concerted social action and some there were who had made earnest attempts to accomplish something like a woman's movement. There was at that time little of the strength that lies in union, but there was great individual strength, which is the basis of ultimate power. The most capable of the women, feeling the inadequacy of the part each alone could play in the struggle for

social readjustments, seemed verging toward discouragement as effort after effort for federation failed.

Then came the quake. The fire followed. Tokyo, for the most part, lay in ruins. Hundreds of thousands of its citizens were hungry and homeless refugees. In a single night, the woman's movement was born. The evidence of destitution and suffering all about them made the women realize the imperative need of public service on their part. It was no longer a matter of theory or academic discussion or popular leadership. Duty called too loudly for them to resist its cry. They acquired immediate confidence in their own value to the community and in their own power. Their work began at once.

While the men were still dazed by the tragic events, Tokyo women from all stations in life started the work of relief. Mothers had lost the ability to nurse their babies as a result of the shock. The women carried milk to them. The women assembled food for the hungry as fast as they could before the Western ships arrived. They distributed their own clothing among the destitute. They opened their doors to all the refugees they could possibly care for. They consulted with the government and assumed definite responsibility for specific things.

A woman's movement is not nourished on pure relief work, however. Relief is more or less mechanical at best and dies with the emergency that called it forth. It was the possibilities of social reconstruction facing all the years ahead that brought the women together to discuss what rôle they would try to play in the creation of a still better society than the one which had been destroyed. Within a few days after the disaster they formed a federation of societies to prepare for the larger field of work. What many individual Japanese women had worked for in Tokyo and failed to achieve came spontaneously when the right hour forced a decision. Plans were laid for study and research, discussion and cooperation.

The matter of organization grew so rapidly that at least forty-two groups of women had affiliated with the federation by the end of November. One of the affiliated societies is the Association of Women Doctors of Tokyo. Leisure-class ladies, wives of professors and publishers, teachers, social workers, editors and working women have now joined forces to try to reshape Japanese social life while the men rehabilitate the business life. Organizations and federations of women in western Japan have welcomed the Tokyo federation into their fold. The national woman's movement is therefore healthy and growing.

There are several very clear goals that the women already have defined. For one thing, they are resolved that there

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The Common Sense of Taxation

By Irving T. Bush

THE other day, when I was due to make a speech about taxes, I asked an intelligent friend of mine what I should say. He replied: "Tell them they are too high." This illustrates about the extent of knowledge that the average intelligent taxpayer has of the tax situation. He knows the taxes are too high because they hit his own pocket-book, and yet that same man is very likely to attend a meeting of some civic association and vote with great enthusiasm for a public expenditure running up to several hundred million dollars. If he has any theory at all about his reason for voting, it is based upon the belief that he is spending somebody else's money, and that everyone seems to enjoy.

It is of great importance to bring home to the mind of everyone, whether he is a milkman or a millionaire, that he pays his share of the expenses of government. The mere fact that the tax bill, in the first instance, is rendered to someone else does not relieve him of paying his share of the bill in the end. If real estate taxes go up, rents go up. If taxes on business are increased, they, like other operating expenses, are added to the cost of the product, and the people who buy the product ultimately pay the tax. If high income taxes are collected from men who have the courage and energy to put their money into business enterprises such men refrain from investing their money in business, and the workman pays his share of the tax by having the opportunities to labor reduced. Every business man repeatedly has the experience of hearing men with money to invest say, why should I take the chance? If I succeed the government takes more than half of my profit, and if I fail the loss is entirely mine.

I remember a few years ago, when the surtax and normal tax totaled about seventy per cent, asking one of the directors of my own company if he would buy some of our seven per cent preferred stock. It was shortly after the war, when financing was difficult. We needed the money and he was interested in the company. He replied: "I cannot afford to. The government takes seventy per cent of my income, which would leave me a net return of approximately two per cent out of the seven per cent your stock pays." In his case it was a choice between a sound investment, paying seven per cent, subject to an income tax, and a tax-exempt security. Both securities he believed to be sound. How much stronger the argu-

ment if he had been invited to embark in a business enterprise, with all the uncertainties of business success ahead of him, and with the assurance that, if the enterprise succeeded, he would receive thirty per cent of the profit, whereas, if he failed, he would have paid one hundred per cent of the loss?

Since then the surtax and normal tax

Taxes are the subject of the hour. Here is the opinion of a prominent and public-spirited business man, president of the Bush Terminal Company, of New York, who, with hosts of other business men, endorses the Mellon program. Later we hope to publish other points of view on taxation, and comment is always invited.

have been reduced to a total of fifty-eight per cent, but these figures are still so high that they discourage capital from embarking in any enterprise involving a risk, and this country has been developed by men who have been willing to take risks.

The root of the taxation problem is understanding by all of the people that public money cannot be expended without the people themselves paying the bill; that they cannot dance without paying the piper; that taxes can only be decreased by lessening the expenditure of public money. Finally, that whatever forms of taxes are adopted they must be of a character which does not kill the initiative and courage of the pioneers who always lead in the development of any country.

Last summer I made a journey from Riga to Moscow in a second-class Russian sleeping-car. Two of my fellow travelers were English Communists. During a long discussion, while we crawled across the great expanse of Russia, one of these men told me of a recent visit he had made to the home of a fellow workman, in the suburbs of Glasgow. He said his friend, his wife and two children occupied one room and he, as their guest, shared a corner of the same room. He said it was not a single instance—that there were thousands of the same kind of homes in that same industrial community. He concluded his impassioned plea for better conditions for the working people of England by the statement "there are only two courses—one is for capital to control industry and exploit labor and the other is for labor to control industry in its own interests."

I replied by saying, "Thank God, those conditions do not exist to that extent in America. But is your statement true? Is there not a third way, and are we not struggling along that way in the United States? Has not our great development and success been based upon the recognition that leadership is necessary, and that men will not work unless an individual reward is given to them, for themselves and their families? Have not our laws been framed, within the last generation, at least, to prevent the creation of improper combinations of capital, and to take, through taxes, for the good of the people a share of the profits created? Does not this third way preserve the courage of the people and the courage of capital and continue the advantages of individualism? Does it not breed efficiency, and is it not better than the two ways you point out, providing the amount taken for the public good from the profits is not enough to kill courage and ambition?" Just where this point lies is the question.

Mr. Mellon has suggested a surtax of twenty-five per cent. There are some who think this amount is too low and others who think it is too high. My judgment is that industry will be willing to contribute twenty-five per cent of its profits and that an opportunity to secure seventy-five per cent will continue the courage of capital and the ambition of the individual. It is my judgment that a fifty per cent tax will destroy both, and in the end those who pay no direct tax will suffer because of discouraged industry and lack of opportunity to work. There is always an ideal and a practical way to an end. The ideal tax is not a painless tax. It is a tax which everyone pays—and knows when it is paid. It is only such a tax which will interest the taxpayer in public economy, in saving his own money. The public objects, however, to a tax which gives pain. It insists upon some tax which looks on the surface as though the other fellow pays it. The practical tax must, therefore, be as nearly of the painless variety as can be devised.

We can at least base our form of taxation on common sense. We can say to the young men of America today: "Go out and work and build and save, and the reward is yours. But be careful how you spend, for it is the things you spend your money on that are taxed—not your savings." That is the common sense of taxation in a nutshell. Put your taxes upon what people spend, and not upon what they save.

Checks on Tyranny

By Schuyler C. Wallace

Of Columbia University

HISTORICAL circumstance and not political philosophy explains the growth of most governmental institutions. Nevertheless, the Constitution of the United States has embodied in it several distinct theories of government. Not least among these are those designed to check the growth of tyranny in whatever form it may appear. First, is the theory of separation of powers.

Montesquieu, a French philosopher of the eighteenth century, on visiting England had been much impressed with English liberties, which appeared in striking contrast to those of the French under Louis XV. In 1748 he published a book called "The Spirit of the Laws," which had a tremendous vogue. In it, he ascribed English liberties to the fact that governmental power in that country was divided into three parts, executive, legislative and judicial. No part, so he maintained, was all powerful, and all parts would be checked in any attempted usurpation by the others.

The vogue of this book and the fact that the colonists had been living under governments whose power was so divided, combined to write the principle into the law of our land. True, the separation of powers in the colonies had not been instituted for the purpose of preserving colonial liberties, but rather as a means of furthering English power. The governor was appointed by the king for the sake of maintaining English control. The courts were independent of the legislature, so that through them—particularly the Privy Council—the actions of the legislature might be subjected to an English veto. In fact, only the lower house of the legislative assemblies was really concerned with colonial liberties. All this, however, was overlooked, and Montesquieu's doctrines were embedded in our fundamental law.

More of a Good Thing

A further development of the principle was the theory of checks and balances. Very logically it was asked, if the separation of powers made for the furtherance of liberty, would not a further subdivision of powers do likewise? Would it not be well to divide legislative power between two bodies and balance one against the other? Might it not be wise to decentralize executive power and divide it among several offices?

There still remained the possibility of arbitrary action by the different governmental agents within their respective fields. Could not this be prevented?

Could not further checks be added? If each department of the government was given power to check any action by another, could not the mutual jealousies of the various parts then be depended upon to keep each in its proper place? Thus there developed the doctrine of checks and balances, growing from the same soil as the separation of powers—distrust of government.

How far have these principles been applied? In the federal and state governments, the doctrine of separation of powers has been universally accepted. In each unit separation exists. Not so, however, in the cities. More than six hundred of them ignore the theory completely and concentrate executive and legislative functions in the same hands. The question may well be asked—with what logic can the separation of powers be accepted as the keystone of our state and federal governments, but be rejected in our cities?

Checks and Balances at Work

Evidences of the checks and balances theory are equally widespread. Not only is it to be seen in the bi-cameral legislatures in both state and nation, but also in the executive department of practically every state, for almost everywhere the state executive power has been divided among several independent officers, governor, secretary of state, treasurer, or what not. To practically every department have been given, moreover, certain weapons of defense. The federal system will serve to illustrate. The President may check the legislature by means of his veto, which can be passed over only by a two-thirds vote. The judiciary in its turn may check the combined efforts of the President and the legislature through its power to declare laws unconstitutional. The legislature, through its power to impeach and remove both administrative and judicial officers, possesses an equally powerful weapon. The right of the Senate to confirm many of the President's appointments, and to ratify treaties, and of the President to pardon those condemned by the courts, are other items in the system. Similar checks exist in practically every state government.

What has been the effect of these theories upon our political institutions? How have they worked out in practice? One effect of the separation of powers has been frequent deadlocks between the executive and legislative branches of the government, with the consequent suspension of all policy determination until

the next election. The situation was concisely summed up by William Allen White in a reply to an inquiry concerning the part played by the Kansas Industrial Court in a recent election. He is reported to have wired:

Industrial court played important part in election. Was vigorously supported in Republican platform and violently denounced in Democratic platform and issue hotly contested in election. People voted for Democratic governor pledged to repeal law, and elected Republican legislature pledged to sustain law. Tune in and when you pick up *vox populi vox dei*, wire me, collect.

Such is the result of many an election. So far from determining what policies the people desire to see enacted into law are they, they might just as well not be held. And yet—in the case of the Kansas Industrial Court—the people of Kansas either wanted it maintained or they did not. The same is true in most other cases.

A second consequence of the system is that, even when both the executive and the legislature are dominated by the same party, friction and consequent inefficiency very frequently follow. Divergent plans and purposes often motivate the two branches, and frequent shifts occur from one policy to another. When opposite parties dominate the two branches, partisanship very frequently causes inefficiency even where it does not cause a complete suspension of the legislative function. The desire of the party dominant in the legislature to discredit the administration causes it very often to refuse even reasonable demands which have little or nothing to do with questions of principle.

The Effect on Parties

The result of this situation has been to compel parties to organize and drill to an even greater extent than they otherwise would have done, for it becomes necessary to capture not only the legislature but the administrative offices as well, and sometimes even the judiciary, before it is possible to carry out any program for which the party stands. This means strongly institutionalized parties, for only such are capable of waging the battle with any hope of success. And although parties may be looked on with favor in a representative government, the institutionalization of those parties carries with it, as we have already seen, many inherent evils.

However, tyranny does not exist in the United States. We hear talk about it occasionally, but nobody takes it or means it very seriously. Is not this at-

tributable to the genius of our government? Perhaps! But before we come to a final conclusion let us examine some other countries of the world. Is England crushed beneath tyranny? Are any of the self-governing dominions? Is France? The answer in each case is, I am sure, *No*. Does there exist in these countries a separation of powers? Checks and balances? Again in each case the answer is, *No*. All power is concentrated in the British Parliament. This, perhaps, should give us pause before we decide that American liberties are attributable to the principle of the separation of powers, or to checks and balances. It is a fairly sound law of logic which maintains that a variable—that is, a factor which may or may not be present, cannot be taken as the cause for a consequence.

What effect has the growth of our political parties had upon the operation of these principles? In those cases in

which there might be danger of tyranny, where a party has become sufficiently strong to dominate all branches of the government, we find the checks do not function. In such cases the decisions on matters of major importance are made in party councils, in entirely extra-legal bodies. If the party is harmonious, the decisions of the party council are more or less automatically translated into governmental action.

And so we seem to be confronted with a dilemma. Where party strength has been weak and there has been no danger of tyranny, the checks have operated, producing consequent deadlocks and inefficiency. Where party strength has been strong and the party harmonious, they have not been effective at all.

It is little wonder that many modern political scientists raise the question as to whether such a system should be maintained or whether it would not be better for us to remodel all our govern-

ments—particularly those of the states—along different lines, even as we are doing with those of our cities.

The second feature of our Constitution designed to prevent the growth of tyranny was the creation of a *sphere of anarchy*, that is, a province of human life into which governmental action could not go, or could go only upon the observance of certain forms. These limitations have been included in what is commonly called a bill of rights. An analysis of the bill of rights attached to the federal Constitution will serve as an illustration of the principle. These guarantees of liberty were principally added in the first ten amendments, although not all. They attempted to safeguard certain personal rights and certain rights of property by prohibiting governmental action concerning them. And so we find the first amendment stating that "Congress shall make no law respecting an

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Princess by Birth, Teacher by Choice

By Sara Robinson

IF you should walk into Barnard College at the close of an hour on Italian literature, and ask the most animated girl in sight to direct you to Princess Santa Borghese, like as not your bright-eyed and alert informant would prove to be the Princess herself. The distinguished Doctor of Philosophy from Italy whose lectures throughout the East and in the Barnard classroom are drawing vigorous admiration could easily be mistaken for one of her college auditors.

Twenty-seven, if you please, is Donna Santa Borghese, Ph. D., eldest daughter of Prince Scipione Borghese, head of the famous Roman family. At eighteen she had her baccalaureate at the public classical school in Rome, and had entered Oxford. For two years she was a student at Lady Margaret's Hall, specializing in English literature. She obtained her first-degree diploma from the University of Rome, which entitled her to teach English in the Italian high schools, and the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the ancient University of Bologna.

Princess Borghese, who prefers to be called "Doctor Borghese," speaks five languages. She is a sculptor of distinction and has for years taken an active part in Italian social movements, such as the Girl Scouts and the League for Women's Political Education. She is a speaker as well as a talented writer and her lectures here on modern Italy, conducted under the auspices of the Italy America Society, are proving very popular.



"Doctor Borghese"

Moffett

Of not one of these accomplishments did the Princess so much as hint in the hour's chat after her lecture. She was far too full of the joy of revealing Italy, and particularly the Italian woman of today—the middle-class Italian woman who she feels is the nation's mainstay—to have time for personal reflections.

What she has to say of the Italian woman is illuminating, since it runs counter to the usual American conception.

"For decades, centuries rather, ever since mediaeval times, the women of

Italy have freely entered the universities and equipped themselves for professional activities," she said. "There have been teachers, doctors and women lawyers for hundreds of years in Italy, and they have made a creditable record in their professions. This is true of the cities—of course the rural districts have not been able to take advantage of the educational institutions to anywhere near a like extent. It is because of this free participation of Italian women in the thought and service of the nation that the world has not heard much of a suffrage movement in Italy.

"In England, in your own America, women have sought the ballot as a tool with which to secure equal status in business and the professions. In Italy, such status has been a matter of course for so many generations that it is hard to get the women agitated over suffrage.

"The very close unity of the Italian home—typical, I believe, of Latin homes—is another reason for the absence of Italy's women in militant campaigns. Our industrial centers are comparatively small. The husbands and fathers come home to lunch. When a family sits down to table together three times a day, there is considerable time to discuss the happenings of the community. So our women do not feel such a sharp line of cleavage between the duties of the home and the daily activity of the head of the house. The men bring the world home to their wives, so the wives have not

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Editorially Speaking

The Latest Commotion

TO the masses of our people Mexico is an enigma with little clue to her mysteries. These masses were considerably astounded on December 29 to read that our Government had sold war supplies to President Obregon to be used by his side in the civil war now in progress there. Two days later his opponent, de la Huerta, registered his protest in Washington and pronounced the aid to Obregon as "tending to disturb those neighborly sentiments which his government desired to cultivate." Our own government announced that it made the sale in the interest of "the maintenance of stability and orderly constitutional procedure."

The first impression on reading the news was one of exasperation that "we, the people" have so little real understanding of the facts that lie in the background of this transaction. The next day brought the record of an outburst from Congress, the chief outbursters being Republicans. "Investigate, investigate," they cried. The fact that Congress knew no more than they was some comfort to our citizens. Benjamin L. Fairchild, Republican of New York, introduced a resolution in the House calling for every possible fact concerning the deal. It developed that the President had the authority to make the sale, but emphatic threats to enact laws and even amend the Constitution to forever prevent a repetition of the act have been excitedly made. The astonishment grew when the Secretary of War announced that "in 1919 the government had made no fewer than six sales of large quantities of munitions to other nations, including Panama, Nicaragua and Cuba." The commotion continues, but no Congressional investigators have yet mentioned the possible crux of the whole matter.

A presidential campaign is in progress in Mexico. President Obregon is not a candidate to succeed himself; but he has a candidate who represents his views and whom he is supporting. This campaign is being conducted by force instead of opinion, as has been too often the case in Spanish-American countries. They are literally fighting it out. President Obregon was himself a revolutionist and the rival of Carranza, who in his turn had been a revolutionist. De la Huerta, once an Obregon supporter, is now a candidate for the Presidency and the leader of the revolutionary forces. Though the Obregon government, in the brief period of its existence, has apparently been steady, it is difficult in this swift succession of revolutions to be sure just where the "orderly constitutional procedure" comes in.

We, in this office, are considerably disturbed by the fact that we have received a telegram from the leader of the feminist forces of Mexico saying that de la Huerta is the only candidate for president who gives any promise of aid to the woman's cause and that he has given guarantees of new civil liberties. These women, whom we know to be honest and intelligent, beg us to use our influence against help to Obregon. Both sides say they are upholding the constitution—the de la Huertistas say Obregon has violated it.

Do they mean that he did it when he yielded to the American Commission? What took place during the conference covering two or three months is not ordinarily known. It is understood, however, that there was a swap. The United States agreed to recognize Mexico provided Mexico would agree to allow all American concessions made before the new constitution to stand. The constitution had provided that large tracts of lands given away by earlier concessions were to be divided into small farms for the peons. Much held by Americans was oil lands and upon them millions of dollars had been expended in development and millions distributed

in dividends. One of the two Claims Conventions was ratified in Mexico two days before this government sold the arms to Obregon. At the same moment the papers were filled with the report that the de la Huertistas had practically all the oil districts in control. Can it be that "orderly constitutional procedure" was lubricated with Mexican oil? Reports say that the oil interests are all for Obregon; others say they are against him.

And now comes de la Huerta with an order for munitions from private manufacturers in the country to test whether this government will allow supplies to pass the frontier to him, and an embargo is promptly placed upon any arms going to him. In other words, our government frankly allies itself with one side. To be sure, that side is the government.

To my mind the really important factor involved in this new commotion is the fact that even in a republic like ours so very little of the procedure is understood, because so little of the data is revealed from which the public can form a reliable opinion. We do not pretend to know the whole truth; but are certain the Mexican women we know and trust would not have wired for help had all the justice been on the Obregon side.—CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.



Your Ballot is on Page 2

WHEN 22,165 plans to bring about world peace have been drafted, involving far more than that number of persons, something has already been done in the direction of the goal. Because that means greatly increased thinking about peace and this country's responsibility. Not every one of the 22,165 writers, one may be sure, was already an active center of peace propaganda. Now—beginning as this goes to press—comes the referendum on the plan considered the "best practicable plan" by the seven members of the jury of award—possibly the widest popular referendum ever attempted. There is to be a stupendous cooperation of organizations, individuals, hotels, newspapers, magazines, theatres, to obtain the expression of national opinion. You will find a condensed summary of the plan and the ballot on page 2, with a longer summing-up on page 23. You are urged to vote, and to vote promptly, whether for or against. Give yourself time to think over the details. Consider the emphasis that must be put on the word "practicable," recalling the difficulties to be surmounted by any plan for international cooperation—reconsider the plan from that angle—and vote. It is hoped to complete the referendum during January and early February—and the name of the winner will not be revealed until it is finished.

In his introduction to the jury's statement, Mr. Bok emphasizes the conviction running through the thousands of plans and letters that "this is the time for the nations of the earth to admit frankly that war is a crime and thus withdraw the legal and moral sanction too long permitted to it as a method of settling international disputes." He quotes a statement framed by Mr. Root, chairman of the jury, expressing "one of the dominant desires of the American public as expressed in the plans"—one that helps to visualize an immediately possible result of real cooperation:

"It is the unanimous hope of the jury that the first fruit of the mutual counsel and cooperation among the nations which will result from the adoption of the plan selected will be a general prohibition of the manufacture and sale of all munitions of war."

Your ballot is on page 2. *Vote!*

This New Age

THE holiday season with its parties and reunions has brought the opportunity of watching youth at play. With a vigilant eye open for pocket flasks, for that increased post-prohibition drinking one hears about, for the "petting" and the deplorable morals which we have been told characterize the modern young people, try as we would, we couldn't find any of them. We hunted among many groups and many ages, from sub-debs of sixteen to war veterans of thirty. We did find them discussing topics which were taboo in our own youth, but it was as if they were facing life more squarely and frankly. They seem to have a keen dislike both of prudery and of license. And they are more shocked at established hypocrisies of the older generation than are their elders.

More astonishing personal changes in this age have come to the old than to the young. Some of them appear vividly in this letter from a grandmother, replying to her granddaughter's Christmas gift of pink silk underwear: "I don't know whether to give you a scolding or to thank you from the bottom of my heart for the lovely underthings. To think of getting such presents at eighty years of age! Why, you should be sending me caps and warming pans and bed blankets and such things suitable to my years! It is all of a piece with this fast age and there is no use trying to hold back, so we wear dresses so tight we can't step in them, and skirts so short we show our old legs, and hats 'way down over our left eyes, and shoes and stockings so thin they might as well not be there. What would our grandmothers say?"

It is fair to guess at the answer to that question from what the present grandmother goes on to say: "At any rate, the pink underthings are lovely, I love to look at them. Why shouldn't I have the fun of wearing them and let them make me feel young, even though I am eighty?"



Wanted—Jobs for Ex-Soldiers

PRESIDENT Coolidge has made an urgent appeal for employment of rehabilitated ex-soldiers as fast as they finish their training. Perhaps not many readers of the CITIZEN are so situated that they can actually place these men, but we venture to say that a large number have "influence" with those who can. A word—a repeated word—to relatives, friends, acquaintances, might often be effective, and besides this, groups of club women have found it possible to assist the ex-service men of their communities in connecting with jobs, as well as in other ways. Forty-five thousand of the disabled, Mr. Coolidge says, have already found work. Seventy thousand are still being trained and will graduate at the rate of three thousand a month. What is wanted is—merely the opportunity for these men, who sacrificed so much, to be self-supporting. Our record in the treatment of the disabled is not pleasant to contemplate. Let its close be clear.



"A Decent American Welcome"

THE appropriation of two and one-half million dollars asked by Henry H. Curran, Commissioner of Immigration at Ellis Island, for the enlargement and repair of the neglected buildings on the Island, is so urgent that there should be no question of its being granted by Congress.

Two-thirds of all the immigration to the United States goes through Ellis Island, hundreds of thousands of future citizens get their first impressions on the Island of the country which they are afterward asked to honor and cherish. It is to our self-interest that they should find not only courtesy and justice on their arrival but that their passage through our doors should give them a fair idea of the standards of decent living in the United States.

The indictment of conditions in Ellis Island made by Ambassador Geddes in his statement to Parliament was read with astonishment and shame by many Americans, but it has been admitted to be a fair account of conditions.

Ellis Island was meant to house twelve thousand immigrants and it often holds twice as many. There is not only serious overcrowding but almost a complete absence of ventilation and light. The buildings have been very much neglected, and after twenty-five years' use they need paint, wiring, decent plumbing, more beds and bedding, and there is practically no provision for outdoor recreation for men, women and children who are sometimes detained for weeks.

According to Mr. Curran, Ellis Island turned in a profit to the Government last year of \$1,827,912. Every immigrant pays \$8 head tax. Isn't it time that this money should go, not in the United States Treasury as at present, but to provide, for the immigrants who pay it, what Mr. Curran calls a "decent American welcome"?



Where Taxes Hit

THERE has seldom been a proposal before Congress which has aroused as much public support as Secretary Mellon's for a reduction in taxes.

According to a research report of the National Industrial Conference Board it is estimated that in 1922 the cost of Government was \$64.63 per capita, which amounts to an average of six and a quarter weeks' income for Government activities for every man, woman and child in the United States.

Judging from the newspapers, the public is also becoming more and more convinced that tax reduction and the soldiers' bonus are not *both* possible. Senator Borah put it very bluntly in a speech before the Republican Club in New York last week:

"You can't take off a temporary burden of one hundred and forty or one hundred and fifty million dollars and lay a permanent burden of four or five billions of dollars and call it tax reduction."

The popular idea behind the support of the bonus has been that many who stayed at home profited because of the war and that it would be only fair for the profiteers to pay back some of their ill-gotten gains for the benefit of the soldiers. There is a widespread belief that taxes can be so levied as to hit only the very well-to-do and leave the mass of people free. There never was a greater delusion. As President Coolidge said in his message to Congress: "High taxes reach everywhere and burden everybody. They bear most heavily on the poor."

The only way to reduce taxes is to reduce Government expenditures. The ideal tax is a direct tax which can not be camouflaged but is recognized by everyone for what it is, and it would be wholesome if every citizen in the United States were obliged to contribute something, however small.



Cut the Congressional Record

READERS of the *Congressional Record* who have found it a rich source of unconscious humor will miss something if the recommendation made by Representative Luce of Massachusetts is adopted by Congress to cut out all the "leave to print" material which has made up so large a part of the journal. Not only speeches by Congressmen, which have never been delivered, but letters and telegrams, speeches and articles by other people not connected with the government, practically anything that any member of Congress wishes to have inserted, is now printed as part of the *Congressional Record*. To omit all this extraneous material will, as Mrs. Stokes says, cut out all the "romance, fiction and poetry" from the *Record*; but it will reduce the government printing bill and will make the *Record* what it ought to be, an accurate report of the proceedings of Congress.

What the American Woman Thinks

"A Forum for the Frank Expression of Opinion"

Women Workers' Needs

By Mary Anderson

We are happy to introduce a new and important Contributing Editor—the Chief of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor.

THE interests of the women workers in this country of ours are the same interests which concern every other woman. Everything that happens, whether it is good or bad, affects human life and, therefore, there should be no differentiation between the interests of one class of women and those of another class. Our nation's life is a housekeeping enterprise on a national scale, and the things which are done by the national government all have a very material effect upon the home. The foundation of every nation begins in the unit of the home, and, therefore, the interest and participation of every woman are needed in our national life, for the advancement of education and the understanding of citizenship to its fullest meaning.

Let us examine then not the interests of working women, because they are the identical interests of every other woman, but the opportunities open to them for development of such interests and for participation in solving the problems which make up our national life.

The problems of women's employment are unending and are deserving of everyone's sympathy and understanding. The right of the working woman to choose her job is a big question and an important one, as is the full recognition of the importance of extending to women the facilities for apprenticeship and training so that the right to choose a job will be a reality rather than a phrase. Conditions of employment, hours worked, wages, safety, sanitary conditions in the factory, the woman's own attitude and relation to her employment, these and many other questions involved seemingly would more than occupy women's thoughts and actions. There are, however, several other phases of the lives of the women which also need attention — their responsibilities and work in the home, and the responsibility and participation in the nation's housekeeping which we expect of them as citizens.

It would seem that there are unending demands on her time and attention which ought to be fulfilled by the woman worker. Consider then for a moment the time that a working woman has to give to these many duties confronting her.

From the investigations of the Women's

Bureau as to the length of time women spend in the factory during the day, we have found that their working time varies from eight hours to as much as twelve hours a day. The great majority work nine or ten hours a day, some standing at their work these many hours and some sitting. A great many do very monotonous work requiring little or no skill. They are scarcely more than machine tenders. After finishing



the long hours at the factory the working woman is often obliged to go home and get the dinner for the family, wash dishes, do any number of odd jobs, and then in the morning she has to arise early to prepare breakfast and get ready to go to the factory to her other job. With the long hours in the factory, the added work at home in the mornings and evenings, and on Saturday afternoons (if she does not happen to spend that time in the factory), and on Sundays, there is very little, if any, time left to attend to the citizenship job.

We have the right to expect that every woman in this land of ours should take her proper place as a citizen to help solve the problems of the nation; but in order that she may do this, it is our duty and responsibility to help her solve the problems confronting her in her industrial life, and in her home life, so that she may take her place as a responsible citizen.

In order that life may be freer and filled with interest and understanding for all, there must be less of the workers' lives demanded by industry and home responsibilities, so that there will be more time and opportunity for education which will give a chance to women workers to take an intelligent part in the affairs of the nation.

Therefore, the shorter workday is an important need in industry and can be made an asset to the nation as a whole, in addition to being for the best interest of the individual worker.

Understanding Money

By Mary Alden Hopkins

A well-known writer, who likes to have her readers talk back.

TO women who have never earned for themselves there is something miraculous about money. Out of the everywhere it comes to them and into the nowhere it vanishes. It comes; it goes; and they wait for it to reappear. It falls in a golden shower from heaven and they cannot understand a drought.

Aunt Eliza came of a very rich family that had lost its fortune while she was still a child, but had kept the tradition of riches. Every night, during her girlhood, Aunt Eliza knelt beside her little white bed in a well-starched nightgown to pray:

"Dear God, please send me a kind husband, a house in a pleasant neighborhood, on the sunny side of the street and a set of red satin furniture for the parlor."

In prepayment of favors besought, Aunt Eliza was a good girl and let who would be clever.

In due time God sent her a kind husband who provided the house in a pleasant neighborhood, on the sunny side of the street, with red satin for the parlor. Aunt Eliza was very happy for a few years. Then terrible calamities fell upon her. Her children died and her husband went mad after losing his fortune. Aunt Eliza had to move off the sunny side of the street. She lived in shabby boarding houses for the rest of her life on a tiny allowance provided by her sisters.

Since she had run more to goodness than to intellect, she thought that if she had faith enough she could conjure a fortune out of the no-one-knows-where into her pocketbook. That she could not earn, that there was no money for her to inherit and that her mad husband precluded another fortune by marriage, seemed to her to have nothing to do with the matter. Will-power, she said, would bring anything. Even after she got to be a very old lady, she used, every night before she slept and every morning when she woke, to enunciate clearly, "I will be rich."

But for all her will-power, she never found a purse in the street nor did any unknown uncle leave her a gold mine. She died, strong in the faith, but penniless.

In order to comprehend how women like Aunt Eliza can be so very stupid

about money one must understand that an individual has two reactions toward money. One is emotional and one is intellectual.

A coin is a definite, tangible, concrete object. I hold it in my hand, see it with my eyes and can even—I wish—test its genuineness with my teeth. My intelligence tells me that with the coin I can buy another. If I had only intelligence and no emotion about money, how simple would be personal financing! Yes, even though the amount of money was much less than my needs.

It is emotion that interferes with domestic finances. This coin, which will pay my street-car fare or buy me an apple or go into the savings bank, is a symbol of riches, power, freedom and joy. Emotion swirls around it. Onto this bit of metal I fasten feelings of achievement, defeat, safety, despair, envy and longing.

If my two reactions are harmonious, all is well. If they are at cross purposes, I'm in a muddle. When, for instance, both mind and emotion tell me to buy a paper with the coin and look up a job to earn other nickels with, I do so comfortably. But when my intelligence demands the newspaper, but my emotions warn me to hoard that nickel against starvation, I'm in a whirlpool of conflicting desires. Maybe you think a nickel is a small amount to worry about, but I assure you that men and women get as excited over small coins as over fortunes. It isn't, you see, intelligence, but blind emotion that puts us in such a stew.

Fears and hopes and desires that have no direct relation to money are frequently transferred from the objects or situations from which they actually rise on to money. This sort of confusion makes it impossible to deal rationally with finances. A psychologist tells me that very few husbands and wives are able to discuss income and expenditures with each other in a frank and kindly way, because they have attached to money such complicated emotions. The money isn't money to them; it is hidden wishes, daydreams, the struggle for supremacy and other impulses, often savage and unrecognized. Quarrels which both parties suppose to be about money may arise from some entirely different source.

A budget system or arrangement of allowances helps family or personal finances, not only for the accepted reason that it shows where money goes, but also because it brings the matter more or less out of the realm of pure emotion, into the light of intelligence. The more impersonal family book-keeping can become, like that of a store or factory, the more the family will get out of the income, and the less will be the wear and tear on the nerves.

Parents unconsciously pass on to their

children their own feelings about money, and lucky is the boy or girl whose family has a tranquil attitude toward a ten-dollar bill.

A young scientist who, in spite of a very small income, was not unduly troubled about ways and means, told me his early experience.

His mother had died when he was young and his father had sent him to live with an uncle and aunt. The uncle was a bully and the aunt was a nagger. When the boy was six years old he stole six pennies. His sin was discovered and he was made to believe that he was a thief. He was whipped for the first time in his life.

After that the uncle intentionally left pennies about to tempt him—to prove him, the uncle would probably have said. The uncle thought, as many people do, that honesty is taught by lickings and voluble scoldings. In reality he was impressing upon the child's plastic mind that money was something to get terribly excited about.

The result of the crazy turmoil was that the sensitive youngster got wholly out of hand. The uncle and aunt were convinced that they had a bad one to deal with. They returned the six-year-old desperado to his father.

The father showed no despair on hearing that his son was bound for the penitentiary. He merely put his own purse where the boy could get at it and told him to take what he needed. The money, he said, was theirs in common.

The father seemed to think it was nothing to make a fuss about. So the boy calmed down. He now learned about money from a man who had a rational attitude toward it. For this reason he was able when he grew up to follow his scientific bent, although it took him into a notoriously ill-paid profession. A rational attitude toward money is a pretty fine bequest for a parent to leave a child.

S. O. S.

By Lucia Ames Mead

Writer and lecturer, prominent in the cause of peace and active in work for the League of Nations

WE all know of Nero, who fiddled while Rome burned. Today our world seems fiddling while giant Death advances over half of Europe. An inert, unimaginative America is looking on while the educated people in those areas starve. A few of us know the real situation, but others are living as unconscious of impending disaster as they were in 1913, and they are far more callous than they were then.

All human beings are souls, no doubt equally precious in the eyes of their Maker, whether they be illiterate Russian peasants or gifted professors in Leipsic or Heidelberg universities. But

when the scholar, the research worker, the inventor sells his library, turns the key forever on his laboratory and puts behind the work of a lifetime and takes a shovel and goes out to earn his bread with despair in his heart, not only his country but the world is poorer.

"I don't care a d— for the whole German race. I would as lief as not have them all wiped off the earth," writes a Boston business man to me. One is no longer amazed at the heathenishness of such talk as if men were so many cattle, but one is surprised at the stupidity of it. Here—whatever other German characteristics you may have in mind—is an industrious, thrifty, highly trained people, not one of whom now under thirty years of age is any more responsible than you or I for the World War. They have lost most of their merchant marine, the larger part of their mines, their African colonies, Alsace Lorraine (I am not now considering the justice of these losses, but their effect), and they have been reduced to an area about two-thirds of the state of Texas. Unlike France, which can feed herself, they must in normal times import food for 15,000,000 people or they will starve. These people are our former customers and now would-be purchasers. Their inability to buy British goods is closing British factories and turning one to two million breadwinners into the street. The breakdown of this great nation not only means the unspeakable misery of millions of innocent fellow-beings, but affects, to a great extent, the future of European culture. Twenty-five years hence, when the trained minds are gone, not only letters and art, but science and mental progress in Germany will have decayed, unless the eager students of today can get bread.

Germany cannot go under without dragging Europe with her. A primitive farm life in Russia can be resuscitated after famine far more easily than can a complex life based on world-wide economic relations. The American business man who sees no connection between our future prosperity and that of our former customers is as illiterate in economics as the man quoted is in ethics. He ignores the fact that when men live in the age of the radio, instead of the ox-cart, the ends of the earth are as vitally bound together as are our fingers and toes.

Some people question whether Germany is starving. The fact is that, as a British observer in Germany reports: "In the Leipsic elementary schools inquiry has shown that 3,000 children go to school breakfastless, 4,800 have no mid-day meal." Over 6,000 are kept at home owing to lack of food. It is becoming more and more obvious that efforts on a scale "equaling those undertaken in Russia will have to be set in

(Continued on page 24)

The Woman Voter

(This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

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Federal Measures the League Supports

NOW that the Congress is in session after its holiday recess, the National League is marshalling its forces for a concentrated drive in behalf of its major legislative measures—the World Court and the Child Labor Amendment. The League has already made known its gratification at President Coolidge's request for senatorial action on the pending World Court proposal. That recommendation makes it probable that the Foreign Relations Committee will not pigeon-hole the proposal until after the national election, as once seemed likely; and that probability marks a distinct gain.

On the other hand, the form in which this resolution will be reported out is still extremely doubtful. Will the resolution when reported carry amendments that would make the entry of the United States into the World Court impossible, at best for years—at worst not at all—or will the proposal come from the committee in a form which indicates a sincere desire to carry out the recommendation of the late President and the Secretary of State? That is the important question at the present time, when suggestions for changes have already been made by Senator Lodge and Senator Lenroot.

Senator Lodge is seeking support for what he calls "a true world court," implying that the Permanent Court of International Justice is a false court, which even the reservations suggested by Secretary Hughes do not safeguard.

"I think such a world court could be framed," Senator Lodge is quoted as saying, "and the easiest way, as it appears to me, which is a matter of personal opinion, would be to take what was done at The Hague as a basis, and to that add the power to make a permanent court."

In regard to Senator Lodge's proposal, the Women's World Court Committee, which is composed of the American Association of University Women, American Federation of Teachers, Girls' Friendly Society in America, National Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations, National Council of Jewish Women, National Council of Women, National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, National League of Women Voters, W. C. T. U., National Board of Young Women's Christian Association, and National Service Star Legion, has sent out the following statement:

"The Women's World Court Committee supports the proposal for adherence to the World Court made by President Harding to the Senate in his message of February 24, recommended to the favorable consideration of the Senate by President Coolidge in his message of December 6, and embodied

in Senator King's resolution introduced December 10, for these reasons:

"We favor participation by the United States in the World Court without delay, as the first practicable step toward world peace. We believe that the reservations proposed by Secretary Hughes and recommended to the Senate by President Harding and President Coolidge sufficiently safeguard us from legal involvement in the League and can be supported on a strictly non-partisan basis. This proposal, it is understood, will permit the United States to enter the Court without re-ratification by the forty-seven signatory powers. The proposal of Senator Lodge, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, in his letter recently made public, would delay our entrance into the World Court indefinitely. What the women want is constructive action now."

A much-discussed resolution has already been drafted by Senator Lenroot which provides for entrance of the United States into the Permanent Court of International Justice on the conditions that the right is taken away from the League of Nations to elect members of the Court, and that the countries which are not members at the present time are permitted to join.

Such a reorganization of the Court as the Lenroot resolution contemplates, even if the Powers, now members of the present Court, accepted it, would involve a great delay. Moreover, the new method provided for the election of judges is open to objection on the ground that in the case of a disagreement about the judges to be appointed, too much power in determining the choice is given to the larger nations.

Of the eighteen child labor amendments already offered in the Senate and House, the League and the other organizations in the Women's Committee on Child Labor, together with the Federal Council of Churches and the American Federation of Labor, have given approval to the following form:

"Section 1. That the Congress shall have power to prohibit the labor of persons under the age of eighteen years, and to prescribe the condition of such labor.

"Sec. 2. The reserved power of the several states to legislate concerning the labor of persons under the age of eighteen years shall not be impaired or diminished except to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by Congress."

It must be remembered that the Child Labor Amendment is not a proposed child labor law, but an enabling act to authorize Congress to make laws about child labor. In Section 1 of the proposed amendment there are two phrases that may require explanation, the use of the term "persons under the age of eighteen years," and the use of "prohibit and prescribe."

The reason why the term "persons under the age of eighteen years" is used instead of the word "children" is that the word "children" has been variously defined by state courts as applying only to persons under twelve years in some cases, and under twenty-one years in others. In other words, the phrase "persons under the age of eighteen years" establishes more clearly the legal definition of a child, in regard to labor laws. The fact that eighteen years was selected as the maximum age in this proposed amendment to the Constitution does not necessarily mean that the Congress will prohibit all labor under that age, but that it may legislate for all persons up to that age, prohibiting altogether the labor of children up to a certain age, and prescribing the conditions of employment of those beyond that age, but under eighteen years. It is the belief of the League that those young persons who are not prohibited entirely from working should be safeguarded from such evils as night work, dangerous and unhealthful occupa-

tions, and overwork. The words "prohibit and prescribe" are used instead of "prohibit or prescribe" because if the word "or" were used, it might be construed to mean that if the Congress does prohibit, it cannot prescribe, and vice versa.

Section 2 is intended to provide that Congress shall have power to establish a national minimum age for child-laborers, and at the same time preserve to every state its right to pass laws giving its children even greater protection than the national laws may give.

In regard to this section, Senator Pepper, who had a share in the framing of the resolution, has this to say:

"If it were certain that no case of conflict could arise, it would be safe to provide that the grant to the Congress should not at all impair the reserved power of the states. It is, however, possible to imagine cases in which a Federal and a state regulation would conflict. In such cases, it is important that the Federal regulation should be effective. If it were declared that the existing power of the states is not impaired at all, the danger is that in the event of such a conflict, it would be the Federal regulation that would have to yield. The provision that the reserved power of the states shall not be impaired except to the extent necessary to give effect to an Act of Congress seems to meet the situation exactly."

In connection with the Child Labor Amendment it should always be remembered that child labor is the work of children under conditions that interfere with the physical development, education, and opportunities for recreation which children require. It is the working of children at unfit ages, for unreasonable hours, or under unhealthful conditions. Children may work wholesomely and profitably, as most of us know from experience, but their employment under unfair conditions is nothing short of an economic waste, a social crime and a political menace.

Besides the World Court proposal and the Child Labor Amendment, there are several other bills in which the League is interested, but it will be impossible to list them by name and number until the next issue, because the congestion in legislative document rooms has prevented complete indexing.

ANNE WILLIAMS.

The Convention Secretary

MISS LOUISE MICHAEL, of Buffalo, has been selected as secretary of the convention of the National League in that city, April 24-29, 1924. Miss Michael is a splendid type of the modern business woman, many-sided in her interests, broad in her experience, and varied in her training. She was born in Buffalo, only long enough ago to allow her to be graduated from Smith College with the class of 1912, and had her preparatory school years at the Franklin School.

For three years Miss Michael was a volunteer worker for suffrage and during the war served in the wire-winding department of a large magneto shop in her native city. Later she was promoted to the superintendency of a special winding department in which the output of government orders was doubled in six months.

With Miss Genevieve Kraft, Miss Michael conducts an advertising service for women's shops and manages a concert business. She was a founder of the Buffalo Business and Professional Woman's Club, is a member of the Chamber of Commerce, the City Planning Association, the Buffalo Athletic Club, and the Twentieth Century Club, one of the oldest organizations of women in the state.

Miss Kraft will work with Miss Michael for the convention, and their plans for all local details are already under way. For six weeks before the meeting they will give their whole time to it, so that nothing which makes for the comfort of delegates, the smooth running of programs, and the general success of an important convention, the fifth the League has held, will be overlooked.

THE New York League has just published a play by Mary Gray Peck called "How We Make Them Love Us" and suggests that this may be just the thing "you want for your next social meeting."

The Near East

A round-table conference at the Institute of Politics at Williamstown

THE round-table was conducted by Dr. William Linn Westermann, assisted by Dr. E. M. Earle, both of Columbia University. Dr. Westermann pointed out two misconceptions concerning the Turkish situation. One is that the Turks have fixed racial characteristics. He maintains that as each locality was subdued they took on the racial characteristics of the people whom they conquered, who generally greatly outnumbered them. It is, therefore, unfair to speak of Turkish ferocity and fanaticism as racial characteristics. The other misconception is that the Turks have made no contribution to civilization. They have unified by a common religion and government many peoples previously disunited. He also pointed out that foreign imperialism has had a far more corrupting influence upon the Near East than has Turkish rule, or misrule.

Dr. Panarettoff, the Bulgarian minister to the United States, gave the historic background of the Young Turk movement and summed up the main reasons for its failure. These were: too rapid reforms, the failure of the people to support Pan-Islamism and Pan-Furanism, and the antagonism aroused by their aggressive foreign policy. Ex-Ambassador Morgenthau said that at first the Young Turk movement was absolutely sincere, but that the leaders soon realized that they could not establish a democracy and resorted to the old methods of ruling by force and graft. In the World War they began the policy of deliberately destroying or driving out foreigners in an effort to remove sources of internal friction. I think he doubted the claim that the new leaders were actuated by higher motives.

Dr. Yale, who has had wide experience in the Near East, described the nationalistic movement in Egypt. Although all classes support nationalism they differ in their attitude toward foreigners. The small farmers and traders, one faction of the University group and foreign trained officers and professional men, take a moderate attitude toward foreigners, but the city rabble, the schoolboys in non-religious schools and another group of University men bitterly oppose them. British officials naturally resent the new régime in Egypt. British merchants know that the Egyptians will continue to be dependent upon them and so fear the change but little. He summed up the factors making for success as: first, the unity of the Egyptians; second, lack of any serious minority question; third, the prosperity and present good organizations of Egypt, and fourth, the presence of a large group of native officials, well trained by the British. Two great difficulties to be overcome are lack of any widespread conception of democracy and an apparent lack of organizing and business ability among the natives.

Mirza Hussein Khan Alai, Persian minister to the United States, gave a vivid account of the way in which his country, owing to its strategic position, had been the pawn of Russia and Great Britain in the pre-war days. During the World War Persia attempted to be neutral, with the result that it suffered the horrors of war but came to the Peace Conference with no standing. The British Foreign Office then returned to its traditional pre-war policy and forced upon Persia the Anglo-Persian agreement which bound her again to Great Britain. He showed how the opposition of the Persian people to this compact and the contrasting fairness of the terms offered by the Russian Soviet Government to Persia placed England in such an embarrassing position that it was obliged to abrogate the treaty, a serious diplomatic defeat for Lord Curzon.

Captain Knox, of the United States Navy, pointed out the strategic importance of the Straits and said that they could not be held by ships alone but required an additional land force of about 200,000 men. He showed that ships could be blockaded by a small land force strategically placed. Great Britain, as the greatest water carrier and colonizing power, must always be interested in the Straits because they control

the entrance to the Black Sea, and could easily be a barrier to European penetration through Asia Minor or the Caucasus toward India. Dr. Westermann did not see why Great Britain still retained such an active interest in them, since her trade in the Black Sea is negligible and she now controls Palestine as a safeguard to the Suez Canal. He felt that the policy of the British Foreign Office had lapsed into its old traditions and was, in consequence, failing to meet new conditions in the Near East, except for the new method of control by semi-independence now being tried out in Egypt and Irak. The Turks no longer need Constantinople; in fact, it is now a danger spot to Turkey, who is afraid, however, to let it fall into the hands of others. Ex-Ambassador Bakhmeteff, of Russia, declared that Russia, too, feels that Constantinople is a menace to any country which holds it, and therefore insists that it be neutralized and that her access to the Mediterranean be assured. While Russia is still in a stage of transition no permanent settlement of the Straits problem can be made. The terms of the Lausanne Conference with respect to freedom of the Straits were essentially unfair to Russia and could not be other than temporary.

Miss Florence Billings, who has just returned from eighteen months in Anatolia, reported conditions as she found them there. The Anatolian Turks believe in nationalism as freedom from outside control, but the idea of nationalism as democracy is not so widespread. The army officers, religious teachers, and a group of enlightened women are taking pains to learn the needs of the peasants and to instruct them in the principles of democratic government. This has not yet resulted in a democratic government which operates according to our standards, but in one in which the peasants are beginning to feel that they have a right to see that their needs are satisfied and in which the assembly, although still inexperienced, is striving to satisfy them. Many of the present leaders were underlings in the old party of union and progress, but are determined that none of the old leaders of that party shall hold power. The new leaders see clearly the limits to which they can push the Allies and are frequently ready to make terms with them, but are not able to control the conservatives in the assembly. It was these conservatives who insisted upon holding out to the end against the demands of the Allies at Lausanne, and who forced Kemal to take the position which he took there. Miss Billings said that the Anatolian Turks are not fanatics and that the root of most of their antipathies is racial or political rather than religious.

Dr. Westermann pointed out that the Young Turk movement had been imperialistic, but that imperialism in Turkey is now dead. The present movement is purely nationalistic and to keep it centered in Anatolia is the hope of the new Turkish movement.

Dr. Barnet Miller, of Wellesley College, spoke of the economic consequences of the Lausanne Conference. The Turks realize that their previous failures have been due in part to a neglect of elementary economic laws and they are trying to remedy their deficiencies. Their attempts to enforce a detailed nationalizing of business have proved very irritating and are not meeting with much success. The chief economic weakness of Turkey is lack of production, but exports are now showing a decided increase. A great many Turks, including women, are going into business. The Turks for the first time in centuries are rid of disintegrating influences within and without.

The nationalistic movement in the Near East has on the whole been disintegrating. Under the Young Turk it took on the form of Turkification. Since the war it has meant concentration upon a really Turkish national state. Turkey has been influenced by the nationalism of other states on its borders. The movements in Egypt, in Persia, and in Turkey all began as attempts to reform corrupt and extravagant governments. Later they grew into movements to shake off European control. The issue of the Near East is the conflict between Near Eastern nationalism and European imperialism, but this issue has become badly confused by propaganda and massacres.

It became apparent that ex-Ambassador Morgenthau was strongly opposed to the ratification by the United States Senate of the treaty negotiated in July, 1923, between the United States and the new Turkish nationalist state. Mr. Earle and Mr. Westermann were decidedly in favor of immediate ratification of this treaty, believing it a step toward greater freedom of economic and political action on the part of the Near Eastern peoples. Only by such freedom of action can the Turkish people, and the other peoples of the Near East, really develop toward a modern conception of national and international life.

The Illinois Convention

THE Illinois League registered all the vim, vigor, and promise that the fondest dreamer could imagine concerning any three-year-old project, at its annual convention, held at the Congress Hotel, Chicago, November 20-22. A fire of real enthusiasm warmed the hearts of the officers and more than two hundred delegates.

In a masterly address Miss Julia Lathrop, president, laid before the convention its possibilities and potentialities; because of "the apparently unconquerable tendency toward wider social legislation, it appears probable that the League, devoted to popular discussion, reinforced by research, may become and remain an institution of permanent educational value." We caught her vision of our all-party work for political education.

After the recent legislative disappointments of Illinois women the trenchant observations of our president as to "the necessity of women being all-round intelligent concerning measures we endorse," down to the fine point of how measures could and would work out into law, thrilled us to renewed efforts to bring the women of the state into the satisfactions of efficient citizenship.

Among the other convention speakers were our regional director, Mrs. W. G. Hibbard; the regional secretary, Mrs. Paul Rittenhouse; Miss Belle Sherwin, of Cleveland, Ohio, first vice-president of the National League; Miss Jane Addams, and Mrs. Anna Garlin Spencer.

The Illinois League has active members in 48 of our 51 state senatorial districts, and active affiliations with 35 organizations. The work is steadily spreading under the able direction of our executive secretary, Miss Edith Rockwood.

The afternoon of November 20 found the departments and standing committees all in conferences, with hours so arranged that every one could attend two conferences. Each conference room held a capacity crowd, with many, many turned away. The Department of Efficiency in Government, under Mrs. Florence Bennett Peterson, conducted two afternoon sessions with gratifying attendance and the best of speakers on carefully chosen, correlated subjects. Miss Mary McDowell's Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War was so popular that it brought cheer to all. Conferences on citizenship training, living costs, social hygiene, education, women in industry, and uniform laws for women, covered the definite lines of the League's work.

An afternoon of experiences on campaigning and being elected to office was interesting and stimulating, for Mrs. James Paige, of the Minnesota legislature; Mrs. Lottie Holman O'Neill, of the Illinois legislature; Mrs. Polk, of Colchester, Illinois, the only woman mayor in the state; a woman county superintendent of schools, and a woman member of a school board, all gave amusing and illuminating stories of their road to success, from the moment of the first thought of "running" to the actual service in office.

To relieve the seriousness of the third day, "A session of the senate of the State of Freedom," presided over by Mrs. Catharine Waugh McCulloch and participated in by a number of women senators from that mythical state, was held at the luncheon hour. A bill to permit men to serve on juries was given the ups and downs, the sensible and nonsensical twists, the amendments and amendments to amend, bringing in all the arguments used against women on juries, made in

some legislatures we have known. Almost all the arguments and lines used against the jury bill, which are on record as being used against legislation dear to the hearts of the women of the State of Freedom, were corralled to add to the fun of the occasion. The bill was lost, of course.

After the convention adjourned, the state board and a few guests met at dinner to take stock of the successes of the sessions, and to plan for close co-operation and definite work toward bringing our state, Illinois, up to the lines set by the National League.

ANNA S. L. BROWN.

For League Book-selectors

THE keen appreciation a librarian always shows for a new and serviceable library tool has been expressed to the Department of Efficiency in Government by Miss Mary Rudd Cochran, of the Cleveland Public Library, and the work she commends as pre-eminent in its field is "Outline of Government."

Miss Cochran further commends two new books as useful to the League woman and the general reader who wish explanations of practical politics. One book is *Party Control in Politics and Government*, by Marjorie Shuler, who is too well known to WOMAN VOTER readers to make enumeration of her many articles necessary. Control of political parties, party finances, election machinery, election frauds, organization and functioning of state legislatures and the Congress are the main subjects with which she deals. The book is published by Stebbins and Company, New York.

The second book is by another journalist, Frank R. Kent, of Baltimore, and *The Game of Politics* is its title. Beginning with the method of appointing the precinct executive, Mr. Kent proceeds to tell what the precinct executive does, describes ward leadership, the selection of candidates, the functions of the city boss, the source of party funds and methods of obtaining them, and presidential campaigns in general. Chapters of special interest are "How the Machine Handles the Woman Vote" and "Effect of Women on Machine Strength." Doubleday, Page and Company, Garden City, New York, are the publishers. The Department of Efficiency in Government suggests that League bulletins add the two titles to League bibliographies.

New publications of the Illinois League include telling arguments for the World Court by Miss Mary McDowell, chairman of the state Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War; a summary by Miss Esther Dunshee, chairman of the National League's Committee on Uniform Laws Concerning Women, of the legal and political status of women in Illinois; "Is One Per Cent Quarantine a Public Health Measure?"—a social hygiene paper by Miss Edith Abbott, chairman of the National League's Committee on Women in Industry, and two valuable folders.

One, folded to make five pages on one side, asks on the first of those pages, "Were you represented in the Fifty-third General Assembly of Illinois? Would you have voted as your senator and three representatives voted?" Fifteen measures endorsed by the League are described on two other pages, and two pages are devoted to maps, so that every woman in Illinois may be sure in exactly what district she lives. The fifth page gives dates on which candidates must file petitions, the date of the primary and the date of the next election. Inside the folder the space of the five pages is given over to a list of all members of the Legislature grouped by districts, with the vote of each on every one of the fifteen measures. The folder is a wonderfully complete piece of work and invaluable to the woman who wants to decide for what man to vote.

The other folder is a study of the 1920 vote in Illinois, arranged by counties. Men's votes and women's are counted separately in Illinois and it is apparent that in that state, at least, women do not vote so generally as men. The highest proportional vote of men was 94 in Pulaski County, where the women's vote was 67 per cent. The percentage for the

whole state was 61. An election calendar and the National League's "Seven Steep Steps" fill the rest of the space of the folder.

Leagues and League Women

A CASE of great interest to women and having to do with the executive secretary of the Tennessee League, Mrs. John F. Draughon, has lately been decided by the county court of Davidson County, in which Nashville is situated. After the death of her husband, Mrs. Draughon brought suit against his executor for payment of salary due her from her late husband, with whom she had entered into a contract to revise certain forms used in the business college he conducted and to do other technical work. The salary stipulated was \$100 a month and she had been engaged in the work thirteen months when her husband died, though she had not drawn the salary agreed on. The executor of her husband's estate resisted her petition on the grounds that a husband and wife are one in the eyes of the law and that therefore there can be no valid contract between them for services rendered. This, of course, is a common view of the matter, but it is not the view of Judge Hickman, of Nashville, who heard the case. Judge Hickman decided that a contract of a wife with her husband "covering services of a technical or expert nature, outside the scope of the ordinary domestic duties, is valid and binding." Mrs. Draughon was adjudged to have a clear claim against the estate of her husband, as clear a claim as if he had been a mere business partner or associate.

THE League of the Oranges, in New Jersey, is providing a syndicate of three newspapers, the *Orange Advertiser*, the *East Orange Times* and the *West Orange Press*, with a weekly article on such subjects as "What should I know about party organization?", "Who should be registered and why?", "How to become a registered voter," "Why should I belong to a party?" and "How can I help my party to become a more effective force?" Mrs. Garfield Moses, of Park Avenue, Orange, edits the articles.

THE St. Louis League voters' calendar is extremely helpful and complete. The five pages are of a clear buff, on which the black lettering of the ordinary days and the red lettering of the days voters must remember shows up well. The League convention is set for May 1-3, registration for August, primaries take place on June 26, August primaries are red lettered for August 5, and registration for all voters covers the days from September 22 to September 25.

THE North Kingstown unit of the United League of Rhode Island has offered a prize for the best essay on the World Court written by a Rhode Island high school student. The unit is so well thought of in North Kingstown that the town hall and the library have been offered Mrs. Joseph G. Reynolds, who serves as chairman in the absence of Mrs. Walter Cope, as meeting places. A similar prize has been offered by another prospering Rhode Island unit, of Westerly.

THE president of the Jersey City League, who teaches in the city public schools, devoted the language period on the Monday following Armistice Day to a discussion of world peace. She found the response from the children of foreign-born parents remarkable. Many of them bought peace buttons and carried the message of international co-operation home, so that there were many demands from parents for the privilege of signing the World Court petition.

THE charming photograph of the state house, which is reproduced on the front of the Massachusetts League's voters' calendar and as frontispiece in the December 4 issue of the League's *Bulletin*, was made and contributed by Mrs. Arthur Wheeler, a League member and a member, also, of the Boston Arts and Crafts Society.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

The Christmas Card Contest

IN the November 17 CITIZEN announcement was made of the National Peace Christmas Card Competition held by the National League of Women Voters. January 10 was the closing day. January 14 will see a shop at one of the busiest corners in New York—730 Fifth avenue—converted into an art gallery, where for two weeks two hundred of the best designs submitted will be shown. Because of the number of young people who have entered the contest, one screen will be devoted entirely to designs submitted by children under fifteen. Prize winners will be chosen by a jury, including Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney, George E. Buzz, Charles Dana Gibson, Walt Kuhn, Joseph Pennell and Eugene Speicher. The prizes are \$2,500, \$1,000 and \$500.

Fifty men and women prominent in literary, social and political fields have been asked to submit sentiments appropriate for use with the design.

One Step in Spain

RUMLINGS of feminism were evidenced in Spain the other day, when for the first time in the history of the Municipal Council of Madrid, or in any Spanish governing body—parliamentary, municipal or otherwise—the Council was addressed by a woman. It was particularly pertinent as the address closely followed a petition made to the Dictator for the vote for women in municipal and parliamentary affairs. This is the way it happened: After the announcement in Spain that all citizens with grievances or suggestions to make regarding the public good have the right to attend their municipal councils and address them on the subject, Georgina Ferreira appeared before the *ayuntamiento*—the Council's name in Spanish—with a petition. At first the question arose as to whether the Dictator had not intended the privilege for members of the male sex only, but no such restriction could be found, and she was allowed to read her petition uninterrupted.

Girls Win Higher Average

INTERESTING comparisons have been shown by recent psychological tests given at Harvard and Radcliffe. The Harvard students showed an average of 50.5 per cent based on 107 students, while 37 Radcliffe girls averaged 55 per cent. The tests dealt with relative speed in observation, deduction, mental application and interpretation, and were

devised by Dr. Abraham A. Roback of Harvard. First place was tied by a boy and a girl with an average of 86 per cent. The lowest average was scored by a Harvard student with 9 per cent. The lowest average scored by a girl was 28 per cent. Dr. Roback explains the difference by the fact that greater discrimination is shown in sending girls to college, while men go because it is "the thing."

America's Homes

THE American Home Economics Association recently convened in New Orleans to discuss the problem of the American home. The Association seeks "to define anew the place of home and family relationship in our present social and economic order to the end that the home may function more successfully as the center for the development of spiritual and moral forces." Forty-five state branches, representing the votes of thousands of women, sent delegates. Specifically, the Association is working for an increase of the 1924 appropriation for the Federal Bureau of Home Economics to \$118,000; the passage of the Fess bill, increasing federal funds for vocational education in home economics; the federal prohibition of child labor; a federal uniform marriage and divorce bill; reclassification of civil service positions; and the Smoot bill providing funds for research in home economics.

Another "First"

IN a *News Bulletin* of the Bureau of Vocational Information appears a note that Miss Margaret J. Wieseman has been appointed Trust Officer of the East End Trust Company of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. It further says that Miss Wieseman is the first woman in the United States to hold this type of responsible position.

Child Labor in Hongkong

THE Children's Bureau quotes from the *Revue de Travail*, and we quote from the Bureau concerning child labor in Hongkong. A recent order in Hongkong provides for a protector of working children, with power to enter and investigate any establishment where it is believed children are employed, and to take evidence which might show that the child labor regulations are being violated. The regulations prohibit the employment of children under ten and restrict the labor of those over that age; they limit the working day to nine hours and confine those hours from seven

a.m. to seven p.m. One day of rest must be given every week. Also, a register of employed children must be kept in every establishment.

Educational Work

THE Children's Bureau has also produced a two-reel film, "Well Born," showing the results of prenatal care, woven into story form. The picture, which takes about thirty minutes to show, is well presented both from the interest and the technical angle. The Bureau will gladly lend the reels to accredited organizations, the only expense being the expressage, or sell a copy of the film to those who desire to buy.

Carlyle Ellis made the film.

A Bank Vice-President

THE Locomotive Engineers' Co-operative Trust Company started business December 29 in its new building at Seventh Avenue and Thirty-third street, New York. But that is not the point which interests us now. It is the fact that a woman is vice-president of the bank. Miss Helen Varick Boswell holds the honor, and her prominence in politics, business and among women's clubs fits her admirably for the place. Her special interest will be the small woman depositor.

Suffrage in Panama

A SEMI-OFFICIAL report has been made that the Government of Panama declined to act favorably on a proposal that women be allowed to take part in the 1924 presidential elections. It was suggested, however, that the question be discussed at the next Congress.

A Woman Superintendent

HELEN B. WELSH has been appointed superintendent of the Albany (New York) Orphan Asylum. This is the first time a woman has held the office—and a mighty interesting fact is that there was no reduction in the salary.

News of Jewish Women

THE National Council of Jewish Women has added seven new sections to its organization. They are: Woonsocket, Rhode Island; Danville, Illinois; Herkimer, New York; Norwalk, Connecticut; Springfield, Missouri, and Aliquippa and Canonsburg in Pennsylvania.

Another item of interest regarding the Council is its decision to devote the

Hannah G. Solomon Scholarship, established in honor of the Council's founder, to the training of field workers among Jewish women on farms.

Lady Astor Honored

A REAL honor is to be conferred on Lady Astor. On the wall of the main staircase in the British Parliament a painting is to be hung commemorating the arrival of the first woman member of the House of Commons—in 1919—Lady Astor, once Nancy Langhorne, of Virginia.

A School of Politics

THE Massachusetts League of Women Voters held a School of Politics on "Foreign Affairs" in cooperation with, and at, Radcliffe College, on January 8-10. Among the speakers were Major-General Henry T. Allen, Commander United States Army of Occupation; Roland W. Boyden, formerly unofficial U. S. delegate on the Reparations Commission; Ada L. Comstock, president of Radcliffe; Manley O. Hudson, LL.B., S. J. D.; Mrs. Maud Wood Park, president National League of Women Voters; Sarah Wambaugh, and Mary E. Woolley, president of Mount Holyoke.

Labor Debates

MISS HELEN FRASER, who interrupted her American tour to go back and stand against a Labor candidate at the recent British election, has returned. In a number of places she and Frau Adele Schreiber, the Social Democratic member of the Reichstag, who is here, will debate on the proposition that "the hope of civilization depends on the continued growth of Labor parties throughout the world." The first debate is to be held in Carnegie Hall, New York, on January 18, and the second at Holyoke, Mass.

Frau Schreiber's tour includes meetings at Washington, Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Boston and at Bryn Mawr and other women's colleges. In several of these places the Labor debate will be held. Miss Fraser will go all the way to the Coast.

Problems in Japan

AT the International Congress of Working Women held last summer in Vienna, so we learn from the Women's Bureau, Miss Taka Kato, delegate from Japan, listed the unusual industrial problems of her country as follows: (1) The employment of women at hard manual labor, such as mining, building, etc. (2) The employment of women and girls in immoral occupations licensed by the government. (3) The dormitory system for housing women factory employees. While satisfactory statistics are not available, it is estimated that 12,820,000 women are employed in Japan, of whom approximately 100,000 are working in mines. About 60,000 women work side by side

with men in the pits, carrying shallow baskets suspended from a cross-piece filled with the coal the men dig. Each basket weighs twenty-five pounds when filled.

In the textile industries practically

three-fourths of the employees are women; in agriculture, forty-six per cent. In the spinning industry four-fifths of the women are housed in dormitories where the day and night workers sleep in alternate shifts.

The Winning Peace Plan

ON page 2 of this number you will find a condensed summary of the plan selected by the judges in the American Peace Award created by Edward W. Bok, and a ballot to be voted. All over the country during this month, in hundreds of organizations, hundreds of private groups, in hotels, in nearly 6,000 papers and magazines, the referendum will be taken. It has become a genuinely cooperative effort on the part of many divergent groups and publications to learn what is the true feeling and judgment of the American people on the subject of our foreign policy.

Everyone is urged to vote—and vote promptly. Any individual or organization may secure from the American Peace Award (342 Madison Avenue, New York) any number of copies of the winning plan and the ballot.

The plan was No. 1469, chosen out of 22,165 manuscripts submitted, and the members of the jury which pronounced it "the best practicable plan by which the United States may cooperate with other nations to achieve and preserve the peace of the world," is composed of Elihu Root (Chairman), James Guthrie Harbord, Edward M. House, Ellen Fitz Pendleton, Roscoe Pound, William Allen White, Brand Whitlock. The authorship of the prize-winning plan will not be disclosed until the referendum is completed. Space is not available to print the full text, but here is a longer summary, with quotations from portions of the author's reasoning:

His, or her, plan starts with the premise that "there is not room for more than one organization to promote international cooperation."

"Five-sixths of all nations, including about four-fifths of mankind, have already created a world organization, the purpose of which is 'to promote international cooperation and to achieve international peace and security.' Those nations cannot and will not abandon this system, which has now been actively operating for three and a half years. If leading members of the United States Government ever had serious hopes that another association of nations could be formed, such hopes were dispelled during the Washington Conference by plain intimations from other Powers that there is not room for more than one organization like the League of Nations.

"The States outside the organized world are not of such a character that the United States could hopefully cooperate with them for this purpose.

"Therefore, the only possible path to cooperation in which the United States can take an increasing share is that which leads toward some form of agreement with the world as now organized, called the League of Nations."

The next point in approaching the plan is that "the United States has already gone far in cooperation with the League of Nations." The Washington Conference is given as an outstanding instance of cooperation toward peace, and the official, or unofficial, representation of the United States on many League Commissions is detailed; e.g., unofficial representation on four of the most important social welfare commissions—Health, Opium, Traffic in Women and Children, and Anthrax; full membership in the international Hydrographic Bureau, an organ of the League; collaboration with the League Health Organization through the International Office of Public Health at Paris, etc.

Then, says the writer, since we have gone so far, we can go farther in cooperation with the League of Nations. We can

I. ENTER THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE under the conditions stated by Secretary Hughes and President Harding in February, 1923.

II. WITHOUT FULL MEMBERSHIP AT PRESENT, EXTEND OUR COOPERATION WITH THE LEAGUE'S SOCIAL WELFARE ACTIVITIES. Having sent delegates to four of the humane agencies of the League, "we could as properly accept invitations to accredit members with like powers to each one of the other welfare commissions." We could also accept invitations to participate in the same way in the work of the commissions and technical committees of the Labor Organization.

III. PROPOSE PARTICIPATION IN THE WORK OF THE ASSEMBLY AND COUNCIL, ACCEPTING THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AS AN INSTRUMENT OF MUTUAL COUNSEL, but under the following conditions and reservations:

1. The United States will assume no obligations to interfere with political questions of policy or internal administration of any foreign states.

2. It will maintain the Monroe Doctrine—"does not consent to submit its long-established policy concerning questions regarded by it as purely American to the recommendation or decision of other Powers."

3. It proposes that *moral judgment and public opinion be substituted for force*; that Articles X and XVI be either dropped altogether or so amended and changed as to eliminate any suggestion of a general agreement to use coercion for obtaining conformity to the pledges of the Covenant. The writer explains that these two articles—Article X implying a general agreement to use arms, and Article XVI looking toward an economic blockade—"have in their original forms been practically condemned by the principal organs of the League and are today reduced to something like innocuous desuetude." . . . "The only kind of compulsion which nations can freely engage to apply to each other in the name of Peace is that which arises from conference, from moral judgment, from full publicity, and from the power of public opinion."

4. The United States will assume *no obligations under the Versailles Treaty* except as Congress authorizes action in any particular case.

5. The United States proposes that *admission to the League shall be assured by any self-governing state* that wishes to join and that receives the favorable vote of two-thirds of the Assembly.

6. As the final condition of participation in the work and counsels of the League, the United States asks that the *Assembly and Council consent—or obtain authority—to begin collaboration for the revision and development of international law*, employing for this purpose the aid of a commission of jurists. This Commission would be directed to formulate anew existing rules of the law of nations, to reconcile divergent opinions, to consider points hitherto inadequately provided for but vital to the maintenance of international justice, and in general to define the social rights and duties of States. The recommendations of the Commission would be presented from time to time, in proper form for consideration, to the Assembly as to a recommending, if not a law-making, body.

S. O. S.

(Continued from page 17)

motion if the wholesale dying-off of millions in Central Europe is to be prevented."

A friend of mine who is sending food-packages to a lady, a fine linguist who for years lived in Boston, learns that she went to a starving friend of hers to offer a bit of lard. She found her eating potatoes without salt because she could not afford salt! Universities and hospitals are closing. The suicide list is mournfully increasing. University students who have slept in barracks and railway stations and have buttoned their coats high to conceal the fact that they have no underwear and who have eked out existence on the Quakers' food, have

given up their books and, ending all hope of education, have gone out in a wild quest for food. No doubt the tourists are still well fed, though even they must find conditions in December very different from those in last July. The American Society of Friends cables from Berlin that *thirty-five per cent of the entire population of Germany, including men, women and children, is now being supported out of public funds.*

It seems not to be well understood that when there is no gold and payment must be paid in kind, and can be made only by portable goods, there can be no reparations paid except where there is an excess of exports over imports. For twenty years before the World War Germany had no excess of exports. If she has had none for now thirty years, what is the hope of her getting them today with France in possession of her mines? Her creditors must first let her feed her surplus 15,000,000 people. For this she must, of course, by some means have money outside in other countries with which to purchase, as she has none at home. Then she must buy raw material to manufacture into exports and, lastly, have creditors willing to buy her goods and not shut them out by high tariffs.

In face of the fever, folly and despair that are wrecking Europe, building up a new military menace and hastening war, what can we as a people do? First study the facts. Send to the Institute of Economics in Washington and get a free copy of their pamphlet "Germany's Capacity to Pay." Ask our government to use its legal right to put an official, instead of an unofficial, member on the Reparations Commission. Feed the starving. Sit at your desk and send a check for \$4.75—the price of two or three theatre tickets—to the Central Committee, Food Package Department, 247 East Forty-first Street, New York, which will release a food package from the storehouse in Berlin or Hamburg and help save a family from griping misery. Or send to the American Committee for the Relief of German Children, 19 West Forty-fourth Street, New York, whose chairman is Major General Henry Allen, formerly commander of the American Army of Occupation.

But do not be content with almsgiving. Join in a trumpet call for an Economic Conference. France will not go into it unless we change our minds and are willing to consider readjustment of Allied Debts. By no means should we cancel them in whole or in part unless we can drive a good bargain. This bargaining has not yet been refused by us or as yet considered. There are many things that we want to have done to save civilization. We have something to offer in return. Now is the time for bargaining. America has the power. Will the womanhood of America demand that we use it? In the name of

the high-school boys, who may pay the penalty if we delay and palter and fool away the day of grace, let us insist on action. This is an S. O. S. call.

It is not merely for Germany. It is also for a million helpless refugees fled into Greece and for half of distracted, chaotic Europe now, lest in the near future it be a call to save all white civilization.

As you go about, with your eyes open, don't you occasionally see little "human interest" stories happening before you—stories of so-called "unimportant people" who are doing big-hearted or big-minded things? Or living through experiences of significance? Send them to us—just from one to four hundred words. We will pay \$1.00 for each one accepted.

The Bookshelf

By M. A.

AFTER too many Christmas can-dies, plain buttered toast tastes better than anything else on the table. And after too many holiday novels, the plain buttered toast of non-fiction is particularly delectable. In "From Pinafiores to Politics" Mrs. J. Borden Harri-man has written an autobiography as breezy and fascinating as any novel, but without the headachy qualities of plot and counterplot, character analysis and psychological dissertation. Daughter of an Englishman with cosmopolitan tastes, she was a débutante in the days when there were only "400" who counted. Thus she met both American and foreign society in her own home, and became increasingly interested in those people who moved the course of public affairs. Marriage took her to Washington, where she has become a famous hostess among national and international politicians. Her suffrage work, and her services overseas as a member of the Industrial Commission investigating conditions among munitions workers, added new fields to her already wide interests. She has lived in the midst of enormous social and political changes, and she discusses them and the people who were instrumental in bringing them about with all the frankness and detail of an intimate friend.

With all this, her memoirs are refreshingly free from malice. They show a woman enthusiastically interested in a wide variety of things and people, a woman who has a very genius for living.

G. Stanley Hall's "Life and Confessions of a Psychologist" is a very different autobiography. Here is a scholar, a teacher, a pioneer in his still young science, a man whose eighty years have included vast changes in American educational methods, who records quietly and sincerely the history he helped to make. The book has two different appeals. First, it is the life history of a

man of old New England stock, brought up on a farm among conditions now vanished. It is set down with the fidelity and attention to significant detail that only a psychologist, that is a person devoted to the study of the mind of man, could give. Second, it contains the history of that amazing baby science, psychology, so full of possibilities even in its infancy, together with the history of pedagogy, of Johns Hopkins University, of Clark University, of the men high in intellectual life both here and abroad. It is a quiet and scholarly book, written in an easy style, with bits of shy humor peeking through, full of places to stop and think.

In *"The Health of the Runabout Child,"* Dr. William Palmer Lucas has written a book which is both useful and delightful. Professor of children's diseases at the University of California Hospital, with a wide experience among sick children in Belgium and France, he believes that it is far better to keep children healthy in mind and body than to let them get sick and then cure them. The book is written for parents, and nurses, and is sufficiently understandable for the one, and technical for the other. Dr. Lucas discusses heredity, growth, food, recreation, play, and other important phases of the life of children from two to six years old. His book includes menus, tables of weight and height, of which he says in a note, "All charts, tables, outlines, and schedules are for the determined and the courageous to study." It is extremely valuable, and has also the merit of extraordinary interest. Readable, merry, kindly, with a deep-founded love for children—this is Dr. Lucas's book, and we have a suspicion that it is also Dr. Lucas's self.

Of all the Outlines that have recently poured into print, none is more attractive than the *"Outline of Art,"* edited by Sir William Orpen. It is to be in three volumes, of which only the first has come for review. "We propose," says Sir William, "to reproduce as many as possible of the greatest pictures in the world, and to say enough about their painters for the reader to understand what are their peculiar characteristics and what are the qualities of their work that make it beautiful and inspiring." Thus it is a magnificent picture book, in color and black and white, with enough reading matter to place the pictures. It makes a good reference book to turn to when someone says airily, "as primitive as Pollaiuolo" and you search frantically in a faulty memory to find out whether it's a tooth paste or a discarded radio, only to discover he is an artist.

From Pinafores to Politics, Holt, 1923. \$5.00.

Life and Confessions of a Psychologist, Appleton, 1923. \$5.00.

Health of the Runabout Child, Macmillan, 1923. \$1.75.

Outline of Art, Putnam, 1923. \$4.50 per vol.

Winter Windows

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP
College Physician at Barnard

IN most text books on ventilation the technical terms describing various mechanical devices for obtaining fresh air rather terrify the amateur. She feels that they should have been left to the architect that built the house. So perhaps do I. Most of the contraptions don't work—they get out of order and have to be repaired. There is, however, one very simple and effectual device: that of the board inside the window along the inner sill, allowing a horizontal crack for the entrance of fresh air. The next most important device is some opening near the ceiling from which the hot air can escape. This can be supplied by a transom over a door, a flue or pipe in the wall covered with an iron grating near the ceiling, connected with the outside, or a fireplace. The movement of the air should be gentle and continuous, but not sufficient to be felt as an unpleasant draft by an individual sitting in the room.

The simplest method of testing the actual ventilation in any given room is to watch the course of smoke. The smoke makes visible the air currents. The moving air should be on a level with the mouths of the people in the room. For instance, if, in a high-ceilinged room, the window is pulled down from the top a crack and the transom in the door opposite is opened, a perfectly satisfactory current of air will circulate in the upper part of the room, but a stagnant layer will be motionless in the lower part of the room. The people sitting in the unstirred level of air in the room will feel all the unpleasant effects of bad air—flushed faces, dullness, headache, etc., notwithstanding the fresh circulating air above them. In a closely packed crowd out of doors, when the human beings are wedged in an unwindy space, the same air-poisoning may result. In some streets in New York where the traffic cop stands at the intersection of four streets filled with automobile gases, cases of poisoning have taken place on a still day without wind, showing how easy it is for higher air currents to leave the lower air levels untouched.

Hot air always rises. Let in fresh, cool air at a low level in the room by raising the window from the bottom the height of the ventilation board, and let out the heated air by opening the transom. This method works. If a room has no transom, either have one put in, or try leaving the door open a crack.

The result desired by the circulation of fresh, cool air is the physical comfort and mental alertness of the individuals in the room. All that is known of human nature emphasizes the constant necessity for change. The peaks of civilization have always occurred where the climatic changes were the most marked.

A uniform temperature is not desirable.

In schools the windows should be opened between classes, flooding the rooms with fresh, cold, outside air and lowering the temperature by several degrees. The response in the alertness of the children is remarkable.

The same should be done in homes. In an old-fashioned, one-family house, the front door should be left wide open while the stairs and stoop are swept daily, so blowing out all yesterday's air and filling the house with a fresh, cool supply. Sitting room and dining room should be aired in the same manner every day. This means that someone in the household must be responsible for arranging a constant circulation of air through the house.

A thermometer should be hung in at least one room of the house and the air kept between 65° and 68° Fahrenheit.

A person with a healthy, active skin will feel most comfortable in a cool room. Men, in their thick serge coats, feel the cold much more than women, whose skins are acclimated, by light and airy clothing, to a quick adjustment to changes in temperature. A room where both men and women work, as in an office, is apt to be kept at a temperature much too hot for the comfort of the women. This can only be remedied by individual adjustment. In the home, the woman can thoroughly control the ventilation. It is much better to work and sew and study in a room with the windows up and the heat on full tilt, even if one needs to put on a sweater, than to sit in a closed-window room. It is possible to get the stimulation of outside fresh air by accustoming oneself to open windows.

Your Investments

By ELEANOR KERR

IN buying a bond the date of its maturity—that is, the date on which you will get back your capital—is important.

There are two principal methods provided for the payment of a bond issue—through one fixed maturity or through serial maturities. The type chosen in each case by the company issuing the bonds is largely a matter of the kind of business done, together with the opinion of the underwriting banking house as to what would be most acceptable to the public.

Serial payments spread the repayment of the borrowed money over a period of years, reducing the original debt incurred by periodic payments from the earnings as the business grows. Where there is one fixed maturity the entire amount borrowed has to be repaid all at once, which means a great burden coming at a single time. So it has become the custom, when an entire bond issue is technically due on a single date, to provide a sinking fund. The money in this

fund is used every six months or every year either to buy bonds in the open market or to call them by lot, in both cases retiring them and thereby lessening the amount of the final payment.

This means that your money may be paid back, and your interest will cease, some years in advance of the date named on the face of the bond. Advance notice, either through the press or direct, is usually given from two weeks to three months before the date on which any bonds are called, together with their numbers. The bond carries the information that it is redeemable on such and such notice. Some bonds are non-callable.

In effect, where a sinking fund is made sufficiently large so that its action retires the entire issue by maturity the company is really treating the issue as a serial one. One great advantage from their point of view, however, is that they are not obligated under fear of foreclosure to pay off any definite amount in any one year, which would be the case in a serial issue.

Many sinking funds are provided which do not entirely retire the issue before maturity, but which pay off one-third, one-half or possibly two-thirds, leaving a fairly heavy final payment. Sinking funds may be either for a fixed equal amount each year, or for a definite amount, such as one per cent or two per cent of the entire issue, plus the interest on the retired bonds. This latter is called a cumulative sinking fund; the company paying the same amount to the trustee for sinking fund and interest each year that the bonds are outstanding, but every year the number of bonds grows less, while the sinking fund grows larger.

Sometimes, instead of a cumulative sinking fund, the arrangements will call for certain annual payments to the sinking fund during the first few years of an issue, a somewhat larger amount annually during the next few years, etc. This is on the theory that the company does not get the full benefit from the new financing in the first few years, but that it gradually has more and more funds with which to make repayments.

Serial maturities may be for the same amount each year, but are often on a sliding scale.

Many municipalities, and some of our states, have fixed by law upon serial maturities for their bonds. Most bankers handling such issues distinctly prefer them to be serial, since there is a continuous repayment, and no temptations exist to use the sinking fund, which the law sometimes provides, for other purposes in the interval between the issuance of the bonds and their repayment.

In buying bonds of an issue having serial maturities the investor may choose those due dates which are best suited to his needs.

In buying a long-term bond the in-

vestor who thinks he may wish to use his principal in a year or two should bear in mind that, in order to draw it out before the due date, he will have to sell his bond on the market, which may or may not be around par value. As a rule investors who are putting money away for an indefinite period prefer a bond with a single maturity twenty years or more subsequent to the time of purchase. Where an investor, however, knows that he will need his money again within a few years to meet some anticipated expense, for which possibly he is saving, it is usually wise to invest in a bond due at about the date the principal will be required, and it is for this type of investor that serial bonds are particularly convenient.

Washington

(Continued from page 9)

decided. Previous to adjournment no headway had been made with opposition or compromise candidates for the place, and the radical group, headed by Senator La Follette, was discouraged, particularly as the threat of the Republican majority began to look ripe for fulfillment, namely, that the office of Chairman would be left vacant rather than proceed for another month with wrangling, and that the meetings of the Committee would be called by a majority of the body, which would then proceed to elect a temporary chairman for the purpose of getting down to business. There would be nothing to prevent Senator Cummins being elected temporary chairman of the committee by the majority and business going on as usual—with the exception that there always would be the possibility of the Democratic members of the Committee becoming unmanageable and absenting themselves at a critical time, or of a coalition between Democrats and radicals. The latest canvass of the committee has convinced some observers that the Committee is progressive in general temper, and that the present Transportation Act is slated for some revision if the work can get under way.

The spectacle of the Republican majority in the Senate being unable to elect a chairman of one of the most important committees of the Upper House has given Senator Pat Harrison and other Democrats opportunity for scathing remarks on the floor regarding the "out" between President Coolidge and his Congress and his ability to swing it into line for his announced program. But those who follow the Senate know that he is renowned as the sharp tongue of the party and the only one who can lash members on the floor with an understanding that it is all for party purposes, and not because the Senator from Mississippi wishes to meet the Republican gentleman from whatever state at sunrise the next morning with seconds.

The House, as usual, has a little some-

thing to show on its books for the fortnight in the announcement of a rules revision plan by Representative Luce, of Massachusetts, who has recognition in Congress as an author and authority on parliamentary procedure. Mr. Luce for nine years was a member of the General Court of Massachusetts, has served in a constitutional convention and is Chairman of the Library Committee of the House. His plan proposes seventeen changes in the House rules to insure more efficient handling of the routine, doing away with every-day time-wasters, such as reading of bills, the journal of the House and so on. The business of the House for some time has been more expeditiously handled than that of the Senate. It is in the Senate that a crying need of rule revision exists. The House, session after session, of late years has finished its work and sat around waiting for the Upper House to begin to act on the bills received and piled at its door. Debate is already highly restricted in the House. In the Senate, members can go on forever about nothing if the member is ingenious enough to maneuver the nothing into a general category of debatable subjects, which apparently is easy. The important changes Mr. Luce suggests are the following:

Dispense with the daily reading of the journal unless asked for by some member. Nobody ever listens to it now. The clerk mumbles it for a few minutes until he is noticed, then the motion is offered that it be dispensed with, which seems to be agreeable day after day.

Dispense with oral reading of bills and depend upon the printed copies which are available. This is the practice in many legislatures. The reading of bills in any one session cumulatively takes up many hours.

Reduce the allowance of one hour for floor discussion of any one bill to thirty minutes. At present the member allowed an hour for discussion is so importuned by other members that he slices it into numerous tid-bits and is the center of almsgiving.

After one speech for and against a bill, proceed with the reading of the bill for amendment. This is designed to speed the work on minor measures.

Strictly limit debate to the subject of a bill. The time expended on appropriation bills is charged by Chairman Madden to be due considerably to interjections of other matter.

Limit speeches on appeals from the chair on points of order to ten minutes each.

Liberalize the provision allowing bills to be taken up by unanimous consent to consent of a lesser number to be determined by the committee on rules.

Provision that when the House finds itself without a quorum, instead of being subject to a quorum call at the request of any member, troublesome or otherwise, it automatically resolve itself into

a committee of the whole and proceed with business. Mr. Luce in his report cites the experience of Great Britain, France, Spain and Italy in this regard. It is said that one member of Congress recently in pique caused 126 quorum calls, amounting in time to delaying the whole Congress about two weeks.

Representative Luce makes other valuable recommendations of a technical and parliamentary nature, among them that the padding of the *Congressional Record* by members who receive permission to extend their remarks in this journal be stopped, with a view to reducing the size and cost of the masterpiece and to furnish a more accurate report of the proceedings of Congress. For instance, if a member is granted permission to extend his remarks in the *Record*, he must do so before midnight of the same day and not interpolate letters, telegrams, speeches, articles or other matter not originating with a member of the House or an official of the Government.

In other words, take all the romance, poetry and fiction out of the *Congressional Record* and leave it dry as a bone.

Checks on Tyranny

(Continued from page 13)

establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances," and the fourth amendment providing: "The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated. . . ."

The provisions of the fifth and sixth amendments relate to court procedure. The fifth provides that "no person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury . . . nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, etc.," while the sixth discloses that "in all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the state and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense." Besides these there are the provisions that "no bill of attainder or ex-post facto law shall be passed."

These are perhaps the most important safeguards of personal rights found in the Constitution:

Chief among the safeguards upon property is the provision applicable to federal and state governments alike—"no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law."

Two questions present themselves—first, are these barriers to governmental action wise? and, second, should they be extended to other phases of human activity?

The answer to the first question can only be found in a discussion of the provisions, item by item. In general, a bill of attainder, that is, an act of the legislature punishing a man in consequence of a certain course of conduct without trial by the court, is in no greater favor today than it was at the time the prohibition was written. It is almost universally held to be unfair to have the accuser, probably in such cases also the injured party, act also as judge and jury. Similarly there is little criticism of the prohibition upon ex-post facto laws. To punish a man for doing something which was not a crime at the time of his action seems unjust.

Not so, however, with the safeguards upon indictment and trial. Although no widespread popular sentiment questions the wisdom of these provisions, nevertheless they are generally under the fire of police officials. To them in part, at least, is attributed the existing crime situation in America, where in some of our larger cities there are almost as many crimes committed as in the entire kingdom of Great Britain. Why, it is asked, should not a criminal be made to testify against himself? Why, because in one trial justice has miscarried, should a criminal be allowed to get off scot-free and the government be forbidden to re-prosecute him?

The actions of officialdom during the late war indicate also that in certain departments at least there are those who question the wisdom of freedom of speech and of the press—at least in times of crisis. The spirit of the group of Jeffersonians who were responsible for the insertion of restrictions upon governmental interference with such freedom was greatly violated by both administrative and judicial interpretation during the war. In fact, one is inclined to believe that Jefferson himself, had he uttered certain of his remarks during the crisis, would have been the object of official attention. Be that as it may, the history of the past six years indicates very forcibly that there are those who do not believe that the government has no right to abridge freedom of speech, but think that it has a decided right to do so when it, in its wisdom, deems such action wise. For what reasons, they ask, should a government which punishes individuals who slander other individuals stand by while it itself is slandered, or while long-haired men and short-haired women advocate its overthrow?

On the other hand, the arguments set forth by the school of thought which wrote the restriction into the Constitution are about as follows: Governments are primarily agencies of men. No men are infallible. Since governmental action in suppressing speech would be nothing more than the action of the particular group of men who might be occupying office at the time, it follows that such action might very well be ill advised. The ideas they suppress might very well be true. Many examples of such lack of wisdom on the part of governments in the past in the suppression of speech can be cited. Socrates (perhaps the greatest of the ancients) was put to death because the government of his day believed his questions were "corrupting the youth of the nation." That man whom millions today regard as God, Jesus Christ, was crucified as a blasphemer.

But even if the statements advanced are not wholly true, they should still be allowed to circulate, maintain these advocates. Very little of what passes current is wholly true. Most of it is but

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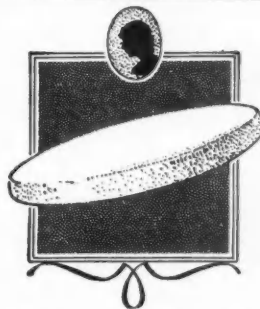


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half-truth. Even the scientist in propounding such a seemingly self-evident thing as the law of gravitation will not claim it to be the whole truth. All he will say is that the law of gravitation is the best explanation of a certain group of phenomena so far advanced. If, then, most of what we think we know is but half-true, do we dare suppress statements that may contain elements of truth? How else than by the circulation of such statements will it ever be possible to obtain those elements of truth? And how save by the accumulation of these modicums of truth can we hope ever to arrive at the whole truth?

But again, they say, admitting the ideas advanced are entirely false, it is still desirable that they should be circulated. In open conflict between truth and falsehood, the truth can always be depended upon to win. And the very conflict of ideas is a desirable thing, for in the conflict of thought, thinking is stimulated.

Finally, along comes the practical politician and says: What harm does freedom of speech do, anyhow? The mass of the people are sound and cannot be swept off their feet. Speech is to the radical like a safety valve to a boiler. Let 'em talk.

Whether the "due process" clause protecting private property is wise is a subject worthy of an article in itself. For a discussion of this, and for a discussion of the question whether the "rights" guaranteed the individual citizen should be enhanced we shall have to refer the reader to other sources. (Perhaps the best of these is J. T. Young's *New American Government and its Work*.)

In the next article Dr. Wallace will discuss "Proportional Representation."

Italian Princess

(Continued from page 13)

been so eager to go out and seek it.

"In Italy, as in every other country which felt the cyclonic war shocks, the Armistice found hundreds and hundreds of girls precipitated into factories and business offices, where many have preferred to remain. They are Nationalists—these girls—strong followers of the Fascist movement—and the most devoted and emphatic admirers of Mussolini."

Mussolini, in fact, takes on a rather modified character in a word sketch by the Princess Borghese, who admires him enthusiastically.

"A brilliant mind, a keen reader of the needs and hopes of the common people, he has firmly established himself in Italy," says the Princess. "A man who in so short a time could reduce unemployment from 5,000,000 to 50,000—I'll get you the exact figures if you like, but the proportion is right—and who could put a stop to the recurrent agricultural strikes—there were only two last year—has shown himself capable of dealing with fundamental issues. Unlike the old all-promising demagogues who were almost the ruin of Italy—Mussolini did not say, 'I'll bring you money, leisure, happiness'; he said—and emphatically—'I'll bring you hard work, the need for economy, the absolute necessity of self-sacrifice, if you want to rebuild your own.'"

Princess Borghese says that Italians, and particularly the women, are without international consciousness.

"It seems I have not attended one meeting of women here without hearing the need for peace, for international understanding, for outlawing war, dis-

cussed. Not always at men's meetings but always at women's does the subject arise. Italy is concerned with her internal problems. Five million of our forty million people went to war, you must remember. And Italy has always been a small European unit, always on the defensive, always philosophically accepting war as inevitable, every once in a while. It is the Latin temperament.

"If another war should come, it would be a terrific disaster. We feel the lowering of standards in every vital department of living through the last struggle. In education, in physique—it has taken a crippling toll.

"So, whether we look upon war with international consciousness or with the primal human instinct to preserve our own hearths—it must not be permitted to come."

Japanese Women

(Continued from page 10)

shall be no descent into beggary as a result of the disaster. They will work to avoid permanent destitution. Japan has not been a nation of paupers, and that ideal they will carry over into their own program. Some things that were marked features of the old life they are equally determined to end for all time, such as licensed prostitution. Some wholly new features they are working to establish, such as economic independence for women, with property rights and a voice in government.

A mere statement of their present program may seem a cold and lifeless thing to persons who have not shared in any of the modern public activities by means of which Western civilization has battled with disease, slavery, feeble-mindedness and oppression of all kinds. To those who have taken part in any phase of that social welfare the merest statement of the Tokyo Women's Federation gives sufficient clue to the campaigns that must be carried to win the struggle against the opposing human elements.

The Tokyo Federation has several departments already at work. The Social, Educational, Political, Industrial and Labor sections have been organized, each with its own constitution and officers. Every Saturday the delegates from these various departments and any of the members who can do so meet to report developments, to consult over the problems that have arisen, to avoid duplication of effort, and to determine next steps.

The Social Department has a one-week sanitarium for tired mothers and weakened babies. With the help of young college girls it has been making a survey of the city to ascertain conditions and needs. Its questionnaire cards would do credit to the most advanced American relief system. It administers relief still but aims to prevent permanent pauperism.

The Educational Department is study-

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ing in what respects the school system is at fault and what to strive for in the future. Besides the school teachers, all persons who are interested in the education of the young are invited to join the department and take part in its meetings.

The Department of Politics is starting with the work against licensed prostitution—a work the National Women's Christian Union has been engaged in for years. It has the suffrage as its goal. Most of its members are opposed to war. They regard it as one of the avoidable disasters and they had been taking steps to check the war spirit by reducing the amount of militarism in history text books.

The Industrial Department has over fifteen societies working with it for wider economic opportunities for women. It also seeks to improve the standard of Japanese manufactures for the export trade. Property rights for women come within its aims.

The Labor Department includes several societies as well as a growing individual membership. Its goal is the improvement of the conditions of working women and girls, "physically, financially and intellectually."

The general ideal of the Federation is expressed in their own English in this way: "We are united to give proper attention to all matters concerning the civic and legal status of women . . . We are united now for one common cause, the betterment of our sex, and through it the betterment of the whole nation. We are organized to combine our forces whose aim is only to create a happier and nobler life for us all. We are rising with unflinching faith, hope and zeal to reach our goal, however hard and rough the road may prove."

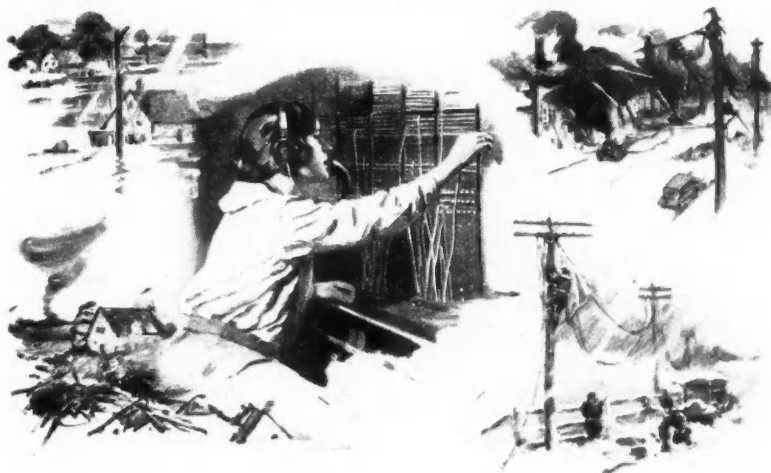
The road will be hard and rough for these women. We who have gone over it know how hard and rough it can be. We could smooth theirs in some slight measure by helping to do for them what many American men are preparing to do for Japanese men; namely, present them with a working library. The chances are that in all the tons of books that the West will ship now to the East, there will be few that will consist of anything more than thoughts of men about men. Even these may not be accessible to very many women because they will be shut up in the men's universities.

Some of the women had tried to build up a library for themselves. One of them by the heaviest sacrifices had saved her money and bought the books in England. She had scarcely got them home to Tokyo when the fire came. Not a book was saved. Other women lost theirs too. Naturally they need and want the books now more than ever. It is practically impossible for them to secure a library for their immediate needs. We could at least indulge in a unique and friendly international feminist act

by sending them the best of the English literature dealing with the history of women, their social and intellectual struggles, their public works, and their manifold interests. The gift should include books and pamphlets on social work, the labor problem, summaries of western social legislation, and western criticism of modern civilization. Those who know the English language best will translate or interpret for those who know it least. The women have the headquarters in which to house the books and they will be made available for the widest possible use.

The Japanese women responded with their hearts to American relief. They will respond with their heads as well as their hearts to American cooperation in their high enterprise of social reconstruction.

THE CITIZEN stands ready to receive books that readers will contribute from their own shelves, and to arrange for their shipment to Japan. A small nucleus of suffrage books is already available. Mrs. Beard suggests sending books not only on various phases of the woman movement—such as Emily



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Despite fire or storm or flood, a telephone operator sticks to her switchboard. A lineman risks life and limb that his wires may continue to vibrate with messages of business or social life. Other telephone employees forego comfort and even sacrifice health that the job may not be slighted.

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James Putnam's "The Lady," Mrs. Charlotte Perkins Gilman's books and others, but also books that will help social workers—for example, Dr. Abraham Flexner's "Prostitution in Europe," authoritative books on case work, reports on social hygiene work here, etc.

Address books to the WOMAN CITIZEN, 171 Madison Avenue, New York, and label the package clearly "For Japanese Women."—Editors.

A Line on the Movies

By LAURA L. LAEDLEIN

BOY OF MINE—Booth Tarkington has seen the possibilities in the boy-life burlesque long current in motion-picture "comedy," and has made a true comedy of a boy and a home, seldom off-key in sentiment, and full of Tarkington humor. A too important father, a sensitive mother, and a friendly, life-inquisitive little boy—material for a young epic. Any child will enjoy this picture, but it takes a full parent or parent twice removed to get the flavor of its honest domesticity. Beautifully directed and well acted, with a most engaging Billy—Ben Alexander. Henry Walthall is noticeably good as the father. An Associated First National picture, directed by William Beaudine.

SLAVE OF DESIRE—"La Peau de Chagrin" prosaically conceived, with a *Fedora* more vulgarly vampish than the book's calculating countess. In picture outline, the philosophic fantasy becomes an unconvincing melodrama. The kind adapter saves the hero's life, for the end finds him alive and kicking and nicely dressed, where a harsh Balzac had him dead of his sins. The picture does not exploit the book's technical chances of sensationalism; it is better than its name. However, sentimental adolescence might find sounder sentiment. A Goldwyn-Cosmopolitan picture, directed by George D. Baker.

A LADY OF QUALITY—A girl who should have been her bellicose father's son is born without his approval of her impertinent choice of sex, and grows up—helter-skelter among stable-boys and scullery-children—from a tempery little girl who takes a riding whip to him, to a tomboy woman dauntless enough to be his pride. Scenes shift: lover, war, and lover, and the too-tragic reappearance of an indiscreet lock of—very—curly hair. Romance in eighteenth century costume, high-colored and well done. A Universal picture, from a Frances Hodgson Burnett story, directed by Hobart Henley.

THE TEN COMMANDMENTS—The first part is an apparently literal rendering of the story of the Children of Israel in Egypt, their escape from the slave-driver, and the giving of the ten commandments by Moses to his following; often dramatically vigorous, though

marred by a too ambitious realism. The second part is a modern melodrama of the ancient conflict between those who love the letter of the law and their logical offspring, who want no law at all. So we start with the boy who wants to jazz-dance on Sunday, and the mother who is tragic over the mental hygiene of grace before meat. Some excellent direction and some excellent acting make an ultra-theatrical story absorbing in spite of itself. There are pictures of fine and spirited composition in the prologue. Incidentally, we never saw a deader little boy's legs than those of Pharaoh's stricken son. A Paramount picture, directed by Cecil de Mille.

DON'T CALL IT LOVE—This is the Rita Coventry novel-play story of the prima donna of many lovers, and the piano tuner who became Exhibit X. The opera singer is cast into a personality which shows itself most in key when the play becomes farce, which it does to perfection in some scenes. But do prima donnas at home and at ease wear such strange gowns? A Paramount picture, from the Julian Street novel, and directed by William de Mille.

The Court

(Continued from page 8)

instead of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

It will be observed that by the Hughes-Harding reservations this nation makes no connection at all with the League of Nations. In the words of Secretary Hughes, quoted from the letter he wrote President Harding when he submitted the reservations:

"It (the Court) is an establishment separate from the League, having a distinct legal status resting upon the (its own) protocol and statute. It is organized and acts in accordance with judicial standards and its decisions are not controlled or subject to review by the League of Nations." The United States would, if these reservations are adopted, enter the Court at once without disturbing it in any way.

The Lenroot reservations throw a monkey wrench into the Court machinery and the only certainty they promise is a long delay and an acrimonious controversy.

If this country is in such a middle-century state of suspicion that it cannot cooperate with other nations in an International Court proposed by itself, "we, the people," had better see to it that it doesn't upset the cooperation that nations of broader vision have successfully established. It is better not to attempt to go into the Court at all than to go in the Lenroot way. Those who, in a moment of timidity, switched from the court to a court, now find themselves loaded with the embarrassment of the Lenroot reservations and will do well to switch back.

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII

JANUARY 26, 1924

Number 18

News Notes of the Fortnight

Summed up from many sources

Great Britain Changes Premiers

EVENTS in Great Britain are working out according to schedule. Parliament was formally opened by the King on January 15, and the King's speech, which is written by the administration and expresses its policies, was read. The motion of lack of confidence was made in the form of an amendment to Ramsay MacDonald's address in reply to the King's speech, and was phrased in a way to insure Liberal support. The vote, just taken, supported the amendment by a majority of 72. Mr. Baldwin resigned, Mr. MacDonald accepted the King's invitation to become Premier and announced the personnel of his Cabinet. For the first time a Labor government has taken power without a revolution.

Mr. MacDonald's speech foreshadowed his policies. It declared for a restoration of strong British influence in Europe and against the domination of the continent by any one nation; for the starting of policies that would put an end to the miseries and destitution prevailing in Central Europe; for a strong handling of unemployment, old-age pensions and housing. It was filled with a sense of the danger of rival armies, nationalist policies, the expenditure of enormous sums of money on reconstruction, on preparing again for destruction. His speeches made before the opening of Parliament were very well received. They were moderate in tone, stressing points on which Liberals could unite with Labor—peace in Europe, a policy of support to the Liberal element in French leadership, measures to curb unemployment.

As this is written, a strike of railway engineers has been called, all efforts to avert it having failed. This puts a domestic problem first among the new Premier's troubles.

We Go to Mexico

IN logical succession we have taken further steps in what is practically intervention in Mexico. Having sold munitions of war to President Obregon, we then put an embargo on the private

Very Briefly

THE convention dates are settled now. The Republicans meet in Chicago, and the Democrats in New York, in June. The Farmer-Labor and other Progressive groups, including the Committee of Forty-eight, which called a number of conferences looking toward a convention, meet in Chicago for a national convention, May 30.

General Danglis, chairman of the Venizelos party in Greece, will be the new premier, and Venizelos himself will be foreign minister. A referendum will be held soon to decide whether the country is to be a republic or a monarchy. Venizelos has said that he will vote for a republic. He has ordered a general amnesty for political prisoners.

Norman H. Davis, Under Secretary of State in the Wilson Administration, has sailed on the invitation of the League of Nations to head a commission to report on the status of Memel, the city at the extreme northeast tip of former Germany, which was taken from Germany under the treaty, and recently seized by the Lithuanians. Both Poland and Lithuania desire it, not to mention Germany. The population is predominantly German.

Another earthquake has occurred in Tokio, with a loss of a hundred lives.

Great Britain has formally recognized the Greek Government.

Discoveries in Jerusalem carry the date back to 3000 B.C.—five centuries earlier than any previous records.

The French engineer, Bunau Varilla, who was instrumental in securing the adoption of the lock canal at Panama, is here now to suggest the remodeling of the canal to a strait a thousand feet wide and fifty feet deep, at a cost of a billion dollars.

sale of arms to the revolutionist, de la Huerta. The next request from Obregon was for the privilege of crossing Texas in the interest of disposing troops more effectively. The governors of New Mexico, Arizona and Texas consented, the governor of Texas only after the point of entry had been changed. Meantime the struggle between the Mexican Government forces and the rebels in the Tampico oil region, where American business interests are strong, had become intense. The rebels established a blockade of the port of Tampico. This drew a warning from the United States that our trade must not be interfered with. An American cruiser, the *Tacoma*, sent down to the scene, was wrecked off Vera Cruz and aided by the rebel forces.

Another cruiser followed, and seven more warships have now been sent to Vera Cruz and Tampico. The blockade has been "postponed."

Dawes Opens the Meeting

THE speech made by General Charles G. Dawes, as chairman of the committee of experts inquiring under Reparations Commission auspices into German finance, made a deep impression. He stressed the reality of the world's danger at this time "unless common sense is crowned king," and the necessity of aiding German recovery if there is to be any economic health in the world. By way of applying common sense, he declared that the work of the committee would be in business, not politics.

To the general horror, General Dawes demanded three sessions a day, but was persuaded to come down to two. Dr. Schacht, president of the Reichsbank and German Controller of Currency, is appearing before the committee, and it expects to move bodily to Berlin before long. The Reparations Commission has meantime reinforced the earlier French warning concerning the limits set for the committee's work, and Poincaré has requested the French members to incorporate Franco-Belgian control of the Ruhr into any plan they recommend for German financial reform. How far the committee will be allowed to go remains to be seen. Meantime they confront mountains of documents.

In Germany

GERMAN finances are at the moment in a somewhat improved condition. The rentenmark is being used in part, and the currency is steadier. Under the present Finance Minister, larger returns are being secured in taxes since payments are partly in the new mediums. State railroads and post-offices are about to be mortgaged to obtain needed working capital. Some of the food held in the country because of the state of the currency is being released; but not enough to make much impression, according to recent observers.

Malnutrition, according to Dr. Haven Emerson, is widely prevalent, and one of the attendant evils is a very high percentage of tuberculosis among children. Children stunted in growth by lack of food are appallingly numerous.

Stinnes has again appeared on the scene actively. While the French Government is trying to make final arrangements with Germany, hustling things in order to get ahead of the Reparations Commission's findings, Stinnes has proposed a reparation plan of payment in kind. He urges that a total indemnity be fixed. He seems to regard April 15 as the latest date on which the present strained situation can exist. Explaining his plan of payment in kind, he says that France, Italy and Belgium can take coal, coke and chemical products. Goods would be paid for at the German factories by the German Government, and delivered to allied consumers to pay their governments.

A New French Finance Program

THE serious financial situation in France continues, and within the fortnight M. Poincaré has proposed, and carried, a drastic program of financial reform. It includes a twenty per cent raise in taxes, budget economies, the sale of the match monopoly, a limit on reconstruction expenditures and the withdrawal of certain pensions and assistance funds. The tax program was adopted by the French Cabinet, and will be brought before the Parliament as this goes to press.

At the conclusion of a very stormy discussion of his foreign policies, Poincaré received a heavy vote of confidence. Yet the line-up against him grows sharper—Tardieu on the extreme right, reproaching him for mildness, while Herriot and Briand maintain there is a better way to get reparations than the use of force. Several French papers that have supported him are turning against him and hinting at a new Ministry before the spring elections. Meanwhile, whether those elections are or are not to be conducted by proportional representation is a debated point, and there is talk of moving the date forward from May to March.

Klan Doings

REVELATIONS of Ku Klux Klan corruption are coming thick and fast in connection with the investigation of Earle B. Mayfield's right to his seat in the Senate. Through the confessions of a one-time Grand Goblin for the Middle West and South, including Mr. Mayfield's state, Texas, beatings and tar and feather parties are shown to have been directly inspired by the Klan. In his official capacity this Grand Goblin—George B. Kimbro, Jr., of Houston, Texas—protested against such occurrences, and was ousted for that very reason. His confessions are in the

form of a sworn statement, and should be of value in handling the Klan.

The Teapot Dome Scandal

SENATOR CARAWAY of Arkansas made an attack last week on the lease of the Teapot Dome Naval Oil Reserve by Albert B. Fall when he was Secretary of the Interior. The whole story is not yet known, but it has the earmarks of a first-class scandal. Mr. Fall was the object of much criticism during his term of office for opposition to conservation, for generosity in leasing naval oil reserves and for his persistent pressure against lands owned by Indian tribes. It will be remembered that he retired before the end of his term to attend to private business.

Soon there were evidences of his having achieved great and sudden prosperity, and a Senate investigating committee became curious. When asked where he got \$100,000 that he transferred from Washington to Texas, Mr.

Fall said that it had been loaned to him by Edward B. McLean. Mr. McLean at first agreed, but later denied, when Senator Walsh of Montana was sent down to Florida to question him. This money Senator Caraway implies was connected with the lease to the Sinclair Oil Corporation.

Senator Caraway compares Mr. Fall to Benedict Arnold, somewhat to the advantage of the latter. He charges that "for a corrupt consideration" Mr. Fall "sold the very means by which our national existence is to be protected," but cannot offer proof. Senator Lenroot has quietly slipped down to Florida to see if Mr. McLean, an invalid, is well enough to come north and testify. The investigation is continued, and both Mr. Fall and Mr. Sinclair have been summoned to Washington to testify.

The Tax Puzzle

THE Garner tax plan, put out as a Democratic substitute for the Mellon program, seems to be gaining some ground. Though the Treasury has not completed its analysis of what the Garner plan would mean in revenue, Secretary Mellon has made a counter attack. His claim is that while the Garner rates seem to give more relief to the great mass of the taxpayers, the effect is superficial, and the rates would eventually operate to their disadvantage. He labels the plan "political."

Secretary Mellon's plan is also under attack from Senator Couzens of Michigan, on the ground that Mr. Mellon has made too large claims concerning the amount of money diverted from taxation by tax exemption. He analyzes the figures to show that the amount of tax exempt securities is by no means sufficient to cover the recent drop in revenues from taxation of large fortunes.

Mr. Bok Under Fire

A BIG hullabaloo is being made over the Bok plan. The isolationists in the Senate consider the winning plan nothing more or less than a piece of League of Nations "propaganda," and are moved to gird up their loins for a still harder fight against even the World Court. They summoned Mr. Bok before a committee created by Senator Reed, of Missouri, and demanded to know the source and the amount of the money he had spent in conducting the contest and the referendum.

Through all the grilling Mr. Bok flatly refused to tell these amounts, saying that the money was his own, with no contributions from any one else, and that he considered it nobody's business but his own. Mr. Bok was permitted to go on to Florida, but subject to recall.

Miss Esther Everett Lape, who has so efficiently managed the enormous undertaking has been summoned for questioning.

January 22, 1924.



Anna Pavlova in Malvina Hoffman's Studio

Malvina Hoffman (our cover artist) is the daughter of Richard Hoffman, the pianist. She studied, first, painting with John Alexander, and then sculpture with Gutzon Borglum and Auguste Rodin in Paris. Her prizes are too numerous to mention and her place in the world of sculpture too well-known to dwell upon. Let it suffice that one of her pieces is in the Luxembourg. Of Miss Hoffman's three studies of Paderewski—the Man, the Artist and the Statesman—we have chosen the Artist; the piece which has just been bought by Mrs. Henry Fairchild Osborn and presented to the American Academy at Rome.

But there is another side to Miss Hoffman's life, equally interesting. It is the side that responded to the World War, that prompted her to found the Appui Aux Artistes for the destitute artist families in France, and the American Yugoslav Relief; that sent her touring the Balkans so that she might know facts. Would we had more space to tell of it!

The reproduction of the portrait by Mary Beale, which appeared on our last cover, was obtained through the Knoedler Galleries. Mention of this courtesy was inadvertently omitted.

Foster- Mothers of Music



Photo by Chas. W. Beam
The Hollywood Bowl at an annual Easter Sunrise Service. The Children's Chorus, in the formation of the cross, raise their voices in devotion as the sun breaks over the Bowl's rim

By
Mildred
Adams

"I DO not think that there has ever been a country whose musical development has been fostered so exclusively by women as America," writes Walter Damrosch,* leader of the New York Symphony Orchestra, and himself a musical pioneer. Although no one of equal authority has so phrased the fact in print, other artists are quick to agree with him. Harold Bauer, whose pianistic genius delights nation-wide audiences, is even more emphatic, declaring that "everybody knows America wouldn't have any music if it weren't for women."

Our Musical Beginnings

Certainly the early music of this country was very much in feminine hands. To play and sing were "lady-like accomplishments" long before women had any recognized part in public affairs. They taught simple tunes to their daughters, and once in a while an unusual girl went to Europe to study. Increasing familiarity with European music led to the bringing of an artist or two to America. It was a difficult undertaking, requiring both courage and financial backing, for expenses had to be guaranteed, and women had not developed as organizers or financiers. Gradually they began the formation of clubs, to concentrate their efforts and make them more effective. European study became more common, and daring spirits dreamed of the development of American artists and American music. A few clubs went so far as to offer prizes for native compositions.

Today the interest in music is nation-wide. And the women who have been responsible have grown with their work. They are recognized as teachers and artists. Ten thousand of them in music clubs alone are giving their attention to the study and encouragement of

music. The General Federation of Women's Clubs is offering a large prize for the best American oratorio. Private philanthropists are stimulating native chamber music and orchestral scores with prizes, and even commissions, which enable composers to devote their whole attention to writing. Other women support chamber music organizations and contribute largely to the upkeep of orchestras. Managerial ability has grown until women are now concert managers and promoters of musical celebrations which involve whole communities.

This community effort is very important if America is to have truly native music. Even now it is very much a transplanted art. We are so completely in touch with the intricate and educated music of older civilizations that the growth of unselfconscious folk music is impossible. The only way is to foster existing music among the people, and encourage it to soak into daily life, enriching life so that it may in turn nourish and produce—not a sickly imitation or a hot-house plant—but a new and vigorous music growth whose roots are deep in America.

Of all the community music celebrations Music Week is the best known and the most spectacular. In 1923 there were one hundred and two cities, three counties and one entire state which focused interest on music for an entire week. And of all of these, the greatest in extent, preparation, audiences and participants is New York's. It is an incorporated institution, with men and women of national reputation on its boards and committees, and an influence which reaches all America. The director of the organization is Miss Isabel Lowden. She is a tall woman of arresting personality, whose enthusiasm for her work fairly leaps out of her dark eyes. Under her leadership New

York's Music Week has grown from a local festival to a year-long preparation which culminates in an inspiring observance. Her plan of organization takes the school district as a unit, because it is a unit of parents and children, homes and school. With their cooperation a musical contest date is fixed and advertised, and children start studying contest "pieces." Competitions range from vocal solos for all voices and all ages, through instrumental solos, to contests for choruses, bands and orchestras. Any amateur, child or grown-up, can compete.

The actual contest takes the form of a public concert, held perhaps in the school auditorium of the district. Fellow students, proud teachers and prouder parents come to see Ellen or Giovanni sing or play. Each competing class performs by itself, so that six or seven small girls may sing "The Lark Now Leaves His Watery Nest" in succession. It sounds a bit hard on the audience, but because they are all partisan and friendly, they sit more or less entranced and unconsciously acquire a valuable sense of discrimination. To foster this, as well as to give the performers the benefit of expert advice, the judges read each decision aloud and explain it. As only recognized musicians are judges their advice amounts in value to the finest kind of a professional audition.

Winners in district contests compete in borough contests, and during Music Week the "finals" are held in the form of grand interborough contests.

American Orchestras

Music Week has won an enormous number of friends since it started, and now the whole force of artists, musical organizations and teachers, is behind it. It is a great stimulus not only to more music, but to better music of every kind.

* "My Musical Life," Scribner.

Orchestral music, requiring as it does a high degree of talent and skill and an expensive organization, was a late development here. Now there are great orchestras throughout the country, some of them the finest in the world, but still they do not give professional employment to many Americans. That is due to a curious lack in training facilities, and a woman, Mrs. E. H. Harriman, has set out to supply that lack. A symphonic player must be more than a finished instrumentalist. He must have also a symphonic repertoire, and orchestral experience, which will enable him to respond as a member of that super-musical instrument, the orchestra. Our conservatories and private teachers are graduating men and women who are experts with their own instruments, but who have not the other two requisites. And no great orchestra conductor can take the time to train them. So there is a considerable gap between graduation and employment, and it is this gap which Mrs. Harriman is filling with the American Orchestral Society which she organized and, in a large measure, supports.

The Society has a training school for orchestral players which offers a post-graduate course to finished instrumentalists. The student orchestra gives ten concerts each year at Cooper Union. Training is free, and in return the concerts are free. The first class graduated last year, and some of the graduates were accepted by the big New York orchestras, while others found positions in orchestras throughout the country.

While this school was the first purpose in Mrs. Harriman's plan, it is now just the cap-stone of a series of activities for orchestral players and audiences from six years old to thirty. For the youngest children the Society sponsors a series of Children's Concerts by the New York Philharmonic Orchestra under the leadership of Ernest Schelling, who plans first to explain music and instruments with the aid of lantern slides.

Next in age come the two thousand children who play in New York High School orchestras, and the Society is co-operating with the Board of Education in sending them orchestral instructors. At its educational concerts the Philharmonic Orchestra plays the works which the High Schools are studying and has as its guests two hundred of the most able students.

The last activity is a series of lectures which David Mason, Professor of Music at Columbia University, is giving by arrangement with the Society for the music teachers of the public schools. This completes the present program of the Society, a program which is logical and orderly in its details, far-reaching in its vision, and powerful in its influence on America's orchestral music, and which owes its organization and exist-

ence to a woman's genius and generosity.

The greatest summer festival of orchestral music in the United States also owed its success to the enthusiasm and ability of a woman who is affectionately known as the "amateur impresario,"



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Miss Isabel Lowden

Director of New York's Music Week

Mrs. Charles Guggenheimer, of New York, chairman of the Stadium Concerts. To New Yorkers that last phrase means summer nights full of the finest music obtainable. Up at the College of the City of New York Mr. Adolf Lewi-



© Mojonier
Mrs. Joseph Carter

President of Hollywood's Community Chorus

sohn built an outdoor stadium, simple and beautiful in clear Greek lines, covering an entire city block. Every summer night for two months, when indoor New York is panting and stuffy, the augmented Philharmonic Orchestra of one hundred and four men assembles there and plays symphonic music to the stars, the streets, the city sloping away

from the heights, and the four to ten thousand people gathered in the Stadium. Imagine what those nightly concerts mean to an enormous population living and working among the hot concrete, brick and steel of a New York summer!

Prices range from twenty-five cents to a dollar a seat, less to pay for a symphony concert than for a movie. In spite of the crowds which attend there is always a deficit, for the season's budget is large. The financial end forms a large part of Mrs. Guggenheimer's work and, although the concerts still depend upon the support of wealthy and public-spirited citizens, her plan is to widen her list of contributors so that more and more of New York's population shall feel that it not only enjoys the Stadium concerts, but actually has a part in making them possible.

In Hollywood, California—and that calls up mountains and canyons, riotous flowers and gorgeous sunshine, as well as the ubiquitous movies—the people themselves have developed unusual community music. The president of the Community Chorus is a woman, Mrs. Joseph Carter. An attractive individual with a flashing personality, she has been traveling through the country since October for the purpose of studying community music wherever it was growing.

"Our Chorus grew out of wartime singing," she said simply. "We thought that it would be quite as much fun to sing in peace time, so we sing every Tuesday night for ten months in the year. Then some of us decided we wanted to play, so we formed an orchestra among ourselves, and hired a conductor to train us. The orchestra plays once a month at our weekly sing. Sometimes we have guest musicians, but no matter who is there, we always do some of our own singing. Think of us, with a group of a thousand to fifteen hundred singers, and our own orchestra, and I'll tell you about the Bowl.

"There is on the outskirts of Hollywood a natural amphitheater, where the hills hollow down in such a way that the acoustics are perfect. From time to time we held festivals there, and gradually the thought grew up that we would like to own that Bowl, to keep it free from building, and use it for community festivals. So we bought it, from skyline to skyline, and the people of Hollywood own it for all time. During the last two summers our Bowl has been the scene of a ten weeks' orchestral festival. Last summer Emil Oberhoffer of Minneapolis was our conductor, and he led the Hollywood Bowl Orchestra, which is composed of members of the Los Angeles Philharmonic, in this series of gorgeous concerts.

"Finances? We charged twenty-five cents, and anyone who wanted to pay
(Continued on page 23)

The Monroe Doctrine

By Carrie Chapman Catt

IN times of old it was said that when a thing was believed "everywhere and by all," it was true; that is, it was true whether or not it was true. In modern times, enlightenment has taught us that not always does the beaten path unerringly lead to the truth. Nevertheless, it requires considerable temerity to express a skepticism concerning a thing so universally believed in this country as is the Monroe Doctrine. With much perturbation of mind and spirit, I venture to declare, however, that the Monroe Doctrine, though all the world be for it, is false in theory and pernicious in its application. It is false in its theory because there is no logic, there is no justice, there is no ethics which can possibly make justifiable the right of any nation, by its own assumption of authority, to assume direction over any other nation without that nation's consent.

It is pernicious in its application, for, in the words of Secretary Hughes himself (in his speech at Montreal), "The policy of the Monroe Doctrine does not infringe upon the sovereignty of other American states. Misconception upon this point is the *only* disturbing influence upon our relations with Latin America." He himself points out wherein the theory is pernicious. Yet it is believed everywhere. All Americans automatically believe in the Monroe Doctrine; they are born to it as they are born Republicans or Democrats or Presbyterians. They cannot help it. Both political parties endorse it with equal fervor, and they do so because neither of them originated it. They inherited it.

And Savin' Grace

I have recently been in Texas, and whenever I go into the South I always make it a point to collect stories about the Negroes. One of them is applicable. A Negro mother had a pair of twins, and, following the custom of her people of liking to name her children something religious or spiritual, she named them the Monroe Doctrine and Savin' Grace. She was quite unconscious that she had confused the politics and the religion of her country. No one will ever discover her mistake, because the little boy, who did not grow quite so fast as his sister, was called Little Doky for short, and the sister Say.

Easterners have missed something quite American if they have not in the Middle West been privileged to attend the congressional political rally. There

is no congressional or senatorial candidate or oratorical sponsor for a president who, when wishing to evade an issue or having run short of ammunition, does not call upon one of two subjects in order to arouse his audience to loyalty to the party he represents by the time-honored policy of throwing dust in the

This is the promised speech made by Mrs. Catt at a meeting of the Foreign Policy Association of New York a few weeks ago, in a program devoted to the consideration of the Monroe Doctrine. Readers have asked for it eagerly, and here it is, printed almost in full. It is interesting that, without advance knowledge on either side, the Woman Voter for this number also carries the report of a round table discussion (page 19) of the United States in its Pan-American relations.

eyes of his audience. One is the Constitution. This is always in danger in every campaign. The other is the Monroe Doctrine. Both are perfectly safe. I have seen and heard at these rallies many an orator walk up and down the platform and pound the table in defense of this immortal doctrine while receiving the plaudits of his audiences, when neither the orator nor the audience had the slightest idea of what the Monroe Doctrine really was.

I have adopted the habit in times past when a question has become controversial—and I like to find out what people are thinking—of asking the first ten, dozen, or twenty-five people that I meet about this question. Following my custom, I began some weeks ago to make inquiries to see how many people knew what the Monroe Doctrine is. Up to this point I have asked one hundred intelligent people. I have not found one yet who really knows.

I will ask you to put yourselves in the place of Secretary Hughes at this centenary of the Monroe Doctrine. Will you then ask yourselves what you would do in his place? If you were Mr. Hughes you would, of course, know what the Monroe Doctrine is. Suppose you wanted to modernize it. Suppose you wanted to amend it. How could you do it? If it were in the Constitution, the Constitution might be amended. That is a painful process, but it has been done. If it were a law passed by Congress, Congress might repeal it. If it

were a decision of the Supreme Court, that distinguished body might follow some of its distinguished precedents and reverse its ruling. If it were the basis of treaties with other nations, a new series might be formulated and ratified to bring in the necessary changes.

But it is none of these things. Then, what could you do if you were the Secretary of State and it was your job to pronounce upon that doctrine?—for that seems to be a traditional predicament handed down from Secretary to Secretary of State. If it was your business to pronounce upon it and you wanted to change it, you would not dare to suggest it, because, whether you were a Republican or a Democrat, you could depend upon it that the party of the "outs" would be after your scalp and your party would be thrown on the defensive. I can perceive the orators of the opposing party out gathering up blocs of indignant American voters for the support of the Monroe Doctrine at the next election. No Secretary of State will ever dare say that he is opposed to that doctrine or that he wants to modify it. The only thing that a Secretary of State can do is to interpret it, and that is what Mr. Hughes has been doing. He has done it in three different speeches. It was all he could do.

Like an Umbrella

Well, if Mr. Hughes stood alone as the interpreter for this country, of this doctrine, that might be well. For no man is safer; no man has a clearer brain; no man has a more analytical mind than Mr. Hughes. But, unfortunately, the Secretaries of State have been engaged in interpreting that doctrine for the last sixty years and they are going to go on interpreting it for the next hundred years; and, therefore, Mr. Hughes has no final authority for a pronouncement upon that doctrine. He is only a temporary interpreter of it. The doctrine is what the sum total of the interpretations have made it. It is clear we must keep the Monroe Doctrine, whether we want it or not. It is like an umbrella. You can't throw an umbrella away. "Dust to dust and ashes to ashes" doesn't apply to umbrellas and the Monroe Doctrine.

The Monroe Doctrine began to change in 1845. Perhaps you will remember that in the years 1845 and 1846 we had a difficulty about Texas with Mexico. It is a subject upon which our people like to be silent, because there is no one left among the writers of history

who justifies that war. It seems to have been the turning point of the Monroe Doctrine and that is one reason why it is an important event in our history. We waged that war, and as a result of the outcome we acquired Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Nevada, Utah, California, etc. The total was about 900,000 square miles, or nearly one-third of our entire territory. It is equal to all of Great Britain, France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, the present Austria, Hungary, Portugal and half of Holland. It was quite a sweep for amateur imperialism and for a nation that was protecting the western continents from encroachments by spreading her wings over them. The original Monroe Doctrine was a pronouncement that hereafter European nations were not to colonize on the western continents. All the Spanish-American countries who had interpreted the Monroe Doctrine before to mean that a great altruistic nation, a little bigger, a little stronger than they, was always going to protect them from violence at the hands of these wicked

European colonizers who might come to seize their lands, became suspicious at that moment and the Monroe Doctrine was never the same to them again. In Latin America they never have forgotten that war with Mexico.

When a little later we had a war with Spain and took a lot more territory and began to administer it they took due notice of that and the suspicion grew. In the famous Venezuela dispute—it was in the Cleveland administration—Secretary Olney, one of the Secretaries of State who was interpreting the Monroe Doctrine, said: "The United States is practically sovereign on this continent and its fiat is law upon the subject to which it applies its interpretation." Secretary Hughes has just assured the world that this is not the meaning of the Monroe Doctrine, but in South America that sentence of Secretary Olney's is on file in every newspaper morgue and in every statesman's library and in every public and university library. They have never forgotten it.

Later, President Roosevelt found such a state of irritation throughout Spanish America that he set forth, in the same thoroughgoing fashion in which he always approached everything, an interpretation of that doctrine so that nobody thereafter would be in doubt about it. This is a small part of what he said—in 1904:

"It is not true that the United States feels any land hunger" [No wonder; it had gotten a mouthful in the Mexican War] "or entertains any project with regard to other nations of the Western Hemisphere, save such as are wilful. All this country desires is to see the neighboring countries prosperous. Any country whose people conduct themselves well can count upon our hearty friendship. If a nation shows that it knows how to act with reasonable efficiency and decency in social and political matters; if it keeps order and pays its obligations, it need not fear from the United States. Chronic wrongdoing or an impotence which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society may, in America as elsewhere, ultimately require intervention by some other civilized nation, and in the Western Hemisphere the Monroe Doctrine may force the

(Continued on page 25)

Dutch Women's Work

By Marjorie Shuler

THERE are no untrained women in business in Holland. The woman in domestic service has learned how to set exquisite darns in table linen, how to weave in textiles in broken garments, how to cook well and economically. The woman agronomist has been sent to an agricultural school to fit her for her work in the fields and dairy. The engineering courses for women in Holland are filled with women students, and there are women in all the professions—trained women. It contributes to national efficiency and thrift, this thorough and painstaking system of education for workers, and it turns the attention of all women toward business in a way which could be tried to advantage in other countries.

There is one woman who knows the story of women in industry probably better than any other in Holland: Miss Anna Polak, director of the Woman's Labor Bureau, who can talk equally well about the work of women in the fields and women in the factories. There is another who knows the work of women in the professions and politics: Dr. Aletta Jacobs, the pioneer suffrage leader in Holland. And there is a third, who in her own person proves the democratic opportunities which are open to women in the little country by the sea: Miss Marie van Dyk, founder of the prosperous Woman's Club of the Hague, who began her career as a simple seam-



Marie van Dyk



Anna Polak



Aletta Jacobs

stress and today has one of the fashionable dressmaking shops in Holland's capital city. The fact that women of all social groups rallied at Miss van Dyk's call to establish the present beautiful clubhouse proves the high standing which women's work has in the Netherlands.

All three of these women are typical figures of the land of the dikes and wooden shoes. Sturdy in figure; broad with the breadth of generations of carrying wooden milk pails on both shoulders; clear-eyed, pink-cheeked—another

heritage of outdoor life; simple, direct and trenchant in their speech—they are three able exponents of their country.

Dr. Jacobs is likely to speak of the seven women in parliament, three of them lawyers, two teachers, and the one woman in the senate. She will speak eloquently of the women engineers, two of them employed at the patent office in the Hague, another at the chief telegraph office. There are at least half a hundred women in laboratory work, chemical engineering, teachers, or technical assistants, besides the four civil engineers, two architectural, five electrical and one mechanical qualified woman engineers. Many women who have taken the engineering course are employed by firms in Holland, and some are even holding appointments in the mines in colonies belonging to Holland.

If you talk with Miss van Dyk, who is president of the Dutch Woman's Labor Society, or Miss Polak, director of the bureau, you may take your choice—will you first visit the women in the factories or the women in the fields? On your journey you may stop in hotels owned and managed by women, one very large and successful hotel at the Hague, a smaller vegetarian hotel there if you prefer simpler fare, or an even smaller hotel out toward the famous seaside resort, Scheveningen.

Setting forth from one of the small

(Continued on page 28)

The
New
Chairman



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And
Tax
Arguments

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

January 17, 1923.

In Congress

THIS has been a Democratic fortnight. The meeting of the Democratic National Committee here to decide upon the place and plans for the national convention next June was stimulated by reports from Congress of Democratic gains and successful coalition with the insurgent Republicans. The sons of Grover Cleveland have gone home encouraged.

But the Republican side has developed a facial expression of foregone conclusion—that the next election will turn out to be a Republican victory without question or without regard for what may happen in a campaign way between now and next November. The swing of the Coolidge candidacy is pushing forward by its own momentum. Light-house superintendents from all parts of the country have been here this week, men representing isolated spots where little filters in that is not washed up.

"Why is a lighthouse keeper for Coolidge?" someone asked.

"Why?" answered the old salt. "Why, because Coolidge knows dried cod when he sees it, and baked beans. Because he talks plain talk and we can understand him. And get what he's driving at."

The Compromise Chairman

It is often an unfortunate omen to be optimistic so early, political seers say. Campaigns move forward by psychological waves and it is better to have a slump or an even keel in the early stages than ride on the crest of a wave to a fall. The Democratic members in the Senate daily are becoming more active and confident over the success they have had in forcing the Republican majority by combination with the Republican insurgents. The final election of a Democrat, Senator Smith, of South Carolina, as chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee has greatly heartened the Democrats. Senator Smith has no great reputation for legislative finesse, but has had experience on the committee for

AGAIN the fortnight in Congress has been spent mainly in deciding what to do and further determining upon the final program. Action upon noteworthy bills has been as follows:

Introduced in the Senate

By Senator La Follette, amendments to the Transportation Act fixing railroad rates according to the cost of railroad service.

By Senator Owen, Oklahoma, amending laws regarding publicity of contributions and expenditures for elections of Senators and Representatives.

By Senator Robinson, Democratic leader, bill prohibiting the sale of arms and munitions to foreign governments or foreign military or political authorities.

By Senator Jones, Democrat, a resolution requesting the Secretary of the Treasury to report upon excess profits taxes of corporations.

By Senator Norris, reintroduction of his bill of the last session creating a fund of \$100,000,000 to develop foreign markets for farm products.

By Senator Harris, Georgia, bill suspending all immigration for five years.

By Senator Jones, Republican, constitutional amendment giving Congress the power to pass uniform marriage and divorce laws for all States.

By Senator Gooding, Republican, resolution directing the Interstate Commerce Commission to obtain from railroads an accounting of the money paid for publicity, advertising and other propaganda.

By Senator Copeland, New York, a bonus bill paying former soldiers \$1.25 for each day of service. Estimated cost \$1,500,000,000.

By Senator Trammell, Florida, resolution directing the Interstate Commerce Committee to investigate high freight rates for fruit and other farm products and to report remedial legislation.

By Senator La Follette, recognizing the independence of the Philippine Islands and creating an Island national government.

By Senator McNary, Oregon, creating a Federal Agricultural Export Commission, directed by the Secretary of Agriculture, to buy farm products and sell them abroad. Capital to be \$200,000,000.

Passed by the Senate

Elected Senator Smith, Democrat, South Carolina, chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee over Senator Cummins, Republican, and Senator La Follette, radical.

Legislation providing for a national industrial farm for women prisoners. The site to be selected by the Secretary of the Interior.

some time, acting as chairman for a short period. His idea of the chairmanship in the past has been to have wide-open hearings of long duration, volubly interspersed with matter relevant and irrelevant—with considerable of the latter. His acknowledgment of the election was a statement that the railroad situation under his chairmanship was going to be settled as the public wanted it settled. Senator Smith is less scientific in his attitude toward the railroad problems than was Senator Cummins. Perhaps Senator Cummins was overstepped in the technicalities.

What Will the Committee Do?

In view of the fact that it was a combination of the Republican insurgents and Democrats that elected Senator Smith, it would be expected that the program of the committee would reflect that influence and the new legislation undoubtedly will be something different from that the Republican majority would have ordered. The strong opposition is a healthy condition to have in the upper house, for it entirely relieves the majority of any cocksure feeling that purely partisan legislation emanating from the Republican side is destined to pass without a murmur from the floor. It also has its effect upon the coming campaign, for it gives the Democratic Party a better chance to take a stand upon achievement rather than mere promises. If the Interstate Commerce Committee shows promise of sane, constructive legislation looking toward some solution of the freight-rate tangle about the necks of agricultural interests, and other needed amendments in the present act, the country will pay considerable attention. Too much must not be expected. It is unlikely that Chairman Smith will get much farther than the determination of what the committee's report is to be. He never was noted for speed as a committee chairman and the subject in hand entirely precludes quick action.

Democratic partisans are waking up to find their feelings hurt about the Mellon tax plan. Senator Pat Harrison, of Mississippi, the delegated Democratic scold, worked himself into a frenzy in the Senate yesterday when he told of a sorrowful trip he had just taken on a Pennsylvania Railroad train. He was coming from New York to Washington. When he sat down in the dining-car to find himself some plain Democratic food he took up the menu and, much to his embarrassment, chagrin and utter amazement, on the back thereof was a plea from the Pennsylvania Railroad for support for the Mellon tax plan. Senator Harrison cried that the Republican Party was "selling" the Mellon plan to the country with the idea that it would be unpatriotic to reject it or even to change it by jot or tittle. He rose to great heights on the subject, referring to the tax plan of the insurgent Republicans, which, he said, was entirely worth considering, to say nothing of the amendments which experienced Democrats would propose.

Senator Curtis took up the Republican side of the debate against the Senator from Mississippi, but rather ineffectually for two reasons. First, the Republican whip has not recourse to the kind of stinging repartee which the Senator from Mississippi can swing. Senator Harrison's Patrick Henry style flows like the great river he represents, and sometimes admittedly for the excellent oratorical effect it produces—rather than for strict adherence to the facts. Second, Senator Curtis long ago took his stand with the advocates of the soldiers' bonus. Secretary Mellon in the original statement succinctly stated his opinion that tax reduction and soldiers' bonus never could go hand in hand.

Tax Reduction Needed

There is no doubt that the Mellon tax reduction plan has been "sold" to the country. We are still in the reconstruction period, although few in the East realize it. It is a fact that hundreds of the farmers and business men of small income throughout the Northwest are still struggling to pay off their war indebtedness of one kind or another. If, during those harrowing war years, your name happened to sound as if it did not come over in the Mayflower the local banker put down on his list—"Schmeltzstein, Liberty loans \$400; Erzberger, Red Cross \$500, Liberty loans \$600, some other drive \$300." And this he proceeded to loan to the Erzbergers at a neat rate of interest. In the meantime the bottom fell out of the crop market. The Erzbergers managed to keep up the bank interest on the war charities and pay off, let us say, part of the principal, but considerable of it is outstanding today. This obtains in other parts of the country in different forms—large subscriptions to liberty loans from

Resolution requesting the Secretary of Agriculture to report regarding the sale of grain for speculation in Chicago.

Bill authorizing the Daughters of the War of 1812 to place a memorial tablet to Francis Scott Key in Washington.

Bill creating a Bureau of Aeronautics in the Department of Commerce.

Resolution by Senator Jones, Democrat, requesting Secretary Mellon to report to the Senate regarding undistributed corporation profits.

Resolution of Senator Borah requesting the State Department to furnish copies of reports on Russia made by various delegated individuals during the last six years.

Introduced in the House

By Representative Fish, of New York, resolution requesting the President to call an international conference in Washington of Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan and Germany, to discuss land disarmament.

By Representative Rankin, Mississippi, resolution for independence for the Philippine Islands.

By Representative Fairchild, New York, prohibiting such sales as the munitions shipment to Mexico and requesting the details of the transaction from the Department of State.

By Representative Celler, New York, creating a commission to investigate the racial question in the United States.

By Representative Griffin, New York, resolution for an investigation of the Tariff Commission and for an expression of opinion from Congress to the President to the effect that Congress is opposed to any person being a member of the Commission who is likely to benefit by its official acts.

Passed by the House

Legislation providing for recodification of federal statutes.

Republican insurgents and Democrats combined to pass the repeal of a House rule known as the Underwood rule of 1911 which restricted amendments and limited debate on revenue and tariff bills.

capital that would have been otherwise invested had it not been for the war. And so on. We are not in a position financially to pay no attention to any Secretary of the Treasury, Republican or Democratic, who proposes reduction of taxes, and adds that the Government can afford it. It is Republican luck that the tax reduction plan should be feasible now.

But what Senator Harrison objected to was the acceptance of the plan without the leaven which ordinary partisan debate and consideration puts into it. Of course, the plan will be debated. If Democrats were themselves not interested—which is far from the fact—the insurgent Republicans are firm in their conviction that the plan to reduce surtaxes is an easement for the rich which is unwarranted.

It is time we digested the Mellon tax reduction plan, as much as it can be swallowed by other than financial experts, for taxes, like the gold standard, money values, balance of trade or parliamentary tactics, ought never to be imposed upon the ordinary mortal in original form. But there are very elemental things about Secretary Mellon's idea; for instance—that the man, or woman, who *earns* his money ought to

have special consideration in taxes. That that person, if he is any kind of a sport, gives to the community a little more than he receives, that he is liable to peculiar and sudden privations such as ill health, which immediately would stop his income. Second, that the fellow at the other end of the cycle who has a large income, earned or unearned, upon which at present there is imposed an enormous surtax, is paying to the Government moneys that he ordinarily would be investing in industrial capital which in the end goes to pay the fellow at the opposite end his wages. The surtax is so high that, instead of making such an investment, which, after all, serves three—himself, the public and the wage earner—he is casting around for the tax-exempt securities of states and municipalities, about which there is so much complaint—even to the extent of proposing constitutional amendments prohibiting states and municipalities from issuing tax-exempt securities.

Mr. Mellon's Twelve Points

With this in mind, let us follow in the simplest possible form the twelve points Mr. Mellon makes:

1. Reduce the tax on earned incomes twenty-five per cent.

2. Reduce the normal (or general individual) tax twenty-five per cent; that is, where the normal tax is four per cent, make it three per cent; where it is eight per cent, make it six per cent.

3. Reduce surtaxes. Begin them at incomes of \$10,000, instead of \$6,000, and make the rate twenty-five per cent at \$100,000 worth of income, instead of fifty per cent.

4. Reduce the amount the Government allows the taxpayer to deduct from his taxes on account of capital losses to twelve and one-half per cent, which is the same as the taxpayer must pay to the Government on capital gains.

5. Limit the deductions allowed for interest and losses other than business losses only to the amount by which the sum of these items exceeds the tax-exempt income.

6. Don't allow the family income to be split between husband and wife, each making a separate statement, as obtains in some states. Charge it to the husband of the house and have him make the return.

7. Do away with the tax on telephones, telegrams and leased wires.

8. Do away with the theatre tax.

9. Consider doing away with jewelry taxes and perhaps other small "nuisance" taxes.

10. Change the law to eliminate loopholes by which taxpayers escape taxes.

11. Create a Board of Tax Appeals, in the Treasury Department, to listen to kicks.

12. Change the wording of the law so that anybody can understand it.

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Does Your Vote Count?

By Schuyler C. Wallace

Of Columbia University

THE prime function of our legislatures is to reflect the opinion of the country. Thus only can they pass on questions of public policy with the assurance that they are carrying out the popular mandate. This, at least, is the democratic theory of representative government. Since such is the case it is apparent that the question: How accurately do our legislative bodies represent public opinion? deserves consideration.

Only detailed analysis of past elections will enable us to arrive at sound conclusions. The conclusions inevitably reached, however, will probably surprise a great many readers.

The Figures Don't Agree

The fact that in 1920 the Republicans carried the country by sixty per cent of the popular vote, while the Democrats polled only thirty-four per cent, is a fact too well known to need comment; but that the Republicans obtained sixty-nine per cent of the seats in the House of Representatives is not such common knowledge. Nor has much emphasis been placed upon the fact that in 1918, although the Democrats carried the country the Republicans carried the House. Two hundred and thirty-one seats were the just dues of Democracy; one hundred and ninety-four were her portion. Whereas the Republicans, who were entitled to but one hundred and ninety-three seats, actually obtained two hundred and thirty-five.

More striking, perhaps, was the misrepresentative character of the Pennsylvania delegation to Congress in 1920. Although approximately 600,000 Democratic and minor party voters in the state had given voice to their opinions at the polls they sent but one spokesman to Congress. The 1,114,000 Republican voters on the other hand secured thirty-five representatives in that body.

Well may the question be asked: What has become of the principle, One man, one vote? The justification of a representative system which allots *thirty-five* representatives to one million people of one political creed and *one* representative to half a million people of another, must be curious indeed. And yet this situation is by no means unique. Assuming it to be the purpose of our legislative assemblies to reflect public opinion, one wonders why 222,000 Republicans residing in Nebraska should return six representatives to Congress,

while 225,386 in North Carolina have none. One wonders why 127,482 Democrats residing in Arkansas should have seven representatives, whereas 190,152 in Tennessee have only five, and 295,260 in New Jersey have only one, and 510,977 in Pennsylvania have none.

Additional statistics seem unnecessary. Yet line upon line, column upon column, they could be piled up to indicate the misrepresentative character of our representative system. If there is one thing in connection with our legislative bodies that should be emphasized it is the fact that they do not accurately reflect the opinion of the country. Let the reader obtain the statistics for her city, for her state; let her compare the relative strength of the parties as it was indicated at the polls and in the legislative assemblies, and with very few exceptions she will find the parties are not represented in the assembly (whatever that assembly may be) in proportion to their strength. In some states and in some localities the fortunes of our electoral machinery will favor this party, in others that. But in few localities, indeed, will the legislature be an accurate reflection of public opinion, as that opinion was expressed at the polls.

What's a Gerrymander?

What is the explanation of the situation? Two factors have contributed to it. The gerrymander and the *district system* of electing representatives.

The gerrymander is a perversion of the district system. It is the device of laying out districts according to the exigencies of party politics—that is, districts are laid out not in a compact and contiguous manner so as to obtain an equality of population, but in the way which will bring increased strength to the dominant party. This only can explain the queer and curious shames of many election districts. This only can explain why election districts exist in which it is impossible to get from one part to another without going to an adjoining state to do so.

How is it done? Very easily. We will imagine a section of the country shaped like an equilateral triangle. This region must be broken into three election districts. The Democrats are in power in the state legislature and have the plotting of the districts. Toward the apex of the triangle is a strong Republican section, toward the base an even stronger Democratic section. If the districts are formed by drawing

boundary lines from the center of the region to the middle of the sides that district near the apex will certainly go Republican. If the districts are formed by drawing lines from the apex so as to trisect the base, the districts will just as certainly go Democratic. Would these facts have any influence upon the districting of the region? Without question they would. Should the dominant party have this advantage? If not, what can be done about it?

As long as the single member district system exists—practically nothing.

The District System

Gerrymandering is not alone responsible for the misrepresentative character of our legislative assemblies, however. The district system itself is at fault. So long as it is possible to elect only *one* man, only one philosophy of politics can be represented. It is perfectly possible that a state may be fairly divided without any thought of partisan advantage, yet the mere carrying of each and every election district by one per cent would automatically—so far as representation in our assemblies is concerned—disfranchise forty-nine per cent of the population. No spokesman presenting their point of view would gain admittance to the legislature. Such was the case in Pennsylvania in regard to Congress. Such very nearly was the case in New Jersey recently when only one Democrat was elected to the state legislature.

In New York City, on the average, for the past twenty years forty-six per cent of the population could have remained away from the polls and there would not have been one iota of change in the personnel of the municipal council of the city. On the average, forty-six per cent of the citizens of New York City have been disfranchised—so far as securing representation for their views in the local legislature has been concerned.

The writer of the article happens to be geographically located so that the only time he has even a fighting chance to obtain representation for his political beliefs is when an election to the United States Senate occurs. He certainly finds it hard to believe that he is represented on the prohibition issue by the bartenders and ex-liquor dealers who have control of the dominant party in his district. Yet this is exactly the position of a surprisingly large number of people. Disfranchised because they do not agree with the local majority.

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Editorially Speaking

One Way to Help

IT is a heartening thing to hear a prominent general of the United States Army, a man concerning whose prestige and high standing there can be no doubt, recommend a program of international armament reduction as a good *preparedness* program, and to hear him go on to say that this would not only mean relief from taxation but the transfer of soldiers from their profession to productive industry—as if that were actually desirable. The general was Henry T. Allen, talking about his four years in the Rhineland in a remarkably clear and convincing summary of French policy, and ending with a regret for our own failures to participate in European counsels, that was only less strong than his urge that we should still get in. Speaking with the authority of close observation and the most intimate association, General Allen is of those who believe that the effective French motive was one of security. It was well known, he says, by those responsible, whatever the popular opinion may have been, that reparations could not result from the occupation of the Ruhr.

He himself was always from the beginning convinced that the movement into the Ruhr would be fraught with great suffering and with great danger to the world's peace. He believed that the homeopathic measures which France contemplated on entering would not serve and expected the sterner allopathic treatment that so soon followed. He believes that there will be no world peace so long as the occupation is maintained on the present basis.

With that set of views about the situation as it exists, General Allen believes that the United States has not only the right but the duty to make its voice heard. The situation is not one between Germany and France alone, but between Germany and the rest of the world. General Allen believes that if we had been in an official capacity in Europe the present situation would not have happened. He said this at a meeting where Roland Boyden—our former unofficial observer on the Reparations Commission—had expressed very similar views, and not only Boyden, but practically everyone else there nodded an agreeing head. Official place on the Reparations Commission is one of the things that General Allen thinks would help even now. Another is discussion around a world table of debts and reparations together, on a program under which we would be ready for at least a partial cancellation of debts in order to secure some of the things we want—one of these being an international disarmament program.

General Allen is evidently himself not afraid to have that table be a League of Nations table; but that the nations should come together under some sign, whatever it may be, some recognition of their common interests, is the imperative thing.

It is a thought to which the CITIZEN says a hearty amen.

A year ago it added its endorsement to a resolution for an official representative on the Reparations Commission. As for a discussion of reparations and debts together, the immediate prospect is not bright; but the thing seems an inevitable necessity, ultimately, unless the present inquiry in Europe should bring speedy results. The public, meantime, should be giving earnest thought to the possibilities, and sharing in that formation of opinion which in the long run has such tremendous power.



Music for Men

WITH all the splendid service which women in the United States have given to the development of music, and the many sides of their accomplishments in that field, it is strange that they have not made it more a part of family life, and especially that they have failed to draw their own men folks into an equal partnership in the cultivation and enjoyment of music.

For the majority of American business men music in its best forms does not exist. Also, American men are likely to think of music-making as something effeminate. An enthusiastic music lover has to be caught young, and too often music has been a feminine accomplishment, given to girls but not to boys. The men's colleges have music departments, but, as Mr. Damrosch points out in his reminiscences, music is not a part of the regular curriculum of the best-known boys' schools. It is all the more admirable that music should be cultivated for both boys and girls in the public schools and Music Week is a fine stimulus in that direction.

Music suffers, as does politics, from a lack of equality between the sexes. We need to cultivate the taste and enjoyment of music in our sons and open the doors of orchestras to women. Instead of all the men being behind the music desks on the stage, and the audience composed largely of women, wouldn't it be better to let qualified women play with the men in the orchestras and to encourage men to share with women the uplift and joy of listening to music?



And at Home

THIS equality will be necessary, too, if music is ever to be more than a transplanted exotic in American life. To become a part of the life of the nation so that it will develop as an expression of that life, music must become more a part of the life of the home. It must be enjoyed in its best forms by all the family. Talent in either sex should be cultivated, ensemble playing, trios and quartets organized not only for public but for private playing.

To their work and philanthropy for music in public let women now add the development of music in private, among their sons as well as their daughters, not only using the mechanical players, which have made many people familiar with good music, but encouraging the actual performance in the home of chamber music, which can only be enjoyed to the full in the home. Only in this way will a school of American composers develop. G. F. B.



Votes for French Women!

THE question of woman suffrage is being agitated with great activity in France this winter. A vigorous and far-reaching campaign is being carried on by the French Union for Women's Suffrage, and the prospects are fairly bright. It will be remembered that a suffrage bill passed the Chamber of Deputies in May, 1919, and that ever since the Senate—familiar opposition!—has refused to consider the subject. Last month a similar bill, conferring the vote on women over twenty-five, was introduced in the Chamber by M. Justice Godart, only to meet a snag which has no counterpart in the memories of American suffrage campaigners. This

was a counter bill for a family vote, by which every man and woman over twenty-one would have a vote, and the father of a family, *or the mother if the father were dead*, would have an additional vote for each child in the family—a measure intended to encourage large families. The linking of suffrage with the family vote confused the issue; and the conflict for priority between this measure and the straight woman suffrage measure introduced by M. Godart increased the confusion. As the result action was delayed.

The women were successful in making the suffrage section of the family bill and the regular suffrage bill identical, and their hopes are high that when the next vote is taken the suffrage section can be uncoupled and sent straight along to—and through—the Senate. They would stoutly oppose the new inequality between men and women in the proposal allowing father to multiply votes; but would perhaps not oppose a revision of the bill by which father and mother divide the votes.

As a leader of the French Union writes, there is no sound reason against suffrage for French women. The Senate, she says, is hostile because it fears women may be more "religious" and more "reactionary" than men. Suffrage is coming, of course, and it's a pity these French doubters can't see they are trying to sweep back the sea with a broom. American women, less than four years after their big victory, offer their French sisters sympathy, encouragement and good wishes.



Why Europe Has Women M. P.'s

IN her address at the School of Politics lately held by the Massachusetts League of Women Voters in connection with Radcliffe College, Mrs. Maud Wood Park explained a matter which has long been a puzzle to American women. That is why so many more women have been elected to Parliament and to city councils in most of the countries of Europe than in the United States. Mrs. Park does not believe it is because the men of Europe are more chivalrous or more just, or the women more able. According to her, it is because most of those countries have proportional representation.

Cleveland, Ohio, lately held its first election under proportional representation. According to the press reports, the result was not only the choice of the best city council Cleveland has ever had, but the election of two admirable women, who would have had no chance to get in under the old system.

A. S. B.



Page the Isolationists

THERE was a considerable stir when the United States Government first decided to sell munitions of war to Obregon. But what has happened to the isolationists as we have gone forward with what amounts to intervention? The inquiry asked by Representative Fairchild into the administration policy in Mexico will be postponed indefinitely, by vote of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the House. The embargo on sale of arms to de la Huerta, the permission granted by three states for Obregon's troops to cross United States territory, finally the sending of warships to ports threatened with a rebel blockade have roused no great excitement. Whether all this is good or bad, is not here the question. It certainly is a situation with serious potentialities—if, for instance, Obregon should be defeated or should be on the brink of defeat and need rescue. It certainly is a matter for thought that we can so easily be involved in a situation that might as easily mean war; serious too that with the way the South and Central Americans already distrust us, this will be interpreted, right or wrong, as an instance of imperialistic interference. But what we are thinking about right now is why don't the isolationists rise and roar? Why be

so afraid of entanglements in Europe which might—far remotely—lead to war, and be complaisant about entanglements close at hand which might very easily lead to war? Is it because Mexico is so small and weak?



A "Plot" for Peace

THE action of the Senate Committee in gravely calling Mr. Bok and Miss Lape on charges of propaganda would be funny if it weren't serious. Well, on second thought, we believe it is funny anyhow. Propaganda has become the most powerful word in the world these past years, as maybe it is the most powerful agency, reenforced as it is by the multiplication of means of communication. Huge mechanisms for converting opinion to a way of thinking grew up during—and before—the war, and the word has been so identified with causes generally disapproved that it has become sinister. We forget the propaganda nature of churches and political parties and the membership of almost everything that has a membership. The danger, of course, is in concealment of the source and the money power of ideas that are widely circulated. And this is presumably the point, so far as there is a point, in the Senate's worry. But this really is carrying things too far. There isn't the slightest evidence that Mr. Bok's prize offer is anything more than appears on the surface, and it has come to a pretty pass if a man can't devote his time and money to promoting consideration of peace and international relations.

A little more of this, and we shall all be warning each other—"The Senate'll get you ef you don't watch out!"



More Baby Workers

THERE is no end to the tragic revelations about little children who work. A new investigation in New York City "home industries" shows conditions many of us believed had disappeared. Children from two to ten have been found, working long hours on artificial flowers, embroidery, tags, clocks in stockings, etc., spending in this confining, eyestraining work the time that belonged to them for play after school hours, or even the time needed for sleep. The rooms in which they work are dark, stuffy, unsanitary. The results, school teachers say, are clear enough in the difference in alertness between these and other children.

In many cases, of course, the money earned by these baby hands is desperately needed. The complete cure would involve a social system in which the father's wages are adequate or in which the widowed mother is cared for. But the first step ahead is clear—the means of controlling employers who place cheap labor above humanity: an amendment to the Constitution making possible legislation against child labor.



Equal Rights in Churches

VOICES have been raised before now in the CITIZEN in protest against women's subordination in church organizations—voices in several denominational tones. Now it appears that at the next General Assembly Presbyterian women will demand equal representation with men on the church legislative bodies. The flame started in Cincinnati and is spreading. The president of the Cincinnati church society that lighted it says Presbyterian women are tired of being "a mere collection agency, while the men spend the money"—a familiar complaint. In some denominations women have won their equal rights—why not in all? The same brand of effort that is being spent in getting equal representation on party committees might well be used in churches—and vice versa.

What the American Woman Thinks

"A Forum for the Frank Expression of Opinion"

The Girl of To-day

By Elizabeth Adams

Another voice for the flapper. Mrs. Adams has opportunities to study young people, because her husband is dean of Arts and Sciences at the University of Nevada.

A DISTINGUISHED visitor to our shores, during 1922, predicted that in twenty-five years all civic work in America would be in the hands of women. I tried this statement out on friend husband and he said: "I hope he is right—women have the larger leisure and all the conscience." Then I tried it on one of husband's friends and he exclaimed: "Why, God bless us and save us! Is the world as wobbly as all that?"

Assuming the truth of the prophecy, what is the type of women who will guide our destinies twenty-five years from now? At the present writing she is called a flapper—a misnomer, because a flapper is a bird who cannot fly. And she is so baffling and shocking that the *Literary Digest*, some months ago, felt the urge to print a series of opinions on her gathered from noted educators and other prominent people. As one mind they granted that she was a "holy terror," and that her conduct was directly traceable to the war, or the movies, or lack of parental discipline, or our modern education. Some predicted she would grow worse and worse and others saw a rift in the clouds. Out of the mass of opinions one only has remained with me: "She has lengthened her chain and failed to drive the staple deeper." Surely, she tries one's patience and tests one's faith—you find yourself praying with Dinah: "Oh Lord, must I keep mah tongue behind mah teeth and stay the itchins of mah hand?"

Age-old Criticism

But just before we reach the frothing stage of our frenzy let us remember that at no time in our history have girls and women entirely pleased the multitude; there has never been a time when they were not the center of much profitless discussion. Every writer feels himself an authority, from St. Paul, who admonishes them to be seen and not heard, down the line to Kipling, who sees woman as "a rag, a bone and a hank of hair."

During the colonial period, if we may rely upon the literature of the time, our girl led a sheltered and secluded life; she sat on a cushion and sewed a fine seam; used many different complexion lotions, all of home brew; eschewed long

walks because it enlarged her tiny feet; at every opportunity she swooned or swooned, depending on whether you get it in prose or poetry. Was, in fact, a shrinking, timid wild flower. A useless bit of femininity, one decides, but she lived according to her light and became the mother of brave men and braver women.

It was inevitable, with the larger opportunities given her in the next century, that the pendulum should swing far in the other direction and give us the athletic girl, who feared neither man nor beast, boasted her tan and bulging muscles, and scorned all weaknesses and vanities. The magazines of the period have man-written articles on "Our unsexed girls" and "Where are the mothers of the future?" And right here the legislatures of all the states of the Union would have taken from her the divine right of motherhood and given it to someone else if the plan had been at all feasible. But the cry of alarm was wholly unnecessary, for when she had acquired a sufficient number of silver cups and other trophies, she found her mate, settled into her nest, and gave to the world stalwart men and Juno-like women.

Is She Modest?

Our girl of today is a composite of all that has gone before, plus some new ingredients. Feminine she surely is with her bobbed curls, rouge, lip stick, powder puff, plucked eyebrows, safety razor, beauty patches, foolish heels, gossamer underwear, garterless stockings, with her skirt geared always in high or low and never in intermediate. And femininely inconsistent, as you note when you meet her on the street, dressed for a formal ball from the waist up and for a tennis game from the waist down.

And what are her critics saying of her? That she is frivolous and feather-brained and without sense of values. Nevertheless she stands shoulder to shoulder with her brother in education and work; we frequently find dressmaker, milliner and cook; musician, scholar and writer; actress, teacher and nurse all in one person.

They say further that she is bold and immodest, and that one reason for her excessive rouging is that she has forgotten how to blush. An old complaint. Away back in 1737 Lady Wortley Montagu wrote of the girls of England: "Modesty they have exchanged for the paint box and whitewash in which they now blaze out."

Instead of bold is she not perhaps

frank? As parents and teachers we are responsible for this—we have insisted upon accuracy in her education. And while our fine educational system was relegating to the trash-heap such gems as "Where did you come from, baby dear, out of the nowhere into the here?" a large group of men of the Jewish faith were supplementing this new knowledge with pictures.

So what under the canopy is there left to blush about? Added to our teaching, if a girl walks down the street with a male companion or if she looks through a magazine with him, they view all sorts of feminine articles heretofore unmentionable; indeed, the name of the most intimate and personal article of woman's apparel is used on dance programs. One can blush only at the untimely appearance of the unexpected, and at present there is no such time and no such condition.

I think I shall like this wide-eyed frankness when I get used to it, but I find myself a bit wobbly as yet—a bit inclined to hark back and make odious comparisons, remembering my demeanor when a girl, and what mother told me of hers, and grandmother's tales—we were very different. And then in fairness I plead: "But the flapper is so amazingly efficient and so strenuous; she does not pamper herself—she smashes through all traditions and does what she wishes to do. If we on the side lines could only put on shock absorbers until she arrives we could the more easily estimate the valuable part she is playing in present-day problems."

When She Marries

Within a year an article has appeared from the pen of a clergyman whose distress note is sounded at the modern girl's high visibility. "Can we hope," he wails, "that they will ever marry and become mothers, and if so, under heaven what kind?" He has overlooked that innocent article of furniture called a cedar chest, which when duly installed becomes a hope chest to the girl. She does not wait until she is engaged before purchasing one—indeed, she may not even possess a steady stepper. It is an evidence of foresight, for if she has decided that some day she is going to be married, married she is going to be.

And when she has helped him to ask the all-important question, according to the best methods of the movies and Bernard Shaw, she may well count herself desired. In the years gone by woman had an economic value in the household; she wove and spun and manu-

factured, and any kind of a wife was worth her weight in gold. Today no higher mathematics is able to prove that two can live as cheaply as one, which is proof positive that a girl is chosen for herself alone. But when she takes charge of his affairs, then shall we see the fruition of all her present-day opportunities. Poor girl! the things she must know and, knowing, do. For whereas, when grandmother placed on her pantry shelf a can of mustard, a package of boneset tea, left one cobweb for wounds and hung a switch behind the pantry door, she had a well-equipped, up-to-date working plant for maternity—the mother of today has a well-stocked medicine cabinet, on the door of which is a typewritten list of poison antidotes, another of first aid to the injured, and a library entitled: "Ten Million Disease-Breeding Germs and How to Circumvent Them." There is nothing hanging behind the pantry door and the doctor's phone number is pasted on the back of the fire-alarm card.

And in order that she may be companionable to her husband and fill her place in her home and her world she must have a bowing acquaintance with proteids, sanitation, carbo-hydrates, open plumbing, hygiene, calories, laundry work, physical culture, music, art, dress-making, Confucianism, filet crochet, Buddhist metaphysics, Ku Klux Klan activities, current literature, bridge whist, modern drama, beauty culture, new educational thought, the Japanese question, principles of Mah Jong, fluctuating prices in bacon, transcendentalism, Ibsen, world court, Conan Doyle's latest, soul development, Couéism, King Tut, Einstein's theory, and one thousand other world-wide movements for this, that and the other, and we may safely predict that she will use all the energy and knowledge stored up from flapper days and be gasping for more.

Yea, verily, I have sufficient optimism to believe that when she enters her chosen nest, she will wear her own face and her own hair, stand on her own heels, and, tightening her grasp on God, give to the future years men and women who are brave and stalwart and brainy.

Testing Personality

By June E. Downey

Professor of Psychology in the University of Wyoming and author of "The Will-Temperament and its Testing." Dr. Downey presents here some strikingly new ideas.

EVERY up-to-date reader knows what the once mysterious I. Q. stands for; it means intelligence quotient (the ratio between your mental and your chronological age) and it certifies the mental level of its owner, places him in the upper twenty-five per cent for intelligence, in the great middle fifty per cent, or in the lower twenty-five.

But the reader is not so generally informed of the problems concerning the I. Q., which the psychologist is intent upon solving. For instance, to what degree is the I. Q. determined at birth; to what extent is it a product of the social environment? Does the I. Q. remain constant throughout life so that the mentally superior child becomes inevitably the mentally superior adult; or does the I. Q. fluctuate within wide limits, so that conclusions drawn from one measurement of intelligence have little significance? There is even a third possibility: a fixed I. Q. may be a sign of mental stability, a fluctuating I. Q. a mark of mental instability.

As a further consequence of scientific preoccupation with intelligence testing, other problems of an allied sort are crowding to the fore. Put very compactly, these problems are all suggested by the question, *Can phases of personality other than intelligence be tested?*

It seems fairly obvious that what a person does with such intelligence as he possesses depends very largely upon his temperamental and volitional qualities. If psychological tests are to be used in educational and vocational guidance they must include a testing of other traits besides intelligence.

But in spite of our daily observation of individual differences it is proving no easy matter to make a scientific analysis of the human make-up, nor to separate native from acquired traits. Interesting leads have, however, been opened up. Let us cite a few.

Experts in mental diseases have called attention to the fact that what we describe as emotional temperament is but a mild form of the exaggerated manifestations we get in various types of insanity, and that if we had sufficient knowledge of temperament and its relations to insanity we might identify in childhood individuals with adverse trends and so train them as to minimize the possibility of an unfortunate development. The intensive study of mental disease which is a feature of present-day life does in fact illuminate the possible varieties of normal as well as abnormal personalities, and it is suggesting a battery of tests for proper classification of them. We have, for instance, association tests designed to bring to light obsession with abnormal interests or to measure the degree of social "rapport."

Of human traits that which most impresses the ordinary man is aggressiveness. Some investigators—just as many practical men of the world—find in this trait the keynote of personality.

There is an old belief that he who cannot look another straight in the eye cannot be trusted. Starting from such a belief Professor Moore of Dartmouth College has worked out the technique of an evasive eye test. And he finds that power to look a fellow-being straight in

the eye is a mark—not of honesty—but of fighting power!

Another significant trait, that of endurance, is tested by a device of Dr. Fernald of the Massachusetts Reformatory. He suggests that the length of time a man can stand with his heels off the floor is an indication of his stick-to-itiveness, and he finds a marked difference in this capacity in normal and delinquent men.

A quality important to measure if one is to venture on predications of success or failure in life is that of the drive or energy possessed by an individual. The Downey Will-Temperament Test seeks to tap this force and to "photograph" it in the will-profile.

Moralists have much to say of character-training. Psychologically, character may be defined as the *direction* given by training to original traits. For practical purposes it is necessary to determine *how* to give such direction and to measure the results of different programs of training. In this connection Dr. Paul Voelker, president of Olivet College, has done an important piece of scientific work in measuring the effect on Boy Scouts of training such fundamental character-traits as reliability, suggestibility, persistence and the like.

The growing interest in the scientific analysis of personality is significant of a movement of very great practical value. It is one which all parents should encourage.

Limousine Justice

By Emma H. deZouche

This is what a leading New York newspaper woman thinks. Any difference of opinion?

DURING one of the periodic whirlwinds from the West, in which "sex," and "scandal," and "screen," and other more sinister words beginning with "s" hurtled through the air in an inextricable mixture, some philosopher offered the suggestion, in graphic vernacular, that Hollywood's troubles were "more hicks than hellions." Which may or may not be true.

It seems reasonable to assume that the inflated returns of the moving-picture industry, coupled with the ignorance of immaturity desirous of rapid sophistication, may be credited with a fair share of responsibility for the atrocities served up as front-page reading on our breakfast tables. It is one of the variants of the beggar on horseback. Unquestionably many of us suddenly transported from a prosaic and stodgy world of everyday, to undreamed-of grandeur and adventitious importance, might miss a step or two; the process is bound to be heady. And it is no reflection on the magical achievements of the films (which have brought the wonders of the known globe within the focus of the humblest), or upon the long list of great artists engaged in the evolution of

(Continued on page 28)

The Woman Voter

(This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER for
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Federal Measures the League Supports

NOW that the Sixty-eighth Congress is in full legislative swing, the status of legislative measures, in which the League is interested, is as follows:

S. Res. 36: King resolution, embodying the World Court proposals of President Coolidge and the late President Harding, with reservations by Secretary Hughes. Referred to Senate Foreign Relations Committee. No action has been taken by the committee on either the King resolution or the Lenroot resolution, which proposes almost a complete reorganization of the present Court. According to latest advices, the committee is planning to consider other foreign relation matters, especially in regard to Russia and Mexico, before taking up the World Court resolutions. While there are insistent reports that little will be done with the World Court proposals, the League believes that public opinion will force some sort of action before scheduled adjournment early in June.

S. J. Res. 19—H. R. Res. 66: Child Labor Amendment, referred to Senate and House Judiciary Committees. Senator Shortridge, of California, has been named chairman of a sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee to consider the child labor amendments. Senators Colt, of Rhode Island, and Walsh, of Montana, are the other sub-committee members. An effort is being made to expedite hearings by the Senate sub-committee and the entire House Judiciary Committee. The League will plead for favorable action on the proposed amendment, the form of which has been approved by seventeen women's organizations, the American Federation of Labor, and Federal Council of Churches.

S. 790—H. R. 685: Curtis-Graham Federal women-prisoners' bill, referred to Senate and House Judiciary Committees. There is much gratification over the passage, January 8, by the Senate, of Senator Curtis' bill, providing for establishment of an industrial institution for Federal women prisoners who are sentenced to imprisonment for more than one year. The House Judiciary Committee conducted a hearing January 9 on both the Curtis and Graham bills, at which Mrs. Ann Webster, chairman of the Social Hygiene Committee of the National League, presented the League's support of the measure. The bills were referred to a sub-committee of the House Judiciary Committee. The only change made by the Senate Judiciary Committee in its report to the Senate was the substitution of the word "institution" for the word "farm." Objection to the bill in the last Congress because of the specified location for the institution has been removed by empowering the Attorney General, the Secretary of the

Interior and the Secretary of Labor to select the site. At present there is no Federal prison for women, and those sentenced to imprisonment have been apportioned among the states, but the state prisons have become so overcrowded that they are refusing to accept more Federal prisoners.

S. 1408—H. R. 4165: Fess-Dallinger bill, amending Smith-Hughes act, to increase appropriations for home economics. Referred to Education Committees. The general purpose of the amendment is gradually to increase the funds devoted to home economics until they are equal to those now available for education in agriculture, trade, and industry. This means a sum beginning at \$500,000, and gradually increasing annually until at the end of ten years it reaches \$3,000,000. A bill similar to this was first introduced by Mr. Fess in January, 1920, when he was in the House of Representatives. It was re-introduced on April 11, 1921, the first day of the Sixty-seventh Congress, and has been introduced again in the present Congress by Mr. Fess, now a member of the Senate.

S. 1337—H. R. 3923: Sterling-Reed bill, creating a Department of Education, with its head a member of the Cabinet, and providing for appropriations to encourage education in the states. Referred to Education Committees.

ANNE WILLIAMS.

How to Get Out the Vote

The following paper was awarded first prize in the *Woman Citizen's* competition, October 15 to November 1. The writer is secretary of the *National League*.

THERE is no black magic, or white, for getting out the vote.

Campaigns which involve candidates possessed of striking personalities or issues which seem vital bring out a larger vote than elections in which there are no clearly defined issues, no candidates who appeal to the popular imagination. Political meetings, newspaper advertising, billboard publicity, parades, barbecues—all these familiar devices of political contests—have not availed to bring out even half the eligible vote in national elections and likewise have failed in state elections. Local elections which rouse religious or race prejudice bring out large numbers, but no truly worthy citizen would encourage such issues for the sake of an increased vote.

The way to get out the vote is to do it, by ward, precinct and block. Let us begin with the block worker and use the personal pronoun singular. I am assigned to my block. I call at every house to ascertain how many eligible voters live in my territory. In a book I carefully list the names and addresses of all such voters. I suggest, tactfully, to everyone interviewed, the importance of voting in the coming election. I do not make my canvass too far in advance, because people are so apt to forget. One visit to each residence will not be sufficient; in some instances I may have to go several times. While the list of voters in a given household can be supplied by one member of it, the more individual voters I can talk with the better. If I am a political party worker my mission is to enroll only the voters of the party I represent. If I am a League of Women Voters canvasser I do not inquire about party affiliations but enroll all voters, regardless of party, and try to secure from each a promise to vote. When my canvass is finished I report to my precinct captain.

Now I am the precinct captain. Having received the report from each block worker I record all names alphabetically in a book and transfer to cards, also arranged alphabetically, the names and addresses of all voters, one card for each

individual. I then report to my ward chairman that my precinct canvass is completed.

Now I am the ward chairman and, in common with other ward chairmen, I report to my committeeman.

Now I am the committeeman. I check all the reports from all the wards. I keep in touch with all of my ward chairmen and see that they maintain communication with the precinct captains, and the precinct captains with the block workers.

Where registration is required, the way to insure a large vote is to make such a canvass as herein described *to register the voters*. As there are several registration days, there is opportunity between these days to check up and prod the delinquents. Subsequently, only the *registered voters* are canvassed before election.

Election Day comes. I am the block worker again and subject to call from my precinct captain, who at intervals during the day visits the polling place and compares the names of those who have voted with the names in his book. All of the recorded voters on the election poll-books are checked off on his own book by the precinct captain. The cards corresponding to these names are put aside. The names of those who have not voted remain unchecked and the captain may call upon me and give me several of the cards which correspond to these unchecked names. It is then my duty to telephone or see in person the voters whose cards I hold and make sure that they will vote.

This system applies in rural sections as in cities and villages, and the key to its successful operation is the efficient block worker, or person, no matter how designated, who is responsible for the unit canvass. The work may not be pleasant; it is not easy and few undertake it with rejoicing. Canvassers may be recruited as paid party workers, as party volunteers, as disinterested persons (probably women) who believe that the safeguard of the Republic is in the participation by the largest number of voters in all elections.

The house-to-house visit—the personal interview—is the only way to get out the vote. Team work by canvassers of the dominant parties and co-operation between them and the workers of minor parties and non-partisan groups would doubtless serve to bring out an unprecedented large vote. However, this is a counsel of perfection in organized effort not now to be accepted or expected. Meantime, the answer to how to get out the vote is—organize to do it.

ELIZABETH J. HAUSER.

A Query

You say your taxes are too high,

But do you vote?

About extravagance you sigh,

But do you vote?

How long, you wail, must we endure

This state of things which keeps us poor?

How long? I do not know, I'm sure;

But do you vote?

The lights are bad, the streets a mess;

But do you vote?

Your indignation you express,

But do you vote?

You say the bosses rule the show,

That graft is reaching high and low,

And doubtless all you say is so,

But—do you vote?

You growl at rotten politics,

But do you vote?

You howl at bosses and their tricks,

But do you vote?

You say, O Decent Citizen,

(We've heard you, time and time again)

"We want things run by business men!"

But—do you vote?

Unless you do (I wonder, DO you!)

You've got just what is coming to you!

BERTON BRALEY.

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Pan Americanism

A summary of the round table on the outstanding international problems of the American Continent, Williamstown Institute of Politics, July and August, 1923.

THE sessions were conducted by Dr. Leo S. Rowe, director general of the Pan American Union, who finds in the vagueness with which our citizens regard our inter-continental problems and the distrust with which South and Central America regard us, fertile soil for future misunderstandings and possible wars.

A century ago we adopted a doctrine of self-protection, as Dr. Rowe defined it, which we call the Monroe Doctrine. We have sentimentalized over it until it has come to mean to us a "big brother" attitude toward Latin America. We are, therefore, surprised to learn that this doctrine, so acceptable to Latin America in the beginning, has come to be a source of suspicion and irritation.

The Monroe Doctrine was adopted at a time when the United States felt a strong need to be free to develop with immunity from the jealousies and rivalries of Europe which might easily be transferred to the South American continent. Washington foreshadowed this in his farewell address and there grew up from his time a policy, crystallizing during President Monroe's administration into a definite expression of the opposition of the United States to further colonization in the Western Hemisphere by European countries, or interference by them in the domestic affairs of American countries.

Dr. Rowe explained three corollaries as arising later. The first, when there was an attempt to transfer a colony from one European nation to another, was opposed. The voluntary transfer of territory from an American country to a European was prevented during President Polk's term.

Finally, President Roosevelt took the position that the Monroe Doctrine is inconsistent unless we are prepared to protect the interests of foreign nationals in the countries covered by the doctrine. This doctrine of America as guarantor of peaceful conditions gave rise in the Latin-American countries to the belief that we were attempting to manage their affairs and were not wholly disinterested.

A century of protection from European aggression accompanied with increasing cultural and commercial ties with Europe has entirely removed any fears the Latin-American countries may have had of Europe, but has not removed their suspicion that the protection of the United States may have meant that she was contemplating aggression for her own political or economic interests.

The utmost friendly advances from our government have not served in making us popular in Latin America, although our official relations are good. Fundamental difference in cultures, race, and historic background must be bridged.

The occupation of Haiti and the Dominican Republic, our relations with Mexico, and our Caribbean policy, have increased South American sensitiveness and suspicion. The occupation of Haiti gave rise to heated discussion at the round table. Dr. Rowe considers that our prolonged occupation is unjustified by any necessity to prevent foreign interference. At the time of our occupation a Haitian mob had dragged her president from the French legation and murdered him. The Germans were seeking a submarine base on the Windward Passage, a passage of great importance to ships passing through the Panama Canal. These were serious considerations and justified a temporary occupation until order could be restored, but, in Dr. Rowe's opinion, a temporary occupation would have sufficed, whereas after eight years we are still there. The practical dictation of a new constitution, and the elimination of representative government, in fact, if not in theory, are in Dr. Rowe's eyes a great mistake, particularly in the face of our claim to make Haiti more, and not less, able to govern herself.

The use of the army or the navy to teach a people self-government was discussed. Captain Schofield, of the United States Navy, said that much has been done by the occupation

to improve the sanitary, economic, and physical condition of the people. Dr. Rowe admitted this, but maintained that the dictatorship of the military occupation has not increased the ability of the people to take over the government themselves, and that it is still true that we are forcing our good offices on a reluctant people.

It is equally difficult, according to Dr. Rowe, to justify our military occupation of the Dominican Republic. The establishment of a receivership of customs in 1907 was entered into by mutual agreement, to prevent enforcement of European demands against the republic. This was in line with our policy to avoid European intervention. The military occupation in 1917 came about in a rather inexplicable way, and it is difficult to see its consistency with our repeated avowals of disinterestedness.

The problems of the Central American countries in which we have a direct interest are so perplexing as to prevent the possibility of hasty judgment. Debased currencies, internal factions, and constant recourse to foreign loans have created repeated delicate situations. The United States has been drawn into Central American affairs many times and is at the present exercising what the inhabitants consider a virtual protectorate over Nicaragua. This arrangement is putting Nicaragua's credit on a firm basis, but raises the question of our policy in that and other countries.

Dr. Rowe feels that we can best keep our relations friendly with South America and sound with Central America by working, not for greater control in the Caribbean countries, but by encouraging a Central American federation and helping these countries to reorganize their fiscal systems so that their revenue will come from taxes rather than from foreign loans. In addition, a great deal of help and co-operation can be given through private agencies, such as agricultural associations and health boards.

Our military occupation in Haiti and the Dominican Republic and our supervision of Nicaraguan affairs have not tended to allay the suspicion of South Americans. The vexing Mexican situation has also been viewed with alarm. Our policy of recognizing only such governments as come into being through the orderly process of law, while discouraging revolution, sometimes places us in the position of backing the existing government against a group more able to achieve a practical democracy. Mexico has been going through a great social upheaval. This resulted in economic disturbances. We have at last succeeded in reaching a compromise with Mexico which leaves Mexicans free to work out their salvation, but not at our expense or the expense of the interests of nationals of other countries. This agreement removes one serious source of friction with South America.

The conditions making for understanding and co-operation were discussed. The day of the commercial adventurer is over. The more responsible and solid type of business man is being sent to secure the South and Central American trade. He finds the prevailing sentiment against the United States a handicap, but he can and often does do much to allay suspicion and bring about a better feeling.

A voluntary arbitration board with representatives from the chambers of commerce of Brazil, Argentina, Chile, Uruguay and the United States has settled many cases which otherwise would have dragged through local courts with resulting friction. The removal of pressure for preferential tariffs and concessions which, by reason of our superior economic power we might have secured, has gone far to restore confidence. South America needs capital and has great undeveloped resources, but in developing these resources care must be exercised to promote international good-will through fair play.

Non-governmental missions on technical subjects do much to increase mutual understanding. The French plan of sending extension professors to South American universities might well be emulated by our universities. Naval and military missions, on the other hand, even though sent at request, have aroused resentment in neighboring countries.

Pan-American conferences are invaluable means of promoting good-will based on mutual knowledge and the frank discussion of problems. Dr. Rowe feels that a better understanding of the Latin Americas on the part of the people of the United States is a necessity. He sees grave danger in the increasing tendency of South America to be drawn into the European situation, accompanied as it is by alienation from the United States.

The question comes to one's mind whether the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations would not strengthen rather than weaken the Monroe Doctrine.

One augur of increased understanding is the growing interest of American women in each other and their common problems. The Pan-American Conference of Women in Baltimore, under the auspices of the League of Women Voters in 1922, greatly quickened the interest of North American women in the southern Americas.

Mrs. Livermore, commissioner from the United States to the Centennial Exposition of Brazil, reported increased confidence and acquaintance between the United States and Brazil, which may be attributed to the participation, for the first time, of our country in a Brazilian exposition. The presence of the Secretary of State, Mr. Hughes, in Rio de Janeiro during the exposition was received with great favor. A quotation from his speech at that time may well be taken to sum up the ideal North American attitude as it was worked out in round table discussions:

"We covet no territory; we seek no conquest; the liberty we cherish for ourselves we desire for others, and we assert no rights for ourselves that we do not accord to others. We sincerely desire to see throughout this hemisphere an abiding peace, the reign of justice and the diffusion of the blessings of a beneficent co-operation. It is this desire which forms the basis of the Pan-American sentiment."

At Washington Headquarters

THE National League gave a reception at Washington headquarters, January 15, from 5 to 7, in honor of the wives of the only two living ex-Presidents, but at the last moment a note arrived from the Chief Justice announcing Mrs. Taft's sudden illness and her physician's orders that she stay at home. Mrs. Woodrow Wilson received with Mrs. Maud Wood Park, assisted by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, vice-chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee, Miss Belle Sherwin, first vice-president of the National League, and Mrs. Mary Roberts Rinehart.

On the sixteenth the Executive Committee, which is made up of Mrs. Park, Miss Sherwin, Miss Morgan, Miss Ludington, and Miss Hauser began a four-day session for the consideration of convention plans and the convention program.

League women from all parts of the country who visit Washington, double-star League headquarters in their individual Baedekers, and come in to discuss League work. The list of visitors for the new year is already long and includes Mrs. Ida Clyde Clarke and Mrs. Genevieve Parkhurst, contributing editors of *Pictorial Review*; Mrs. F. W. Jones, who, though she was educated at the University of Minnesota, is from New Hampshire, body and spirit, and, as she declares laughingly, "tickled to death with my Yankee accent," and Miss Irene Flower Hickey, whom women who attended the League's first convention will recall with pleasure. Miss Hickey conducts fourteen night schools in Harrison County, West Virginia, for the United States Bureau of Naturalization, and these schools serve forty mining camps.

Miss Isabel Lawrence, of St. Cloud, Minnesota, whom the governor of the state sent to Washington as official delegate to the Joint Conference on Illiteracy, is chairman of the Minnesota League's Committee on Education and brought to headquarters a hearty tribute to the Cable Law. In St. Louis County, she said, ten per cent of the population attends evening schools and there is great satisfaction among teachers there over a law which has resulted in bringing so many women of foreign birth into such schools. Under the local law, judges do not examine a candidate for citizenship as to his

literacy if he can present a certificate showing that he has attended a public night school two hours an evening for three days a week during twenty-four weeks of two years, and has made satisfactory marks in the studies prescribed. Evening schools were given over almost entirely to men before the enactment of the Cable Law, but now women are crowding into them, women of twenty nationalities, to learn to be citizens. Miss Lawrence thinks that foreign-born women are profiting greatly by a law which puts a premium on going to school.

Mrs. W. S. Burr, who lives in San Jose, California, had much to tell of the interest of California women in the school problem. On some afternoons of the month headquarters has been a real produce exchange for visiting members and the produce exchanged has been accounts of what Leagues are doing or planning to do.

Leagues and League Work

FROM the Committee on Women in Industry come three new and exceptionally readable publications. One is Study Leaflet, Series No. 2, "Minimum Wage Legislation," in the preparation of which the committee was assisted by Miss Breckenridge, of the University of Chicago, and Miss Dewson, of the National Consumers' League. Arguments for minimum wage legislation for women, content of American laws on the subject, methods of wage commissions, results of legislation, constitutionality of such laws, history of minimum wage legislation and brief bibliography followed by suggestions for club papers, are included. The resolutions adopted by the National League in convention in Des Moines last year, in regard to minimum wage laws, are appended. "Woman and the Labor Movement in America," by Mollie Ray Carroll, professor of economics at Goucher College, is a fourteen-page pamphlet, simple enough in style to be indispensable to the woman who has never been interested in the subject, and sufficiently authoritative and comprehensive to be a valuable addition to every library. "The Home Responsibilities of Women Workers and the 'Equal Wage,'" by Sophronisba Weston Breckenridge, is a reprint from the *Journal of Political Economy* for August, 1923, and women who are dealing with industrial problems will be glad to have it in convenient form. It is thoroughly documented and stated in Miss Breckenridge's characteristic lucid style. The price of the leaflet is five cents, and of each of the other publications, ten cents.

LEGISLATION for which the New York League will work this winter, according to the program recommended by Mrs. Irene Osgood Andrews to the annual convention in Utica, January 15 and 16, includes a woman juror's bill, measures for the state enforcement of prohibition, for the application of the direct primary to all state offices, for a minimum-wage commission, and for the forty-eight-hour week for working women and minors. The convention mass meeting was held on Tuesday at the Hotel Utica, when Dr. Charles Bernstein, of the Rome State School, spoke on the state's wards and the fifty-million-dollar bond issue, and J. Henry Scattergood, chief of the Friends Reconstruction Bureau in France, discussed America's international obligations.

AT its last annual convention the Maryland League instructed its executive board to convey to the League of Virginia its conviction that it is the duty of the women of both states, as citizens and housewives, to share in efforts to conserve the sea-food in the Chesapeake, "a source of wealth to our state and a valuable natural food supply which once exhausted will not easily be replaced." Miss Lavinia Engle, manager of the Maryland League, asked the Virginia League to co-operate, and a Virginia committee was immediately appointed. The first meeting of the committees from the two states was held in Baltimore, December 19, and formed a permanent joint committee on conservation, with Mrs. Josiah Leeds Kerr, of Maryland, chairman. Mr. Harrison Vickers, chairman of the Maryland Conservation Commission, sug-

gested points to be considered in legislation asked for to remedy conditions which in thirty years have reduced the Chesapeake oyster crop from fifteen million bushels to two million. After luncheon Mrs. Charles Bolton, chairman of the Virginia committee, discussed practical needs and problems and Judge Rose MacDonald, Mrs. Steuart Michaux and Professor Truitt, of the University of Maryland, contributed greatly to the progress of an interesting meeting, which ended with resolutions for a definite program of inter-state co-operation for conservation.

REGISTRATION of San Francisco voters for 1924 and 1925 began on January 2, and the San Francisco League enlisted other organizations of women to make the occasion impressive. Recorder Godchaux has heretofore been the first voter to register in recent biennial registrations, but this year a League group was on hand at 8:30 and Mrs. James Rolph, Jr., put her name down first. With her were Mrs. Parker S. Maddux, president of the San Francisco League; Miss Marian Delaney, state president, and a group of League women who had come out early on the coldest morning of the winter—one of the coldest, indeed, San Francisco ever knew—to make registration an object lesson in citizenship. The San Francisco League has already mapped out its campaign to make the registered voters count in the next election. There will be district chairmen, precinct sub-chairmen, personal interviews, radio speeches, and all the other things which brought results in the recent municipal election.

FOR its state-wide membership campaign, which ended January 16, the Ohio League devised a blue and gold League button, bearing the monogram "L.W.V." enclosed in an octagonal "O," the whole so cleverly designed that it looks like a Chinese signature. A trip to the National League Convention in Buffalo, April 24-25, with railway fare and hotel expenses included, was offered to the congressional district bringing in the largest number of new members, and the prize goes to the woman who has secured most enrollments. In order to enter the competition, each congressional district was required to present at least two hundred new members, and renewals could not be counted.

PRACTICAL talks on government in a course for Thursday evenings, beginning January 10, are offered by the Ninth Assembly District of the Manhattan League. The subjects announced are full of interest. At the first meeting Mrs. Olive Scott Gabriel, a Republican, and Mrs. Lillian Sire, a Democrat, discussed "How to Tell a Democrat From a Republican." On Thursday, January 24, Mr. Leonard Wallstein, counsel for the Citizens' Union, told "What Goes On at the City Hall." Lectures to follow have such titles as: "New City Charter," "Is Congress on Its Job?" and "Presidential Possibilities." Miss Sally Peters is leader of this League.

THE Statler Hotel will be headquarters during the National League convention in Buffalo, April 24-29. The members of the program committee are: Miss Belle Sherwin, Miss Gertrude Ely, of Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, director of the second region; Mrs. Casper Whitney, of New York, vice-chairman of the State League, and Mrs. B. J. Burns, of the Buffalo League, with Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser as chairman and Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman ex-officio. Miss Louise Michael, convention secretary, is secretary of the committee.

IT is believed that the first votes cast on the Bok Peace Plan in Washington were cast at National League headquarters. Mrs. Park's ballot was the first dropped into the box and it was followed by the votes of Miss Belle Sherwin, first vice-president; Mrs. Ann Webster, chairman of the Committee on Social Hygiene; Mrs. Walter Brookings, chairman of the Committee on Education, and Mrs. W. G. Ryan, former president of the Nebraska League.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

The League in Hawaii

MRS. GERTRUDE D. BUNKER, president of the League of Women Voters of the Territory of Hawaii, which was organized January 26, 1922, has sent us a résumé of the League's activities. The first year was largely devoted to organization, but time was found for a comprehensive program of education—men and women prominent in public welfare work, those with a knowledge of the scientific and social side of legislation and the administrative affairs of the territory, speaking before the League.

Last summer the machinery of the League was used in organizing a Vigilance Committee of women, which is now making an investigation of crime conditions in Honolulu, and of the Police Department methods.

As election approached, the League sent out questionnaires to all candidates, who later spoke before the League, when each questionnaire was read. This was the first time candidates had become acquainted with questionnaires, and the idea was not popular with all of them.

Scotland's Woman Bailie

IN 1919 Mrs. Ella Millar, of Edinburgh, Scotland, stood for Town Council and was elected. Now the Council has elected one of its members to be a senior magistrate, and because of her ability Mrs. Millar was the choice. This office carries the title of "bailie." The women feel that this election is a real victory.

Women Publishers

"WOMEN Publishers" is the name of a publishing house in London composed entirely of women, according to the *Vote*. Its field is the putting out of books written by women for women, the editing of a weekly paper, *Everywoman*—this is a new venture which was supposed to begin about the first of the year—and the training of girls in the field of letters. Miss Evelyn Gates is the founder and managing director. Miss Gates went to Norwich High School and later Newnham College, Cambridge. She was president of the college debating society and the college suffrage society. Business methods, publicity, staff control were next studied in a London store. For six months she acted as assistant editor on the *Industrial Year Book*, and then became secretary and assistant editor to a firm of publishers. The natural outgrowth was complete independence, so she estab-

lished her own company. It was successful and the possibilities were so great that before long she registered as a limited company with a capital of £10,000. The board of directors includes five women besides Miss Gates.

So far the largest piece of work is the *Woman's Year Book*—a most comprehensive reference book for women—three editions of which have already been sold.

Republican Women's Luncheon

ON January 12 the Women's National Republican Club held its third annual luncheon, marking its third anniversary and celebrating a remarkable growth. This year sixteen hundred guests filled the big ballroom of the Waldorf-Astoria, including very many notable Republican personalities. Leaders of the activities of Republican women in twenty-two states were present. Mrs. Charles H. Sabin presided, and the Republican women were addressed by four men, who set forth fundamental Republican doctrine. Judging by the applause, the Club is strongly pro-Coolidge.

A coming event which was announced at the luncheon is the formal opening of the Women's National Republican Clubhouse at 6 and 8 East Thirty-seventh street, New York City. The Club was founded in 1920 as a national political headquarters for Republican women. Within the last year its increased membership has made a larger clubhouse a necessity, and it will move into the new building early in February. The building is a five-story structure, with a large assembly room, two dining-rooms, library, lounge, committee-rooms, and fourteen bedrooms. More about all this later.

An interesting item gleaned by the way is that at a recent gathering of the women vice-chairmen of the Republican County Committees of New York State, it was shown that the women's vote cast in the last state election ran from 40 per cent to 70 per cent of the total vote cast.

Indian Women Vote

THE women of India have voted for the first time. It was during November, and Madras and Bombay—the first and second provinces to enfranchise their women—were the first and second in which women cast votes for the Legislative Council and the Legislative Assembly. In the United Provinces—the third section in which sex disqualification has been removed—

elections have not yet been held.

In some divisions of the city of Madras seventy-five per cent of the qualified women cast their vote.

The Women's Indian Association held meetings before election, visited the homes encouraging women to vote, and acted as unofficial helpers at the polls. They sent out questionnaires to all the provincial candidates urging their support of the bills concerned with maternity benefits, compulsory primary education, reduction of the salt tax, prohibition of intoxicants, and the attainment of Swaraj (Home Rule). While a great deal of illiteracy was disclosed by the vote, the women leaders of India are in no way discouraged.

Books for Japanese Women

MRS. MARY BEARD, whose article on the new Japanese women was published in the January 12 issue of the *CITIZEN*, has just received a letter from one of the leaders of the new Federation of Women, which she described in that article. This woman reports that the women of Japan have now organized an Anti-Prostitution League, and that besides that they have themselves collected 10,000 yen for use in child welfare work.

Which reminds us of the appeal made by Mrs. Beard in connection with her article in the January 12 issue—she asked for books to form a woman's library at the headquarters of the new Federation of Women in Tokio.

In case you missed that appeal, it is still not too late to heed it. The books should be suitable to build up a reference library on the woman movement and on social service. You will find some titles suggested on page 30, January 12 issue. Send your books to the WOMAN CITIZEN, 171 Madison Avenue, New York, marked FOR JAPANESE WOMEN.

A Women's Engineering Society

THE second International Conference of the Women's Engineering Society—so word comes from London—will be held in Manchester, England, next Easter. The Society has some two hundred working members, who are doing wonderful work in this new field for women, especially along the electrical line. One company in London is entirely run by women. The firm got a trial order, and did the work so efficiently that they are now engaged on a good contract. A big English welding firm has a woman as one of its directors. In Birmingham a woman is forming a company for the manufacture of

stainless steel household necessities. There is also a member of the Society who has installed electric plants in several houses and is working on illuminated signs in London. Originally the Society was recognized only by the Institution of Electrical Engineers, but when the last engineering exhibition was held in London, it received an invitation on equal footing with other engineering organizations.

A Visitor From India

SUSIE SORABJI, of Bombay, is visiting America for the second time. Miss Sorabji is principal of the St. Helena School, Poona, India. Her father was converted from the Zoroastrian faith, and she was educated as a Christian. For years she has had the welfare and growth of her countrywomen at heart, and it is in order to carry something of the American woman's freedom back to them that she has made the long journey.

News of a C. E.

BEATRICE FORBES-ROBERTSON HALE, known to our readers as a Contributing Editor as well as for her other works, is again in this country. She expects to remain three months lecturing in the larger cities from Boston to St. Louis. Her subjects will be "Girls of Today and Women of Tomorrow," "Our Shrinking Home Life—How Expand It?" and the recent British elections and their results.

A New Kind of Campaign

THE aim of the National Federation of Business and Professional Women is to discover from every child leaving school in the eighth grade his reason for stopping. If it is a lack of interest, the Federation will provide a big sister from its membership to bridge the disinterested period; if it is lack of funds, the Federation hopes to secure scholarships. A specific program will be outlined at the National Board Meeting to be held in Dallas, Texas, February 7-9.

A Jubilee Celebration

ON December 23 the W. C. T. U. held a Jubilee meeting in Hillsboro, Ohio. Fifty years previous, on December 23, 1873, a company of courageous women marched through the snow and sleet down the streets of Hillsboro on the crusade which ushered in the movement to outlaw the saloon. In memory of their valor, delegates to the Jubilee followed the same path as that of the pioneers. The actual celebration of the Crusade took place in the Presbyterian Church, with some original crusaders as guests of honor. During the program Miss Anna A. Gordon, world and national president of the W. C. T.

U., paid tribute to the crusaders and appealed to patriotic women everywhere to work for better law enforcement.

Portugal's Prohibition

WOMEN are responsible—at least to a great extent—for the passage of an anti-alcohol law in Portugal. According to the *Vote* the law prohibits the opening of new drinking shops within five hundred metres, in Lisbon, and two hundred elsewhere, of public buildings, especially schools; children under fifteen may not go into wine shops, and no liquor may be sold between nine p.m. and six a.m.

In the December 29 issue we published the names of the prize winners in the contest on "How to Get Out the Vote." Miss Elizabeth Hauser won the CITIZEN first prize, and since she is secretary of the League of Women Voters, her paper appears in its columns. (See page 18.) The Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission prize was won by Miss Alice Vignos, of Canton, Ohio. Watch for it in our next number.

For Liberty and Peace

THE Danish section of the Women's League for Liberty and Peace has just held an all-country meeting, with one hundred and thirty-five delegates present. The object of the League is "to promote the work for a just peace between nations, races and classes; to make war illegal and instead adopt a state of affairs which insures conflicts being settled by mediation, arbitration or other peaceful means; to work for making the above theories the foundation for the bringing up and education of the young both at school and in the home; to cooperate with women in other countries working for the same aims."

Australia's Woman M. P.

MRS. EDITH COWAN, first and only woman member of Parliament for West Perth, Australia, has had one bill passed and is now working for a second, which will establish equality of sex in the matter of eligibility for public office. Mrs. Cowan sees no objection to women being ministers of the crown and thinks it ludicrous that a man should be Minister of Motherhood.

Mrs. Cowan was born at Glengarry Station, Western Australia. Her grandfather was one of the earliest magistrates of this district, so that public office is mingled with her childhood memories. Her husband was Master Registrar of the Supreme Court, and later Magistrate of the Local Court of

Perth. She has four daughters and one son, who is a barrister in Perth.

Public affairs have always had Mrs. Cowan's active interest. Perhaps her chief concerns have been laws about women and children, woman's suffrage and the first women's club—the Karra Katta Club, of which she is a founder and four times president—and the advancement of education. Her stand at present is still woman's equality, and special legislation and treatment for mental defectives. She is a local optionist and a great believer in temperance education and legislation regarding shorter hours of sale. She strongly advocates the League of Nations. In her opinion wives of unionists should have the right to vote with their husbands by secret ballot prior to the declaration of a strike. She upholds the equality of a mother with a father in cases of property left without a will. This was the bill she introduced which passed, as reported in the February 10, 1923, CITIZEN.

Her activities have been almost too numerous to mention. She served on all sorts of committees during the war, and for her Red Cross work was honored by the King. She is senior among the first five women appointed as magistrates to sit as members of the Children's Court, and is also senior woman justice of the peace. To sum up her activities, her interest is humanity, and in whatever branch it calls, she answers.

Kentucky's Legislators

THE Women's News Service has been kind enough to draw our attention to the omission of one woman legislator from our 1922 list. She is Mrs. Mary J. Flanery, of Catlettsburg, Kentucky, who was elected on the Democratic ticket.

There were also two new women in the 1923 Kentucky legislature: Miss A. Viola Hans and Miss Ella Compton, both Democrats.

Foster Mothers of Music

(Continued from page 8)

more, did so. We paid all our expenses, and had money left at the season's end. We don't make any charge for weekly sings and concerts, but at the gates we always have boxes, and if people have had a good time, they tell us so in silver.

"Don't think it has all been easy going. But we have grown steadily and surely, and it all belongs to us. Anything in the way of musical development which results, whether it be in the form of appreciation, performance or creative expression, will have grown out of the sturdy community itself."

A year-long, city-wide plan for encouraging musical talent and musical interest, a foundation for training American orchestral musicians, a summer festival of the finest symphonic music, a

community which sings and plays its own songs—and all of them under the inspiration, the generosity, the management of women. This is just a fragment of the story of women in music. There are conductors, impresarios, artists and orchestral players, and many others, but their story, as well as the story of where women have failed, must wait till another time.

Washington

(Continued from page 12)

This will reduce income-tax receipts by \$323,000,000. But the Government can afford it. However—"A soldiers' bonus would postpone tax reduction, not for one, but for many years to come. It would mean an increase rather than a decrease of taxes. . . ." And so on.

The surtax feature of the above plan is causing Congress the most concern. On this point Mr. Mellon's explanation is as follows:

"The readjustment of the surtaxes, moreover, is not in any sense a partisan measure. It has been recommended on substantially this basis by every Secretary of the Treasury since the end of the war, irrespective of party. The present system is a failure. It was an emergency measure, adopted under the pressure of war necessity, and not to be counted upon as a permanent part of our revenue structure. For a short period the surtaxes yielded much revenue, but their productivity has been constantly shrinking and the Treasury's experience shows that the high rates now in effect are progressively becoming less productive of revenue. . . . Taxpayers subject to the higher rates cannot afford, for example, to invest in American railroads or industries or embark upon new enterprises in the face of taxes that will take fifty per cent or more of any return that may be realized. These taxpayers are withdrawing their capital from productive business and investing it instead in tax-exempt securities and adopting other lawful methods of avoiding the realization of taxable income."

In addition to this tax subject, which admittedly is paramount, Congress has dealt in a number of matters recently which will form the basis of future discussion—for instance, the successful plan arrived at by the British and American conferees for the refunding of the British war debt to the United States has been made a precedent for a new agreement for future payments to the United States, this time with the government of Finland. The President transmitted a plan to Congress lately whereby Finland, under a debt-funding arrangement, will pay back a \$9,000,000 war debt over a period of sixty-two years. The amount is insignificant compared with major debts on the American books, but the success of the method is formulating a valuable precedent.

The Foreign Affairs Committee of the House is holding hearings on the Rogers bill for the reorganization and improvement of the whole diplomatic service, legislation that has been on the congressional calendar for years, without receiving serious consideration from those who control the destiny of bills. Representative Rogers, of Massachusetts, has given the diplomatic service exhaustive study to a point of having become an authority on the subject. He has brought about hearings year after year, at which the ablest men in the profession have testified to the need of a thorough revision. This year he has succeeded in having one of the foremost American Ministers temporarily recalled—Hugh Gibson, American Minister to Poland—for the sake of the testimony he could give before the committee on the points at issue. Mr. Gibson is noted throughout the service as the finest example of the principle of promoting able men from post to post until merit wins full recognition. Mr. Gibson came up in the service and is looked upon as of such high ability as to be practically exempt from the effect of the political spoils system of foreign service awards. Secretary Hughes, in testifying before the committee recently, spoke of the difficulty of procuring the finest type of able American citizens for the foreign posts because of lack of adequate compensation, quarters and so on. This matter, brewing so many years, is believed to be coming to a head in Congress. What Colonel Harvey and Richard Washburn Child had to say when they returned from their posts at London and Rome respectively is known to have been to the point.

Another indication of some of the difficulties under which the Department of State operates was stressed by Secretary Hughes, when he told the Immigration Committee of the House that all the fuss about running our immigration restriction policy by originating an inspection service at the European sources, thus preventing in the beginning many of the wretched experiences and heartaches of those who get here only to be sent back by the next ship, would have to be considered on the basis of new treaty agreements with European nations. Without such formal understandings, the Secretary said, the details of American inspection and weeding out on the other side would be highly involved, if not impracticable. Restriction of immigration as an idea has firm hold on Congress and is constantly growing in severity. Every few days some new member declares himself in favor of total restriction for periods from one to five years. It sometimes happens that the least charitable of all legislative proposals will seem to come from the lower House, from which the country has come to expect the more human viewpoint.

The rules fight has continued with initial success for the Republican insurgents and Democrats who have forced the majority into the adoption of a repeal of the so-called Underwood rule of 1911 which limited debate upon tariff and appropriation measures. The Republicans immediately retaliated by announcing that the repeal of this important rule would seriously interfere with the progress on the tax legislation and hamper its passing at the present session. But the coalition has more than this in store for the aggrieved Republican majority. Democrats retired—at the end of the fortnight your correspondent is recording—with Senator Underwood, Democrat, Alabama, safely elected President of the United States after having given Williams Gibbs McAdoo a close run for the nomination and the Republicans a keen fight. Senator Underwood in the above-mentioned circles is regarded as the candidate upon whom the financial East, the daring West, the loyal South and the inquiring Middle West can safely compromise. All the speculation for the next few months can be made equally alluring today. So let no one believe only this.

Does Your Vote Count?

(Continued from page 13)

What can be done about it? Is there any remedy?

A system of proportional representation will obviate many of the difficulties. It will eliminate in the first place the single member district and with it many gerrymanders. It will also insure representation in legislative bodies more nearly proportionate to the relative strength of the parties.

At the present time one variation or other of the system is found in Austria, Belgium, British Columbia, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Costa Rica, certain of the provinces of Canada, Denmark, Ireland, New Zealand, Poland, South Africa, Sweden, Tasmania and in certain cities of the United States, the largest of which is Cleveland. It cannot be considered an altogether untried system.

Two principal variations of "P. R.," as it is called, are to be found, the List and the Hare. The former presumes parties and party loyalty. In its simplest form each party puts a slate in the field. The voter ballots not for an individual but for the party. The representatives to be elected from the district, usually from five to nine, are apportioned among the parties in proportion to their relative strength. This, needless to say, places the independent voter at a disadvantage. Various shifts in the List system have been employed to lessen this disadvantage, none of them, however, altogether successful.

* Th
briefly

It is for this reason that the single transferable vote, or the Hare system, has been most widely introduced into the United States. Under this system the voter marks his ballots in the order of his preference, that is, he places "1" after the man of his first choice, "2" after his second, and so on for as many as he pleases. His ballot is then counted for the man first named thereon unless it should be that he already has the quota, the number sufficient to elect. In that case since it would be a tribute, nothing more, to give it to the candidate first indicated, it is given to the man named second, or if he does not need it, to the third, and so on down the list. Thus eventually the vote is used to some purpose.

The technicalities of the count need not trouble us here,* although they are often urged as a valid argument against the system. A somewhat critical observer at the last election in Cleveland, Raymond Moley, says: "The claims commonly made by those who do not favor the Hare system—that it presents great mechanical difficulties in counting the votes, that it increases the danger of fraud, and that the possibilities of errors are large—were not strengthened by the actual operation of the system in this election." And this is the verdict of experience everywhere.

One drawback only must be conceded: a greater amount of time must elapse between the closing of the polls and the conclusion of the vote. It took forty-six hours to count 105,846 ballots at Cleveland last November, and the greater the number of ballots the longer the time which must elapse. This does not mean greater danger of corruption, however, for the fact that the ballots have been gathered at a central place and that both parties are aware of the necessity for careful watching will in all probability lessen partisan manipulation.

The Hare system has the advantage, besides accomplishing its purpose of securing representation more nearly proportionate to the strength of the parties than the old system, of lessening the burden upon the voters. The necessity for the direct primary is eliminated. The preference expressed on the day of election is not only a preference between parties but between individuals. Those candidates, therefore, who are the choice of the rank and file of a party will be the ones to receive the greatest popular support at the election, and the ones who will be chosen to represent that particular political philosophy. Thus, if within a party whose strength entitles it to five representatives there are two who are exceedingly popular candidates they will in all probability receive sufficient votes to elect them immediately. Perhaps they will have a surplus. In this case the surplus votes are not

lost to the party but distributed to the remaining party candidates in proportion to their popularity as indicated by the second choices. The result will be that the five most popular representatives of the party will secure election, however great the number of party candidates running in the election. And the party will receive its proportionate share of the representatives.

It might be well worth while for those who are devoting their energy to the perfection of the primary to consider whether the next step after all is not *proportional representation*. Delay may possibly be wise so that the further verdict of experience may be heard from. The experiment in Cleveland should certainly be watched with exceedingly great interest. But proportional representation as a possible improvement in our representative machinery certainly should occupy the thought and attention of all progressive citizens.

It is not the panacea for the world's ills, but the indications are that it will in some measure cure the existing malady of misrepresentation common to all legislative bodies.

(For further information, the publications of the Proportional Representation League, 1417 Locust Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, will be found exceedingly useful.)

In the next number Dr. Wallace will trace the course of a bill through the legislature.

The Monroe Doctrine

(Continued from page 10)

use, however reluctantly, in flagrant cases of such wrongdoing or impotence, of the exercise of an international police power."

I once lived in a neighborhood for a short time where the inhabitants were all of a pretty good variety, except one man who was drunk most of the time and used to thrash his wife. The men in the neighborhood became so exercised over it that they put their heads together and said that when it next occurred they would go in a body and thrash the man and protect the woman. The time soon came and they went, but when they arrived this quarreling pair stopped for a moment to gaze upon the intruders and then, to the amazement of the neighbors, the woman turned upon them and said angrily: "If my husband wants to thrash me he has a right to do so." And that is the attitude which South America assumes when we undertake to give one of her countries a stable government. It may be good from our point of view, but not from theirs.

The urbane and unimilitary Mr. Taft, who certainly never intended to say or do anything in all his life to stir anybody the wrong way, in 1906, when he was a member of Mr. Roosevelt's cabinet, said in a forgetful moment:

"The frontiers of the United States

virtually extend to Tierra del Fuego." And it is remembered in all the libraries of South America.

Twice the United States—once in the case of Chile and once in the case of Brazil—has definitely seemed to take sides in a civil war, and in both cases the losing combination believed its failure to succeed was directly due to the intervention of the United States. We have several times sent naval ships to the different ports of a little state, thus announcing that we were ready to interfere. We certainly assisted in the establishment of the republic of Panama and took control of the Canal Zone, on the theory that we had to build the Panama Canal. By assisting the rebellion of Panama we alienated the republic of Colombia, and by taking the Canal Zone we have created a large amount of resentment in Panama. We have intervened for the collection of money in three republics, at least; and we have several times landed troops or sent naval ships to indicate our wishes concerning collections.

Mr. Roosevelt more frankly than any other person analyzed this situation. He said that when nations loaned money to impecunious Southern republics and the latter failed to pay that money, it would be the next step, naturally, for these countries to expect their creditors to go into their land and take over their customs houses in order to get money with which to pay themselves. But, he said, we must make up our minds whether we are willing to allow that or whether we must ourselves intervene and stand between the foreign creditor and a South American or Central American country, the debtor. He believed that we must stand between the creditor and debtor and be the collector.

At this time new opportunities for wealth are being revealed in surprising places, and Americans are searching all the continents to find opportunities for making millions. In Spanish countries they sometimes are able to get concessions, not because they have paid for them with good money in honest ways as they should, but because those nations often have officials who accept bribes. The next step may be our entanglement as a nation in the predicament when an administration of a Spanish-American nation is unwilling to stand by the concession of a preceding administration—and we are forced to stand by our nationals. Indeed, there are more entangling alliances hidden in the possibilities of the Monroe Doctrine as now interpreted than George Washington ever dreamed of.

I did not find a country in South America that could not give a long list of offenses against its dignity and its sovereignty which it charged had been committed by our own country.

When, in 1823, President Monroe pronounced his doctrine we were a na-

*The method of counting is described briefly in the CITIZEN of January 27, 1923.

tion of 9,600,000 people. At this time we are still assuring South America that we alone will interpret the Doctrine; we alone will apply it when and how we choose, and among the nations over which we assume this tutelage is Brazil, which has a larger territory than we have and whose population is now more than three times what ours was when the Monroe Doctrine was pronounced. It assumes a tutelage over Argentina, with nearly half the territorial size of our own country and with a population nearly as large as that of the United States in 1820.

A new alliance has been formed in South America, and it is charged that the chief motive is a defense against our own land. It is called the "ABC" and represents 43,000,000 of population and a territory 1,700,000 square miles larger than our own. This combination already possesses some of the greatest war ships in the world, cruisers, torpedo boats, submarines, airplanes and all the rest of the awful paraphernalia which modern civilization has devised for the taking of human life. Men can be found in South America who will say that they agree with the Monroe Doctrine, but I believe they are generally like an ambassador of one of the ABC nations to another one of those countries who, in introducing his conversation with me, referred to the Monroe Doctrine. His face shone with a marvelous light as if this was some wonderful thing we had in common, and when he had spoken of it in rather a flattering sort of way I said, "I don't approve of the Monroe Doctrine." Then he ejaculated, "Don't you? Neither do I."

Said a South American: "The United States has made up its mind to acquire South America. Washington aspires to be the capital of an enormous empire, which, with the exception of Canada, would embrace the whole of the American continents. Eighty million Yankees want to annex not only forty millions of South Americans, but they want our agricultural riches, richer than can be found anywhere else on the face of the earth." Said an Argentinian: "The Monroe Doctrine is simply a petulant and insatiable imperialism and its development is a superb, audacious and mortifying notification to the Latin peoples of your strenuous desire to eventually absorb the small republics or become the supreme arbiter of their destiny."

Said an Argentinian judge: "It is necessary that we should declare to the United States in dignified language that we are not disposed to concede her right of tutelage. It is too imperialistic and too degrading to ourselves and our neighbors who are worthy of being respected for themselves."

Said an eminent Peruvian: "To set ourselves free from Yankee imperialism the South American republics may yet be forced to an alliance with Europe."

Said a Chilean poet: "Two things unite all Spanish America: a common language and a common hatred of the United States." One of the mildest comments is, "Since there are no rain clouds coming from the east, why should a friend, however well-intentioned, insist on holding an umbrella over us?" All over South America one hears these things said and, if you were a South American and had a drop of red blood in your veins, you would say the things that they say and you would feel the things that they feel.

To say today that the Monroe Doctrine is right and true because all North Americans believe in it may be countered by another statement that it is wrong because all Spanish-Americans do not believe in it. There is a minority here—perhaps I am the only one—who believe that the Monroe Doctrine is false in theory and pernicious in practice. There are those down there—perhaps a similar minority—who think the doctrine is right. These minorities offset each other, leaving the great majority in conflict.

This policy is outworn. It now is a defense of commerce and of big business. There are no colonies of monarchies to come to South and Central America. The kings are gone. Colonists will come, but they will come through immigration, in new ways, not in the old ways. The old Doctrine has not been applicable since the Great War. The new interpretation slowly growing through fifty years has become interference and breeds hostility. Every nation that hates us is a potential enemy. In the future who can tell what great population or what circumstances may drive us ignominiously to war in order to uphold the meaning put into it? At this centenary it would have been wise to state to the world frankly that the Doctrine has served its century. Let the century be as glorious as you care to make it. If there are those who declare that the Doctrine has been a blessing to all Spanish America, do not forget that none of them appears to know it. Then let an end be made of it.

Long, long ago a Man came into the world who brought a new rule of conduct. He introduced it to mankind in an endeavor to solve the problems of the world. It is called the Golden Rule. It is still as untarnished as in the beginning, for it has hardly been worn at all. It might be well to use it now with the twenty republics of South and Central America. "We will do unto you as we would have you do unto us." I would like to bound the United States—I would bound it on the north by that line between Canada and the United States, which has no fort upon it nor any kind of defense; on the east by "Forgive thine enemies"; on the south by the Golden Rule, and on the west by "Love thy enemy as thyself."

A Line on the Movies

By LAURA L. LAEDLEIN

BLACK OXEN—This is Gertrude Atherton's much-discussed novel of new youth in test-tubes, and its social implications. It is the story of a woman who does not know whether to be as young as her complexion or as old as her philosophies. The picture follows pretty faithfully the novel's outline, and is temperately done, but it would take more than its fair acting to make a hardly credible story film convincing. *Countess Zattiany* had old, experienced eyes looking out of her youthful face; a film star is hard put to it to feel like conscious sixty in the gowns and graces of twenty-odd. Corinne Griffith and Conway Tearle play the countess and her third generation lover. An Associated First National picture, directed by Frank Lloyd.

THE GREAT WHITE WAY—The plot concerns a dancer who refuses to furnish her press-agent scandal, and a welter-weight champion who refuses to fight any more. On it are strung exciting backdoor glimpses of the stage, the race track, the ring, press-agenting. Well-known newspaper men, prize fighters, sportsmen, race horses, jockeys and Ziegfeld choruses (with the horses and the chorus girls the least camera-conscious) appearing in person, give a sort of illustrated news interest. A cheap and crude photodrama, but highlighted and sometimes lucid close-ups of that gay, hard-working lady, Broadway's New York. A Cosmopolitan picture, from a story by H. C. Witwer, and directed by E. Mason Hopper.

THE COURTSHIP OF MILES STANDISH—The Longfellow poem, expanded into a picture of the Puritan Fathers period. The story comes to America in the Mayflower, just as it did in—well, when it came; and no first-hand tale of a modern liner gives a livelier sense of the layers of life on a boat than this, with humanity going about its small affairs as though a hazardous future were not before it. Which is a pretty good guess at how the Pilgrims acted. Charles Ray is very cleverly the not-too-clever *John Alden*—no Perry print come to life, but an everyday sort of boy, hard-fisted, level-headed and nobody's fool; though almost. His acting is excellent. And we liked the shot Indian who leaped into the air and fell, like a fish. "Teen-age intelligence—apt, somehow, to be found in eleven-year-old boys and girls—will enjoy every inch of this picture, and so will adults who like unsensational realism. An Associated Exhibitors picture, directed by Frederick Sullivan.

LET NO MAN PUT ASUNDER—This is a story of marriage and divorce, taken from a Basil King novel, with several pairs of uncertain souls doing a sort of social chassé around one another and

finally coming out with the right partners, after some rather involved dance turns. Pauline Frederick is the picture's vivid and intelligent center, and most of its life. Lou Tellegen plays opposite; part of the time he's opposite, anyway. A Vitagraph picture, directed by J. Stuart Blackton.

The Bookshelf

THERE are as many different kinds of autobiography as there are kinds of people, and indeed a shelf-full of them is like a small town, where you may make friends with any of the populace you find specially interesting. The chief and most beloved citizen of our own town-shelf is Walter Damrosch, leader of the New York Symphony Orchestra, who lives within the covers of "My Musical Life." Born in Silesia, he came to America as a small boy and has lived here most of his life. His father was a distinguished musician, and because of his talent the boy grew into musical responsibilities very early. The story of his life is the story of the musical development of America, with its prejudices, its rivalries, and its steady, sturdy growth. He tells of the founding of symphony orchestras and oratorio societies, of the building of the Metropolitan Opera House, and of the first German operas in the United States. It was he who inaugurated the custom of taking symphony orchestras on tour, to the deep pleasure of towns which were not yet able to afford their own orchestras.

The book tells of war-time music, of the place women have occupied in America's music, of friendships with men and women whose names are memorable in America. Through it shines the light of a great organizer, combined with a spirit kind and generous almost to a fault. Not a word of rancor or sarcastic comment mars the pleasant serenity of his pages. Underneath the steady march of his musical history is that finest quality of autobiography, the progress of a great human soul.

An autobiography which is as full of music as it is of books and kindergartens and love of living, is Kate Douglas Wiggin's "My Garden of Memory." Completed just before her death, it is a gay, whimsical, and vivid account of her life in Maine, California, New York and Europe; of her friends, her books and her games. She was one of the pioneers in establishing kindergartens on the Pacific Coast. The creator of "Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm" must have been a particularly lovable person, for her friends are of all professions and of all nationalities. Walter Damrosch she knew and greatly admired, and she laughs over her own impertinence in parodying his Wagner recitals with the story of Bluebeard, and delivering it to him. Her books have been translated

into many languages, and this story of her life is as merry and readable as her fiction.

To people who have watched the course of Edna St. Vincent Millay's poetry, her "Harp-Weaver" is as truly a part of the autobiography of her spirit as though she had given dates and places. This is an older poet than the impetuous, eager girl of twenty who burst from Vassar into the world of literature with the fire of her love of life. She has grown quieter, her spirit has developed depth and breadth and height. Her poetry has gained the beauty of long vistas in place of the glory of a tree or a wind. And in one of her sonnets she holds up a vision which no other poet has ever seen.—M. A.

In *The Great Game of Politics* Frank R. Kent tells the tale about practical politics so graphically that he makes an old story seem startlingly new. The author aims "to give human facts about practical politics and the people who engage in it as a profession so simply and clearly that they can be understood by the average man and woman." But he does more than that; he brings home to every reader the tremendous cost we are paying for our inertia and the remedy for it. He starts with the premise that political bosses have incomparably more power than any group of citizens and that it would be sensible for us to know something about them.

Woman suffrage, he says, has increased the power of the political machine and the political boss, but he believes that "intelligent and informed voting among women is sure to grow and as it grows the machine job will become harder and the machine itself weaker," and he adds that "the instinctive revolt of women against crookedness in politics is stronger and surer than among men."

He describes how because of the lack of interest of voters a precinct boss can control his district of six hundred or more voters if he can control not more than thirty-five votes.

The book is valuable for any voter, old or new. It is not academic or scientific and some of its practical illustrations are badly chosen. One reference to New York politics has been corrected as untrue. But it is unquestionably one of the most illuminating and valuable books on practical politics as they exist that has yet been written, and it has unusual punch.—G. F. B.

"The power of drawing a little cross—an X—on a ballot in an election booth, is the greatest power we know in all this land of ours. . . . They are as glorious, those little X's, as the stars in our flag." That is the idea and the feeling that William G. Shepherd offers to our boys and girls in *The Boys' Own Book of Politics*. A few issues ago we told

of this war correspondent's rediscovery of his country, after many years of following wars about the planet, and of the enthusiasm he has put into this urge to young people to *get into politics*. The book is written clearly, simply, with the same vividness that Shepherd, the war correspondent, uses to picture battles and great strategies. It is a sound, wholesome book, of real importance for mothers (and fathers) to know. They won't read it altogether for the sons' and daughters' sake either.—V. R.

Another book on politics just received and reserved for later notice is *Political Parties and Electoral Problems*, by Robert C. Brooks—published by Harper's.

My Musical Life, Scribner. \$4.00.

My Garden of Memory, Houghton Mifflin. \$5.00.

The Harp-Weaver, Harper Brothers. \$2.00.

The Great Game of Politics, Doubleday, New York. \$2.50.

The Boys' Own Book of Politics, Macmillan, New York. \$2.00.

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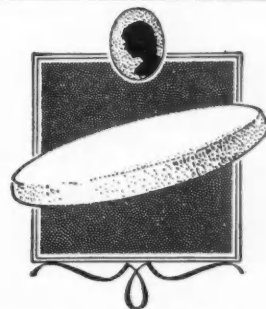


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Limousine Justice

(Continued from page 17)

the silent drama, that certain of its personnel have not yet struck their balance.

The peculiar exaltation of youth in a universe still in hysterical reaction from a world war; the suggestion that life must be drained to the dregs regardless of those who fall and are trampled in the mire, are incidental considerations; while it is significant of the minds that inspire them that even the horrors are so crudely daubed upon the canvas, in the race for notoriety, that they have the same fantastic sense of unreality as a specious and badly executed movie.

Conceivably, some experience of living is necessary to give actuality even to such excesses. It requires imagination to sin convincingly.

All this and more is insinuated between the lines of the highly colored occurrences on the Coast, with the emphasis on recklessness and sheer love of romance as the keynote of all-night parties or shooting affrays. And, while cities and states are officially declining to exhibit the pictures of the chief figures, hero and heroine recuperate at the same hospital while the assailant, behind bars, supplies the jealousy motif. Quite a thriller in itself!

A few nights ago in New York half a dozen young girls from obscure homes were arrested by the police in a raid on a café. Though actual proof of disorderly conduct was lacking, their presence in such a place at such an hour, together with the fact that they were minors, sent them to a probationary institution for the night. They were taken in no luxuriously appointed bungalow; no high-priced cars with attendant

chauffeurs drove them to the station; no love of romance was offered as an extenuating circumstance. Next morning some of them were discharged in the care of their proper guardians, while others were held for evidence against the proprietor of the café. A few more such ventures into the night life of the big city would mean the reformatory on a charge of incorrigibility. The courts do not sentimentalize; they deal with facts.

Aren't somebody's rights being invaded in these screen cases? Why blame the films for a gross offense against law and order involving some of its well-known stars—in their private capacity? Why issue vain prohibitions where no cure is offered, while the principals, always in the attitude of naughty children, give out long separate versions which flow through the public prints like the instalments of a fiction serial, while delay after delay is interposed between the authors and the day of reckoning?

Aren't somebody's rights being invaded—the state's, or the public's, or the rights of the unfortunate women picked up in the every-day brawls of a big city, who pass from the court line-up to the reformatory? Incorrigibility or love of romance—the name signifies little—the matter is perfectly simple. The courts do not sentimentalize; they deal with facts. The removal of the offender automatically closes the question. Until the law is satisfied no more undesired pictures are made, no unjustly injured industry is held up to scorn and the public morals may stretch themselves a little.

Buying one's way through the speed laws is fast becoming unpopular as an outdoor sport. Is limousine justice to be perpetuated in other fields?

Dutch Women

(Continued from page 10)

hotels in one of the small towns, walking down past the bakery which is owned and managed by a woman, and a tailoring shop with a woman's name above the door and a coal office owned and run by a woman, a flower shop and a laundry, both with women proprietors, you come toward the open fields, the lush meadows between the blue canals, with windmills and white-capped peasant women for picturesqueness. Do not be deceived by the at-home air of the women who are milking the cows or who are standing in the dairy doors. These are not farmers' wives, nor farmers' daughters doing the work because their lot happens to be on a farm. They are girls who have been trained for farm work and who hire themselves out usually for their living and washing and about 200 guilders (\$80) a year. They do the housework and milk the cows. They feed the pigs and the chickens. They take care of the bees and the kitchen gardens. And they work in the fields as well. If they are especially expert they may have a yearly wage of 250 guilders, but 200 is the average, with an even smaller rate for the women who engage themselves by the day to help in the harvest season. No one need regard with envy the wage paid to the woman agronomist in Holland, but they might look into the source of her contentment and joy in her work.

In the town the situation is little better as regards wages, the women being badly paid in comparison with men except in the state positions, where the salaries usually are nearly equal, and in the teaching profession, where there is also equality in some lines.

Women shop assistants get a smaller salary than the men. The labor unions ask the same for men and women where the work is the same, but it is nearly always possible to prove that the women's work is of less value than the men's. And when it comes to the trades, the unions come out boldly for a salary for women, which is eighty per cent that of the men, "in order that the position of men shall not be undermined," so they say.

Women are pushing their way into the government service, three women now holding the highest positions next to their three chiefs who are ministers of the government. There are two women professors at the state university and a number of women university instructors who have not yet won the degree of professor. There are women bank clerks and women book-keepers, as well as many women in offices.

Holland has about 180 women physicians and women are also working as dentists.

The interests of the women in in-

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dustry are being served by the organization and bureau headed by Miss van Dyk and Miss Polak. Several years ago an exposition of women's work was so successful that a fund was left over. That fund is added to from time to time, and it serves to keep the two agencies going. The bureau communicates with six thousand schools, sending out gratuitous information about the opportunities open to women. It corresponds with girls in these schools who want advice about their vocations and it works for improved labor laws to protect them once they are employed.

Your Investments

What Is Exempt?

By ELEANOR KERR

MUNICIPAL bonds—bonds issued by states, cities, counties, districts and other subdivisions of government—are exempt from all Federal income taxes, under the provisions of our Constitution. They are not, however, exempt from income and similar taxes levied in the states, whose laws vary greatly in the matter of taxes. But this exemption from Federal income tax has made the already sound market enjoyed by municipal bonds, because of their great security, even more attractive to large investors. To make municipal bonds taxable by the United States Government, it would be necessary to pass an amendment to our Constitution, requiring ratification by the states—always a slow process—and involving the question of state's rights.

Undoubtedly states and municipalities have found it easier to borrow money on an advantageous basis because of the present income tax law; but this money has been used, in most cases, for permanent public improvements, such as state roads, wharf systems, hospitals, schools, drainage canals, water works and many other such purposes.

There is another class of bonds which is exempt not only from Federal income taxes but also from all state and local taxation. These are the Federal farm loan bonds, issued by the joint stock land banks and the Federal land banks. They are at present selling on a basis to yield from 4.70 per cent to 5 per cent, while municipals return an income yield all the way from about 4.30 per cent for the high-grade bonds, which are legal for trustees and savings banks in New York State, to as much as 5.50 per cent or even 6 per cent from district bonds.

Despite all that is said about business seeking tax-exempt investments, many people do not realize the fact that the income from tax-exempt bonds may be greater than the net income from taxable bonds, even though the latter may have higher coupon rates and be sold on a higher yield basis. A person with an income of about \$10,000 pays out approximately 5.2 per cent of it in Fed-

eral income tax. For such a person a return of about 4.75 per cent on a tax-free bond is equivalent to a 6 per cent taxable yield. A person with an income of \$20,000 yearly pays about 8.6 per cent in income tax, and in that case a 4.50 per cent and a 5.50 per cent return free of tax are respectively equivalent to approximately a 5 per cent and a 6 per cent return.

The following table gives an idea of how taxable bonds compare with non-taxable bonds:

Net Income	Total tax paid	Approximate Percentage of income paid as tax	A taxable income of	
			5% Is approximately equivalent to a tax-free income of	6%
\$5,000	\$160	3.20%	4.85	5.80
10,000	520	5.2	4.75	5.62
20,000	1,720	8.6	4.52	5.50
30,000	3,520	11.7	4.38	5.26
40,000	5,840	14.6	4.26	5.12
50,000	8,640	17.3	4.12	4.95
60,000	11,940	19.9	4.00	4.80
70,000	15,740	22.5	3.87	4.65
80,000	20,040	25.1	3.75	4.50
90,000	24,840	27.6	3.60	4.35
100,000	30,140	30.1	3.48	4.20

An Outdoor Skin

By GULIELMA F. ALSOP

College Physician at Barnard

IF a city family of four spend a hundred dollars a month for food, eighty dollars of that amount is spent to provide heat for the body, the twenty dollars left over being all that can be used for energy, growth and repair of tissues. All of the amount of the clothes budget, exclusive of the expenditure for style, goes for the same purpose—regulating the heat of the body. In every climate the houses are built for this same purpose; namely, for the preservation or dissipation of the heat of the body in order to help the mechanism of the body preserve an even temperature.

If in many other directions the body demands variety and change, in this matter of its own temperature it demands the most scrupulous constancy. A deviation of even half a degree above the normal means fever; a deviation below, a dangerous degree of depression; both conditions predisposing the organism to infection and fatigue.

Health exists upon a uniform temperature for the body.

The greatest factor in the regulation of this temperature is the skin. By the pouring out of sweat and by its evaporation, the skin is cooled. At least a quart of invisible perspiration is continually moistening the skin in every twenty-four hours. During periods of violent muscular exertion, this amount is doubled or trebled. In order to benefit from this perspiration, a free, though not too rapid, evaporation must be permitted. This is effected first of all by the kind of clothing worn, which should always be as light as is compatible with comfort.

The alternating activity of the skin, the contracting and opening of its pores, depends upon a real aliveness of its texture. The most alive skin is an out-of-

door skin. Skin is meant for the elements—for rain and sun and wind to beat upon. An indoor skin is pale, sallow, leathery, blotched, slow to react to the demands of muscular activity or changed external temperatures upon it. An indoor skin easily becomes feverish. On the other hand, when a bit of wind blows on it, it feels a draught. It is easily chilled. Its blood is easily driven from the surface to stagnate in congestion in the internal organs; thus causing in the individual the feeling of chilliness, and either producing colds or predisposing to catching colds.

An indoor skin is unequal to the swift adjustment that must be made both indoors and out for maintaining a steady bodily temperature. It ceases to do its duty as one of the great protective agencies of the body against disease.

An outdoor skin is the opposite. It is so trained to sudden change that it reacts with lightning-like speed to whatever altered conditions it meets. From its exposure to the elements, it is sunned and tanned and possesses a positive vitality—so marked that an outdoor skin is considered one of the essentials in the cure of consumption. The skin of a sedentary population has been so overhoused and overclothed that a sudden large dose of sun or wind at once is too much for it and results in a painful and harmful burning and chapping. Exposure has to be gradual. At the end of an outdoor summer, the skin has no need for the soothing creams and lotions that were necessary in the spring when it first came out from its winter hibernation in houses into the open sun and air.

In order to gain this outdoor skin, which is so powerful a protection against respiratory disease, certain methods must be followed. A daily hot bath with soap, followed by a cold shower or spray, keeps the skin clean, the pores free from debris and dirt, the circulation brisk. The custom of wearing light and porous clothes; the habit of having a gentle current of fresh air in the room, able to reach the skin, aids the skin in its work of regulating the body temperature and in keeping healthy. Violent exercise which bends, squeezes and stretches the skin over the contracted muscles and moving joints keeps the skin supple and young. Good food keeps it well nourished. Sleep flushes it with blood.

Only a healthy skin rejoices in good ventilation. And without a good system of ventilation, the skin degenerates into a mere covering for the underlying tissues of the body and ceases to be a vital organ for health. Like all other organs, to remain vital it must be used, and the skin is used when its pores alternately flush the body with moisture or keep it smooth and dry; when it is tanned and pigmented by the sun and wind, and then becomes a magic, living armor against disease.

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Our Readers Say

Speaking of taxes:

YOU invite comment upon Mr. Bush's article, and so I send the following:

1. He says "that taxes can only be decreased by lessening the expenditures of public money." Let us then unite to create public opinion that will demand that the appropriations of \$3,855,482,586 for past wars and \$1,424,138,677 for future wars be immediately decreased.

2. He says, "Put your taxes upon what people spend and not upon what they save." How about the vast majority of workers whose earnings are not sufficient to enable them to save? Surely this is not a fair solution of the problem! Mr. Bush writes from the "saver's" viewpoint, which is the capitalist's, the investor's. The viewpoint of the hard-toiling earner, and of the merchant who sells to the earners, will not be the same as the capitalist's.

Is not the true solution of our taxation problems in the direction of public ownership of public utilities, as gas, water, coal, "super-power plants," railways, etc., and through production for service and not for profit, and through the growth of cooperative enterprises?

MAUD RICHARDS.

Elizabeth, N. J.

These are two out of several letters on the same subject:

I AM greatly excited and delighted over the editorial with the title, "The Pitiful Cost of Furs." When you take up such crying abuses and try to rouse women to mercy and humanity instead of devotion to fashion at whatever cost of horrible suffering to animals, I'm so proud of you I want to be with you.

F. G. K.

Minneapolis, Minn.

AN article, or item, in the CITIZEN of December 29, 1923, entitled "The Pitiful Cost of Furs," calls for some recognition or response from me. I simply cannot let it pass unnoticed. Being an animal lover, pure and simple, naturally it behooves me to do what I can to lessen their suffering. I gave up eating them several years ago, and latterly have come to the point where I shall never buy another article of fur. Only the principles and convictions which we are willing to sacrifice for are of any account as I see it. To me, it should be a *no compromise* attitude. What will women do about it? It is largely in their hands. I am with the Red Star heart and hand, and with all agencies everywhere that are working for animal protection. I hope the CITIZEN will do all in its power to arouse public sentiment on this subject.

(Mrs.) CORA B. WIGHTMAN.

Plattsburg, N. Y.

Will others suggest what should be done about this old, unsolved problem?

AS Mary Alden Hopkins likes to have her readers talk back, I would like to say a few words about understanding money. The understanding of money is important not only to the economic side of life, but to the social and spiritual as well.

While conditions have changed, and we have changed laws or made new ones to meet the changes in every other department of life, the economic position of the mother in the home is the same as that of her great-grandmother.

I agree that the budget system is a good thing, but there is no law compelling people to adopt it, and a man who can show his superiority in no other way will often show it by holding the purse strings.

The first problem that confronts most couples is money; also it often proves to be the first disagreement.

One of the important phases is that it seldom becomes acute until there are children. The wife who has no children does not find it hard to solve her problem. She can earn money and so keep her economic independence, but the woman with children, unless especially gifted or trained so that she can earn money and take care of her home at the same time, becomes an economic slave. She is obliged to ask her husband for money constantly. He can give it pleasantly, grudgingly or not at all, as he sees fit.

Children who hear their parents wrangle about money are unfortunate. They not only need training in thrift and the right use of money—they need laws that will prevent any person being put in the position of a slave, or being obliged through a sense of duty to labor without any economic reward.

ANNA F. TAYLOR.

Lawrence, Mass.

Who else, besides ourselves, will answer this question?

KNOWING how busy you are I am troubling you reluctantly and only because I am really worried by the enclosed editorial in the December 29 issue about political prisoners.

Did you mean (as to me it reads) that it was wrong to imprison the persons you refer to as "political prisoners"?

And when you say, "These men were punished for an offense that was made an offense only by war—is that quite a correct statement? I thought that they were punished simply for refusing to obey the law of the land."

It would seem to me a poor way to carry out the "law not war" campaign to encourage law breakers and, to me, your "political prisoners" were simply lawbreakers—just as patrons of bootleggers are lawbreakers. The fact that individually they may be fine persons, acting according to the dictates of their consciences, or rebelling against laws that they think unjust—these considerations seem to me simply to cloud the issue.

SARAH STOKES HALKETT.

Washington, D. C.

I READ with interest a letter in your issue of December 15, protesting against women's using their husbands' Christian names. I add my hearty approval of the protest. The use of two names is confusing and often awkward.

Why should a woman who votes and signs legal papers as Mary Jones Smith, be known as Mrs. John Smith when she becomes an official in the League of Women Voters? Is there any good reason for this double nomenclature except custom, and is it not "a custom better honored in the breach than in the observance"?

(Mrs.) WINIFRED W. BODFISH.

Palmer, Mass.

WHY did not Schuyler Wallace come out openly and say it is moral cowardice that ails us? Why does he confuse public opinion and press opinion? He italicizes the fact that public opinion supported the war. By what process of reasoning does he come to that conclusion unless he mistakes press opinion for public opinion, losing sight entirely of the fact that Wilson gained reelection by an anti-war campaign?

His articles are certainly fine.

Mrs. J. W. S.

Lamberton, Minn.

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII

FEBRUARY 9, 1924

Number 19

News Notes of the Fortnight

Woodrow Wilson

OVERSHADOWING everything else in the news is the death of former President Wilson. By holding the magazine open, we were able to admit into the Washington letter of this issue Mrs. Stokes's account of the overpowering effect in Washington. As these notes go to press, the papers are filled with tributes from all over the world, all alike in their perception that this man does indeed "belong to the ages."

Oil—It Spreads

MRS. STOKES has also been able to cover in her letter the story of the oil scandal almost to date. All of that is halted now, the investigation postponed, along with other congressional business, out of respect to Mr. Wilson's memory. Action to meet Mr. Fall's technical grounds for refusing to testify before the Senate investigating committee is expected early. And the appointment of former Senator Atlee Pomerene, of Ohio, to serve as the Democratic prosecutor of the suit to recover the oil leases will probably be confirmed. President Coolidge had chosen Thomas Strawn, Republican, and former Attorney General Gregory, Democrat. The testimony of Mr. Doheny, the California oil man, that Mr. Gregory had been in the pay of his company disqualified him for the post.

Neither in his case nor in that of Mr. William G. McAdoo, who was named in the same testimony as attorney to the Doheny oil interests, was there any reflection on the man's personal integrity. But Mr. McAdoo's chances for the Democratic nomination are generally admitted to be dimmed.

Mr. McAdoo denies that he has had anything to do with oil interests except in Mexico, and has demanded to be heard before the committee. President Coolidge showed fine spirit in coming out with a public statement that the employment of Mr. McAdoo as an attorney for Doheny should not disqualify him politically.



Most people, at least most real people, love dogs—and so does Marguerite Kirmse. Everybody who has seen her pert Scotties, her puppyish Airedales, her stately collies, or her spaniels (glance at our cover) must admit that the hand which can execute such awkwardness, such grace, such appeal belongs to a person who knows dogs and holds for them a deep affection. Miss Kirmse quite frankly admits that animals have been her chief interest. She studied at the School of Animal Painting in London under Frank Calderon—then took a post-graduate course by raising several puppies herself. She always has dogs around her so that she may study and catch every mood. At first she only sketched, but for the past two years she has been etching. At the present time she is showing at the Harlow Galleries in New York, where her works have met with much success.

Help for Farmers

A CONFERENCE on Northwestern agricultural problems, to which President Coolidge invited eighty persons—representing agriculture, industry, finance, transportation—is in session as this is written. The special occasion for calling it was the appalling number of bank failures recently throughout the Northwest and even in the Missouri River states to the south. You have only to look at the list of measures intro-

duced in Congress, as Mrs. Stokes reports them, to realize how numerous are the remedies proposed, in the way of credit schemes, cooperative organizations and the like.

The President's opening address mentioned, among steps which the government might take, the enactment of the Norbeck-Burtness bill providing for direct promotion of diversification of agriculture—for enabling wheat farmers to branch out into livestock and poultry. A second proposal is an extension of time for War Finance Corporation loans, and the speech stressed the need for state and local cooperation.

MacDonald Under Way

FOR two weeks a Labor Ministry has been in power in England, and the sky hasn't fallen yet. The British public has taken it quite calmly, so far as the press reveals. This thing came about in the course of regular parliamentary procedure, and the British mind accepts it. Ramsay MacDonald, the new premier, has gone about his new business with discretion and moderation. His cabinet is admittedly a very strong one, containing all the names of Labor party leaders who have been outstanding in the movement, and showing a careful balance among different groups in the Labor party. MacDonald himself is Prime Minister, First Lord of the Treasury and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; John Robert Clynes is Lord Privy Seal and leader of the House of Commons; Philip Snowden, representing the left wing of the Labor party, is Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sidney Webb, president of the Board of Trade; Thomas Shaw, Minister of Labor, with Margaret Bondfield as under secretary. This was a disappointment, as it had been hoped that Miss Bondfield would be made a minister, but at that it is a splendid innovation to have a woman in such a post. Sir Sidney Olivier, Secretary of State for India, is an interesting appointment—a man of independent views about race relations, who hoots at the "white man's burden" tradition.

Yet this implies no sharp change in Indian policy, as Mr. MacDonald's recent message to India, with insistence on constitutionalism, indicates.

At first it seemed that the recognition of Russia might be delayed, but this promise of the Labor Party has been fulfilled, Mr. MacDonald evidently taking the position that the matter of debts and obligations can be worked out better after relations have been restored than before. Possibly, too, the death of Lenin and the organization of the new Parliament had a bearing—as indicating a psychological moment to foster parliamentary government in Russia. The railway strike, fortunately, was settled—in the men's favor—without much delay. An exchange of letters between MacDonald and Poincaré seems to have created a good impression, and altogether the new ministry has started on its way with good omens.

The French Tax Bill

A SHARP debate has gone on in the French Chamber of Deputies over the Government's proposition for an increased tax. It put the Deputies in something of a dilemma: if they supported the tax they were due to explain to their constituents at the coming election; if they opposed it, Government support would be withheld from them at the elections—a factor that has great weight in France. Poincaré seeks to put his program through by decree, to save time, and he is winning.

The Indian Elections

ELECTIONS of great interest were held in India late last month. The Swarajist Party won a majority over all other elected parties in Bengal and the central provinces—though official nominated members in considerable numbers prevent the majority from being absolute. In the all-Indian Assembly they won nearly half the elected seats. The Swarajists are the party of the left, standing for complete and immediate home rule for India, and pledged to enter the Indian legislatures as obstructionists to further their policy. There are now three main parties—the British official group, the moderate Indian group, and these successors to the Gandhi non-cooperationist theory.

But these successful Swarajists, asked by the governors of Bengal and the central provinces to form a government, have refused—on the ground that the Constitution does not give them full responsibility. This, of course, is true—the first step under the plan looking toward Indian self-government was to allow the provincial legislatures about half power, until they should demonstrate their competence. The Swarajists do not accept half loaves. Yet their course may be altered by this new factor of actual success in winning elections.

Investigations in Germany

THE first move of the financial experts studying German finance was to propose an independent gold bank for Germany, to be established partly by the use of free gold reserves and foreign currencies now in German hands and partly by cooperation of foreign capital. The proposal was outlined by President Schacht of the Reichsbank, who has been working helpfully with the committee.

The experts have now gone to Berlin. Before they arrived some housecleaning seems to have been done in German finance. The financial committee headed by Herr Schacht was ready to offer the experts a scheme of taxation and a balanced budget—made possible by the new plan of paying, at least theoretically, in gold marks, instead of in paper marks that were worth only a fraction of their value when the tax was levied. By formal decree, the German government has repudiated its public debt.

Somewhat more food is available because it is possible in some places for the farmers to get payment in rentenmarks or even gold marks, but the masses of the people are not yet greatly affected. Professor Ernest M. Patterson of the University of Pennsylvania and Dr. Haven Emerson of Columbia University, who were sent to Europe by the General Allen Committee to investigate, have returned. Both report "distress acute in the extreme." Twenty to forty per cent of the adult population are unemployed. Dr. Emerson reports in detail on the children—the great increase in tuberculosis, anemia, rickets among children—"sunken eyes and emaciation so generally seen that one loses a sense of proportion. . . . No child over four, unless in hospital, and in most places no child over two, gets any fresh cow's milk.

"Lack of breakfast and often of lunch, lack of shoes, or wornout or felt shoes,

lack of stockings, underclothes, winter coats, are all so common that the undersized, pallid, listless, thin children seem but the natural result. The weakness of children from hunger is a common cause of fainting, dizziness, headache and inability to study. Up to 20 per cent of children applying at six years for admission to school have to be sent home as unfit to attend."

The Tax Bill Progresses

THE Republicans of the House Ways and Means Committee have committed themselves to report out the Mellon tax bill, with the twenty-five per cent surtax rate, as it stands. This was agreed on in a meeting of Republican members, with the chairman, Representative Green, and two others opposing, eleven for, and one absent. Secretary Mellon endorses Mr. Green's proposal for a reduction on 1923 income tax returns by twenty-five per cent.

Among the Democrats, Representative Garner was prepared with a similar proposal for immediate reductions, scaled to his substitute tax bill, but the chairman refused unanimous consent for its consideration.

This Republican action means that the Mellon bill will be reported out of the committee and the fight will take place on the floor of the House. The Republicans figure their skirts will thus be clear in case the tax reduction measure is balked.

Secretary Mellon, after analyzing the substitute Garner tax plan, claims that it would cost the Treasury \$447,981,491, while the Republican measure would cost only \$387,814,261.

No Change in Russia

THE death of Lenin brought a demonstration of a loyalty more far-reaching than had been realized here. It would be difficult to imagine a more dramatic funeral. In cold intense even for Moscow, for days the streets flowed with streams of people, many of them coming from long distances, to pass the red-draped casket in the Hall of Unions: thousands on thousands of them, apparently inspired by deep respect.

Lenin died as his power was perhaps on the wane, but he had apparently succeeded in keeping the people with him even when he beat a partial retreat to capitalist theories. He is succeeded as President of the Council of Commissars by Alexis Ivanovitch Rykoff—an engineer, a man of pure Russian extraction, less well known than the triumvirate, Zinovief, Stalin and Kamenief, who have grown to power during Lenin's long illness. Trotsky remains as War Minister, though ill, absent and without much influence. There is apparently no prospect of an essential change in the Soviet government.

February 5, 1924.

VERY BRIEFLY

ITALY and Yugoslavia have come to an agreement on Fiume: Italy annexes Fiume, as she has so long desired, and Yugoslavia gets Porto Barros, the adjoining port. Both gain security and peace.

Great Britain has accepted the liquor treaty, which gives our Prohibition enforcement officers the right of search on British vessels within an hour's steaming of our coast, in return for the privilege of carrying sealed liquor into our ports.

Senator Underwood will include in his presidential platform definite opposition to the Ku Klux Klan.

John W. Davis, possible candidate for the Democratic nomination, has put out a platform with five planks, all dealing with taxation.

Warships have been returned to Vera Cruz, as a precautionary measure, because the fighting between Oregon forces and the revolutionists is going on near the port.

Senator Reed, of Missouri, is a candidate for the Democratic nomination.

The Bok prize was won by Dr. C. H. Levermore, former college president and official of peace societies working for World Court and League of Nations.



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"Let us set for ourselves a standard so high that it will be a glory to live up to it, and then let us live up to it and add a new laurel to the crown of America."

—Woodrow Wilson, 1917.



Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

Washington, February 3, 1924.

WOODROW WILSON died this noon. Only his voice is still. Woodrow Wilson as an ideal, a figure in American tradition, is more alive today than ever before. One can never be sure how fully he knew how stanchly loyal were his friends. One fears he knew too well how bitter his enemies. There was but one thought in the minds of the hundreds who watched in front of his door these last few days—how much he ever realized of the character of devotion of those who loved him and how far it surpassed and outstripped the harsh cruelty of the other side. All they asked, as they stood there in the February chill, was that some gift of heaven would give the sick man the feel of the uplifting arms of friends. It was a great sight. The word of his sudden illness, even though it was slight at first, brought men and women to the front door, men who never left it until this noon when they filed away with lowered heads. There was nothing else they could do.

The district was blocked off by traffic police and it was a common sight to see cars stop in front of the officers, their owners inquiring quietly for word. Sec-

retary Denby left his car at the foot of the hill and slowly approached the house on foot to leave a message. Those who filed out of the churches this noon were met with the news sheets and, reading, they quietly passed along the street more like the funeral procession itself than a bustle just out of church.

Woodrow Wilson held Washington in the hollow of his hand. It was an odd thing to hear so many persons stop on the street to scan the latest headlines and inquire for further news of "the President." He never ceased being President. Other Presidents have come and gone, but he has been "the President." I remember commenting upon this in previous letters when people spoke of having just seen "the President" driving by in his car, meaning Mr. Wilson. In the minds of many Washington people he had merely stepped out of the White House—he had left without finishing his work, as it were. He himself bore the silence of one who was interrupted in a great task. And his own conduct since the defeat of what was to him dearer than life has been what has endeared him to so many people, people who, perhaps, before held him in esteem but not in love. He played a game of the

most reverent silence and dignity. He bowed before the verdict of the nation, but he never knuckled to it. He acknowledged that politicians more clever and gamier than he had beat him, but he never stepped down from the pinnacle of his hopes and ambitions for humanity. If he uttered a word it was only stronger than ever in behalf of the peace of the world, never less convinced, never compromising.

Washington was not unprepared—he roused the heartfelt sympathy of every decent citizen who saw him day after day, or whoever heard his voice in its almost inaudibility. Washington knew him as a man on the brink, and many who listened closely to his last address on Armistice Day caught the sound of the fearful exertion he was making in its delivery. He managed a few words, and then breathed deeply as if searching for strength to go on. A passage of vehemence would be followed by a tone of exhaustion, and even the Senate, which at times seems to be without mercy, ceased its bitter fury against a man so obviously down. When he died this morning, in the hearts of the people he had risen to an exalted place. In the days of ancient pilgrimages the S Street

house would have been a smoothly worn shrine. Your correspondent heard someone remark that the kind of funeral service Washington would love best to observe would be this same mass of pilgrims who have gone to the house, year after year, with simple tributes, gathered in front of the door singing hymns—nothing more.

That is the slight picture your correspondent can give within so short a time. Arrangements have not only not been made, but not thought of, as this is written.

FOR the first time since the historic debate defeating the League of Nations and the Treaty of Versailles, the Congress has been stirred to the depths. Developments in the matter of the naval oil reserve leases made by Secretary Fall, and sanctioned by Secretary Denby, to private corporations, reached a pinnacle of revelation that caused both the Senate and the House grave concern.

The Senate finally has come to vote on the resolution of Senator Walsh, Montana, directing the President to prosecute these leases in the courts, seeking their annulment. The vote was 89 to 0, with the Republican side in a desperate effort to soften the language of the resolution, but not daring to vote against it. Thereby hangs a story—one of the greatest political dramas that will be written in later-day history, involving a cabinet officer or two, and others, in serious violations of the public trust.

In the heat of the debate before the special committee investigating this matter, and on the floor of the Senate, little has been written yet of the part played by the star—not the former Secretary of the Interior, Albert B. Fall, but Senator Thomas J. Walsh, Democrat, of Montana. Senator Walsh persisted in the investigation when Congress, politicians, newspapers and the public were tired and sick of hearing of the vagaries of "Teapot Dome." It meant little in the public consciousness. But Senator Walsh kept on, and gradually pulled the case together until it pushed aside every other consideration before Congress and became the first domestic problem since Versailles to entirely displace foreign affairs in interest.

It was typical of the sincerity and persistence of the investigating committee that when it received the sworn testimony of four physicians sent by Secretary Fall to swear that he was on the verge of a nervous collapse and unable to appear, it decided that upon so important and grave a matter only the testimony of four of the men who stood highest in their profession could be accepted, and so four others were delegated by the committee to examine Mr. Fall and report, among the physicians being Dr. Sterling Ruffin, who attended Woodrow Wilson during his initial illness. So Mr. Fall must have had an

The Fortnight in Congress

CONGRESS has been almost as active during the fortnight as it was at the time of the League of Nations defeat, with dramatic investigations going on regarding the Bok Peace Prize and the Teapot Dome Oil affair. Following is the progress of note in both houses:

Introduced in the Senate

By Senator Heflin, Alabama, resolution demanding an investigation of alleged Texas land frauds.

By Senator Wheeler, Democrat, Montana, resolution asking that the President request the resignation of the Attorney General.

By Senator Walsh, Democrat, Montana, resolution directing the Secretary of the Interior to establish the title of the United States to naval oil reserves in California held and operated by the Standard Oil Company.

By Senator Reed, Republican, Pennsylvania, bill codifying and revising the legislation governing the United States Veterans' Bureau and other soldier relief measures.

By Senator Copeland, Democrat, New York, bill providing for a record by finger-printing at birth of all children born in the United States and its possessions.

By Senator Copeland, joint resolution creating a congressional commission to investigate housing conditions in the United States, taking into account existing rentals and their relation to the high cost of living.

By Senator Norris, Republican, Nebraska, legislation amending the pure food and drug law by authorizing the Secretary of Agriculture to fix food standards.

By Senator Borah, Republican, Idaho, bill sponsored by Governor Pinchot for federal regulation of the anthracite coal industry.

By Senator Walsh, Democrat, Massachusetts, legislation giving the Department of Commerce control over government-owned merchant marine.

By Senator Cummins, Republican, Iowa, bill to aid voluntary consolidation of railroads into systems, in accordance with the recommendation of President Coolidge.

By Senator Walsh, Democrat, Massachusetts, bill putting sugar on the free list and reducing the duty on wool.

By Senator Sterling, Republican, South Dakota, extending the time for loans which the War Finance Corporation may make to aid agriculture.

By Senator Copeland, Democrat, New York, requesting the Secretary of the Treasury to devise some plan of percentage deductions from the income tax returns to be filed on March 15.

By Senator Caraway, Democrat, Arkansas, resolution annulling the lease of the Teapot Dome naval oil reserve, held by the Mammoth Oil Co.

Passed by the Senate

Claims conventions with the government of Mexico providing for the settlement of claims of American citizens for damages due to revolutionary acts.

Concurrent resolution for a joint congressional session on February 27, as a memorial service for President Harding.

Bill authorizing a distribution of \$100 each to the 12,000 members of the Chippewa tribe of Indians in Minnesota in order to save them from starvation.

Resolution by Senator Walsh, Democrat, Montana, directing that the President immediately cause suit to be prosecuted for the annulment and cancellation of the Teapot Dome oil reserve lease, and the No. 1 naval oil reserve lease in the State of California, employing special counsel therefor. This

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added nervous collapse in the contemplation of the fact that he faced a committee chairman as adroit and able as himself, with a persistence which knows no limit.

Mr. Fall when he took the stand in response to the request of the committee, after the statement by the second quartette of physicians that he was perfectly able to testify, refused to submit himself to questioning on the ground that the committee had no authority to summon witnesses, the matter in question having already been decided by the Senate itself in authorizing the President to proceed with a court action; also on the ground that to testify would tend to incriminate him, which is a technicality often employed. The committee went into executive session and it is now supposed that it will request the Senate to pass another resolution giving it power to proceed with the investigation and thereupon resubmit Mr. Fall. Democrats are asserting that the investigation, although apparently ripe enough now for the average taste, has just begun and is destined to make most serious revelations involving high officials. For one thing, the committee has sent to the office of one of the principal stock brokers in Washington for his books so that the committee can ascertain whether members of the administration have been speculating in oil stocks.

There has been a general collapse on the part of other leading figures in the drama—Mr. Sinclair, head of the oil company receiving the largest grant from Secretary Fall, had to go to Europe secretly and suddenly. Mr. Edward B. McLean, who figured in the loan of funds to Mr. Fall, had to go South for his health. Only President Coolidge has kept his health through it all, and, apparently more vigorous than ever, immediately issued a statement that he would appoint disinterested special counsel to prosecute the leases in the courts on behalf of the United States. In the Senate and House, hot-headed resolutions have been flung hour after hour, calling for the resignation of Attorney General Daugherty as incompetent to take any part in the adjustment of the lease matter, and for the impeachment of Secretary Denby for approving of the Teapot Dome awards arranged by Mr. Fall in the face of the protest of nearly every naval officer who had had anything to do with the administration of the government's oil reserves.

For dramatic side-lights, consider that President Harding himself not long after he took office transferred the control of the government's naval oil reserves from their accustomed place in the Navy Department to the Department of the Interior under Secretary Fall, and that Secretary Fall in the first of the present investigation appeared in an impersonal way and gave testimony

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Bessie Brueggeman, Politician

By Catherine I. Hackett



FEW years ago a "social butterfly", to quote her own words. Today —

Chairman of the United States Employees' Compensation Commission, administering a \$3,000,000 annual appropriation in accordance with the terms of the federal compensation act. The first woman to head an independent government commission, and, as such, exercising supreme authority.

The story of the rise, or transition, if you will, of Mrs. Bessie Parker Brueggeman from the status of a social leader in her home city of St. Louis to her present position she told to me one afternoon in her office. I suspect that she disliked to stop in her study of the papers piled high on her desk to talk about herself and her career. To this woman, once referred to by the late President Harding as one of the best appointments he ever made, her "job" is of paramount importance.

"I have never had the experience of working up from the bottom", she told me. "Every position, political and official, that I have ever occupied has been a big one with heavy responsibilities, and I have always been, in a way, catapulted into the place with no preliminary training.

The work of the Compensation Commission, which concerns 600,000 federal employees, is highly specialized, involving investigation of every case of injury or death of an employee while in discharge of duty, with the awarding of compensation to the employee or his survivors. Associated with Mrs. Brueggeman as chairman are two other commissioners, John J. Keegan and Charles H. Verrill; working under her is a corps of trained experts who handle the routine details. But every case comes to her desk for decision. A majority decision of the commission is necessary to settle a case.

"And do you know," says the chief commissioner, with a twinkle in her eye, "the men agree with me more often than they do with each other."

Mrs. Brueggeman was appointed in November, 1921, to fill a place vacant since the previous March. "When I

came to Washington I came in fear and trepidation over my own ignorance," she admits. "The place having been vacant

by a process of logic which backed up my own intuition that it was murder.

I discovered that the night before he was found dead the man had penetrated into one of the secret meetings of a gang of Italian bootleggers and, knowing something of their vindictive methods, I was sure he had been killed as a result of doing his duty. Because of my decision his family is now receiving aid which they very much need from the federal government.

"Incidentally, I wonder if it is known that prohibition enforcement is the most hazardous occupation in the United States today? By far the largest number of compensation cases coming to us are those of enforcement agents injured by bootleggers and liquor smugglers."

Bessie Parker Brueggeman has that rare ability for looking at her work always from the humanitarian side, without becoming sentimental over it.

"After I had given my first adverse decision in a case I lay awake nights for a week wondering if I had been mistaken," she confided. "I soon

found that I couldn't keep that up; but I have never been able to look upon the cases which come to my desk as abstract from the human element. Relatives of these 'cases' come to my office; forlorn women with little children hanging on to their skirts, mute evidence of the need for such aid as the federal compensation act is intended to give. One of the hardest things I have to do is to keep in mind my dual duty to the injured federal employee seeking compensation and to the government; not to let humanitarian motives overbalance technical evidence.

Behind Mrs. Brueggeman's record of achievement as chairman of the commission is a record of service to the Republican party in her home state, upon which her appointment was largely based. She had shown genuine ability and initiative in her efforts to organize the Missouri women to the newly won vote intelligently; had done fine work in industrial problems, and had made a brilliant record as a politician in the highest sense. Besides, she was held in great esteem throughout the state.

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Mrs. Brueggeman's work concerns 600,000 federal employees, and she administers \$3,000,000 annually.

for so long, hundreds of cases were awaiting my decision. But for two months I refused to take action on these while I studied the background and workings of the compensation law, and acquainted myself with routine details.

"Then I tackled my first case. It was one of the most interesting I have ever had, and I put two months' hard work on it. The two commissioners had failed to agree as to whether a federal prohibition agent who was found dead on the New Jersey coast, with a revolver clutched in his hand, had been murdered by bootleggers or had committed suicide. Experts from the Department of Justice working on the case had given a verdict of suicide, which would have barred his family from any compensation by the government. The coroner's jury had declared it murder. I had to give the controlling decision. Circumstantial evidence pointed to suicide, but the decision seemed to me too important to the welfare of the dead man's family to let it go at that. I went into every detail of the case, studied all the reports, and was finally convinced



Municipal Cottages for Industrial Workers at Hilversum, Holland

THE housing problem is peculiarly a woman's problem. It will be solved in the United States when organized American womanhood grapples with it seriously, and not, I suspect, before. Organized labor might put it through without us, but probably won't. Men enjoy good homes and are made uncomfortable by bad ones, but seldom reason much about the underlying causes. Even the architects who design houses do not, to any great extent, visualize the daily life of women and children which is to go on in the various rooms. But Mother knows.

It is well within the truth to say that at least one-third of the people of the United States live under subnormal housing conditions, and at least one-tenth under conditions which produce acute degenerative changes—mental, moral and physical. New York had a reminder of this the other day when the report of its Commission of Housing and Regional Planning was made public, and the *Evening World* followed it up by a series of unforgettable pictures of squalor and overcrowding, dark rooms and basements, boarders and swarming children—and wickedly high rents.

Our country has marched in the front rank in most matters of public health, but in housing, I regret to say, we have been laggards. I have recently spent ten months in Western Europe, where I looked for the worst in housing as well as for the best. But their worst was torn down years ago in slum clearance schemes undertaken by their municipalities, and nothing remains that is anywhere near as bad as the worst of our own old-law tenements in lower New York—the 10,000 monstrosities built before the 1879 law required windows in inhabited rooms.

We have gone about as far as we can in the United States in reducing death-

rates and sickness rates without an organized nation-wide effort to improve housing. Housing is at once our weakest point and the point at which a given amount of effort will produce the maximum of benefit.

Nothing is better proved than the close connection between housing and health. The wonderful showing of model housing towns, such as England's Bournville, Port Sunlight and Letchworth, over a period of years, with standardized death-rates running from 6 to 8 per 1,000 inhabitants and infant mortality rates from 40 to 50 per 1,000 births, proves to us that we could save hundreds of thousands of lives each year if we eliminated slums and helped our people to supply themselves with good homes. The whole nation of New Zealand has done almost as well as the model towns. New Zealand has reduced her death-rate and infant mortality rate to little more than half those of the United States. The expectation of life at birth is sixty years. In the United States we are very proud of having recently raised ours to fifty. New Zealand has specialized in two health measures—infant welfare work and housing.

In Europe, Great Britain has done most in an absolute way, Holland most in proportion to population. But Belgium, France and Italy, in view of their staggering load of war destruction to rebuild and the condition of their finances, have made a most gallant start.

The standard of housing in England is the highest in the world, for she has set out to house the rank and file of her workers, not just a fortunate minority, in pleasant five- and six-room cottages—counting the scullery as a room—substantially built of brick or concrete with hardwood floors, electric lights and well-appointed bathrooms, flower gardens in front and vegetables to the rear, in an open layout, eight or ten cottages to the acre, among trees and shrubbery, with

Wanted: Homes for Workers

By Edith Elmer Wood

Mrs. Wood is an expert on housing, with several books to her credit. Her latest is "Housing Progress in Western Europe." She will welcome discussion of the solution she offers in this article.



Courtesy of E. P. Dutton, from book named above
A Miner's Cottage in a Belgian Coal Town

tennis courts, playgrounds and football fields included in the larger developments. Since 1919 two hundred thousand of these cottages have been built by more than seventeen hundred towns and villages in more than 4,000 separate localities. The houses already completed were built with a heavy subsidy. Those going up now involve only a light one. Building at cost will doubtless again be possible, as it was before the war.

Since 1915 in Holland municipal housing departments and non-commercial societies have built 174,000 cottages and apartments. This means rehousing one family in eight—12½ per cent of the population. The achievement positively takes one's breath away. In some places slum clearance is being carried on at the same time. By slow and careful process families are moved from a bad house in a reeking slum to a better one, in order of merit. The cleanest, most orderly family is moved first, and if it keeps on being cleanly and orderly, by a series of moves it arrives at a garden suburb. Meantime the old slum house is torn down.

All this didn't begin in the past ten years. But before we go back, let's have a look at the heart of the problem.

Each of these countries has set out to realize the ideal—A REAL HOME FOR EVERY FAMILY—a house which will help

and not hinder the rearing of healthy, happy children. They have grasped the relation between homes and efficiency, citizenship and health, and they have set out to abolish slums—not some happy day in the remote future, but within the lifetime of the present generation.

They have seen that private business enterprise will not reach this goal. For here is the crux of the difficulty. Housing construction is regulated by supply and demand. It is a speculative industry. Its members will not build houses without the prospect of satisfactory profits. Now there is no profit in building for the majority of wage-earners or the lower-grade office and mercantile employees, *if any decent standards are enforced*. Therefore, nothing is built for them, and they must live in old houses. Old houses run all the way from nearly-as-good-as-new to utterly-unfit-for-human-habitation.

The New Pinch

This is not a new condition resulting from the suspension of building during the war and increased building costs since. It is a condition which has always and everywhere obtained when home-building has been left to supply and demand. These recent factors have made the situation more acute by enlarging the boundaries of the section that suffers. And the new group, unaccustomed to the pinch and better able to command public attention, has been responsible for such measures as have been taken since the war. Those who have always suffered and who suffer most now, the Negroes and non-English-speaking whites, are helpless to arouse public opinion.

Unfortunately, the new group is new to the subject of housing and lacking in informed leadership. Its aims, moreover, are in no sense altruistic. As soon as it regains its former degree of comfort, the crisis, for it, will be over, and it will relapse into indifference, cheerfully oblivious of the millions lower down who are still being ground through the same old mill. Even from the point of view of self-interest, this group has not been well advised. A sufferer from unaccustomed pain, it has called for narcotics to ease the pain, instead of for measures that would remove the cause.

There are times, of course, when narcotics are necessary, but they should be used only to tide over the emergency.

Rent restrictive legislation is essentially narcotic. It deals with effects, not causes. It interferes violently with the supposed-to-be-sacred laws of supply and demand without furnishing anything to take their place. High rents are the natural supply-and-demand result of a housing shortage. If uncontrolled, they would eventually lead to a resumption of building. Restriction of rents necessarily prolongs and increases the shortage by discouraging private investment.

In New York City, still without getting back to causes, a partly-counterbalancing cathartic treatment has been administered in the form of *tax exemption* on new dwellings to stimulate construction by increasing profits at the taxpayers' expense. It has been successful in producing a number of houses, but they have been neither good nor cheap ones. Tax exemption is merely disguised subsidy, and as it is applied in this country to increase business profits rather than to raise health standards, it is the least defensible form of subsidy.

The rational way to deal with high rents is by removing the cause, that is, the shortage—by building houses. But since there is no profit in building for the lower-paid groups, and private enterprise necessarily stands aloof unless subsidized, the work must be carried on as a public utility, on an at-cost basis, by *municipal housing* departments or other public bodies. Moreover, since abundant long-time loans at low interest rates are vitally necessary for the proper housing, not only of the lowest economic groups, but of the lower middle groups, government loans to home-builders of moderate means and to non-commercial housing companies are absolutely essential to the working out of any comprehensive program of housing reform.

These facts were first perceived and acted upon in England and on the Continent at periods varying from twenty to seventy years ago. Early experiments were on a small scale. Many mistakes were made. Much opposition had to be overcome. But thirty years ago a good beginning had been made. For some years before the World War progress was exceedingly rapid. Private

business enterprise was to build, as before, for those who could pay it a profit. Slum property was to be bought and demolished by the community responsible for allowing it to come into being. Of the economic groups below those to whom the private builders cater, the more resourceful were to be encouraged by government loans to build for themselves and become home-owners. This grew to be, indeed, a favorite measure of the more conservative business elements for combating dangerous radicalism. In other cases, loans were granted to non-commercial housing societies, many of them cooperative tenants' associations. Both methods of help presuppose initiative, intelligence, and a modicum of capital on the part of the beneficiaries. For the lowest economic strata, municipal housing, or its equivalent, was to be employed.

And please bear it very much in mind that this pre-war municipal housing was not subsidized housing. It was done on an at-cost basis, like the provision of city water or gas or any other public utility. Cutting out the item of profit was enough to make the difference between good homes and bad.

England's Garden Cottages

In England, before the war, some 400 local authorities, urban and rural, not counting London, had built and were renting to workmen more than 20,000 cottages. In addition, the London County Council was landlord to about 59,000 people in 10,000 lettings. The earliest of these were large and dreary block tenements. Next in age came the cottage flats (two- and three-family houses). The latest were four- and five-room cottages in garden suburb setting of trees, grass and hedges. In addition, 125,000 people in London alone lived in flats belonging to the philanthropic foundations, and tens of thousands of cottages had been built throughout the country by non-commercial societies with government loans at 3½ per cent.

In Belgium, at the same date, where home-ownership had received the greatest encouragement, 63,000 working-class families had acquired homes by means of twenty-five-year loans from the General Savings Bank, through an inter-

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A Valentine for a Convalescent

By Margaret Busbee Shipp

WALKING alone in the woods along paths we had tramped together,
I found a sheltered hillside thick with heart-leaves;
The red bronze of the leaves showed they had weathered the winter,
Their fragrance proved the Spring—
Ineffably, thrillingly, indestructibly hidden within them.
And I, who vainly had hunted through shops for a gift to bring you,
Knew suddenly I held it in my hand.

Government by Committee

By Schuyler C. Wallace

Of Columbia University



THE fight of the radicals in Congress over the adoption of the rules, and the consequent delay in the organization of our national legislature reminds us once again that legislative procedure is very nearly as important as the election of our representatives itself. Small use is it to concentrate our efforts upon an electoral system designed to produce a legislative body reflecting public opinion, and at the same time permit the existence of a body of rules which often frustrate the desires of the majority in that assembly.

In practically all legislative bodies in the land, state as well as national, any member may introduce as many bills as he desires. As a result 30,000 bills are introduced into the national legislature in the course of a Congress. On the first day of the present session some 2,650 bills and resolutions saw the light. The pressure on our state legislatures in proportion to the hours of their sitting is almost as terrific. Nineteen twenty-two saw over three thousand bills introduced into the New York Legislature. In 1913 the Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau estimated that over 55,873 proposals confronted the legislative bodies of the country.

This is in striking contrast to the situation in Canada, where less than 150 bills are introduced in a legislative session. In part this is due to the different traditions of the two peoples; in part it is due to a difference in legislative procedure. To a very much less degree is the representative in Canada the ambassador of his constituents to the assembly in which he sits than is the case in America.

Laws "by Request"

A great portion of the legislation in the United States is introduced "by request." The attitude of our people was well illustrated by the campaign promises of a certain candidate in a recent Congressional campaign. "If I am elected," he said, "I will open an office on the corner of 133d Street and Avenue X, where my constituents can come and see me at all times, and I will do all I reasonably can as a Congressman to obtain such legislation as each may desire." A branch office of the Congress of the United States was to be established!

A further factor which adds to the mass of legislative proposals in the United States is the policy of legislating

in detail which seems firmly embedded in the minds of our legislators. This means that the slightest administrative change necessitates a change in law. It means frequently that a law must be passed to determine a question of policy which would be settled by a department head in a business concern. All this means pressure upon the legislatures for the consideration of an impossible number of proposals.

If these two factors could be eliminated the situation would be vastly improved. The number of laws conceived

Thirty thousand bills are introduced in the course of a Congress. If Congress were in session ten hours a day for its entire session, only a quarter of an hour could be spent on each proposal. That's the reason for committees, and why the method of choosing them is so important.

and introduced by our legislators themselves is probably relatively small.

Our type of legislative organization is also a factor in this situation. In Canada, for instance, only those measures which have the backing of the cabinet have much chance in the legislature. They have the right of way. Generally speaking, Canadian assemblies have few opportunities to consider other proposals; so time spent upon the drafting of innumerable bills would indeed be time wasted.

Which procedure is the wiser each reader must decide for herself. One thing, however, is obvious: The proposals introduced into an American legislature cannot by any conceivable means receive the consideration of the entire legislative body. Were Congress to remain in session ten hours a day for its entire session, only a quarter of an hour could be allotted to each proposal. This, divided among the 435 Congressmen, would allow but a second or two to each man to contribute his ideas—an impossible situation—especially for Congressmen. And the circumstances in our state legislatures would be relatively little better.

Only a system of committees can possibly handle the work to be done, and so such a system has been established. All bills introduced into our legislative assemblies are referred to them. The fact is that for the vast majority of bills the action taken upon them in committee is

decisive. About 50 per cent of the proposals in state legislatures are killed in committee, and 80 or 90 per cent of those introduced into Congress. Since this is the case it is evident that the crucial stage in legislative procedure is the committee action. And the selection and procedure of committees is therefore exceedingly important.

There are two chief methods of choosing committees, election and appointment. The former is used in Congress. Formally, at least, the House elects its committees. Actually, they are selected by the party caucuses. The majority caucus refers to a committee on committees the drawing up of a slate of committee appointments. This the caucus accepts or alters as it sees fit. The minority caucus likewise agrees upon a slate for its committee places. (It should be said that customarily the minority is allowed a certain number of places on each committee.) These slates are then put forward, and the formality of election takes place.

In the majority of state legislatures the committees are filled by appointment by the speaker. He naturally is not always entirely free to make his appointments. Frequently the promise of a place on this committee or that has been the *sine qua non* of a vote for him as speaker. Nevertheless, in probably the majority of cases his appointments are "promise free."

"Seniority"

Just as important is the system of selecting the chairman, who is presiding officer at committee hearings and tactician in guiding the measures through the maze of parliamentary procedure. In Congress, and in most legislative bodies his power to call committee meetings often permits him to influence the committee's decision through a judicious selection of the time of call. Nor has it been unheard of for a committee chairman to forget to bring a bill before a committee, or to forget to report on it when the committee's decision has been adverse to his own.

Several methods of choice exist and others have been proposed. Although committee chairmen in Congress are nominally elected, actually the rule of seniority is the determining factor; that is, the member of the majority party who has served on a particular committee the longest time automatically becomes its chairman. Exceptions, of

(Continued on page 27)

Saint Joan

*A New
Play by
Bernard
Shaw*

*Right—Joan
pleading to
march on
Paris.*

*Below—Joan
defends her
voices.*



Francis Bruguiere



Francis Bruguiere



BERNARD SHAW'S *Saint Joan* made her first appearance on any stage, this winter, under the charge of the Theatre Guild (Theresa Helburn, Executive Director, you remember), and interpreted by Winifred Lenihan, who fits Shaw's stage directions as if specially born for the purpose. "*Saint Joan*" is one of the outstanding successes of the season.

Shaw's Maid of Orleans is no rapt other-world type of saint. Believing with a childlike faith in her voices, she trusts them because they speak common sense. She is a hearty, flesh-and-blood, bourgeois-bred girl, imaginative, but direct and simple—"in love with religion" and "in love with war" and talking the talk of everyday with downrightness. The Dauphin she calls "lad" and "Charlie," and no dignity of church or state is answered save with unshaded truth. Churchmen are sincerely shocked at her awful heresy in appealing direct to God, without church intervention; the feudal nobility hate her as a menace to the whole social structure because she encourages the King to do his own ruling. Without knowing it, she is a Protestant ("What other judgment can I judge with than my own?" she asks, exasperated, at the trial) and a democrat. And the united forces of those institutions that fear her drive her to the stake. Shaw's conception of the trial, of the Inquisition, are out of the traditional—and the scene as vividly dramatic as it is humanly appealing.

Miss Lenihan is still in her early twenties; born in Brooklyn, she was deflected from a destined place at Smith College into Sargent's Dramatic School. She has played half a dozen rôles all told—Anne Hathaway in "*Will Shakespeare*" last year, and another Anne in "*The Dover Road*" the year before. She has a slow and thorough method of studying a part—working it out in her mind first, with all its background, and afterward working it out emotionally. Her *Joan* shows the merits of the method.

Editorially Speaking

Woodrow Wilson

WOODROW WILSON was a great man; history will not deny him that status and no enemy can. It is the fate of the great in political life to be criticized, condemned and hated. It is the mediocre who are popular. The more complicated the period of service of great men the more are they hated. In such a period as the Great War practically every incident, and certainly every act of the government in our own and in all other countries became bitterly controversial, and called forth ferocious denunciations of those who were responsible. But the evidence has been recorded, and those who come after, with minds undisturbed by party or factional prejudice, will read, weigh and consider.

Both parties have their liberal and their conservative wings. When Mr. Wilson became Governor of New Jersey he did so as the victor of liberalism over conservatism, graft and bossism in that state. When he became President it was the liberal wing of the Democratic party that was put in charge of the government. The conservatives of neither party would have been satisfied at best with results, but the Great War furnished everyone with a special grouse against fate which emphasized the normal displeasure.

Time, the great adjuster, will write the truth. From the beginning until 1924, Washington, the Father of his country and man of no party; Lincoln, the Savior of his country and the greatest of Republicans; Wilson, the Patriot of far vision and the greatest of Democrats, have been the three mightiest souls in the leadership of the nation.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.



The Stay-at-Home Vote

A SHORT time ago someone wrote to the CITIZEN disapproving of the program of the League of Women Voters for getting out at least seventy-five per cent of the eligible vote at the coming presidential election.

The writer argued that it was not quantity but quality that was needed, and that the stay-at-home vote was an ignorant vote and would better be left at home undisturbed. The answer given to this viewpoint by the president of the New York State League, Mrs. F. Louis Slade, at a recent League convention, is worth quoting.

She said: "The last national election, with all the interest that there was, brought out only 49 per cent of the vote; even with every one ready and eager to vote, 51 per cent did not register their opinions at all. To get out 75 per cent of the vote we must work in the closest cooperation with the political parties and help them get out the enrolled vote—Republican, Democrat, or whatever. Then we must get the people not enrolled in parties at all to come out. Someone said that would mean getting out the ignorant vote. On the contrary, I think the ignorant vote is usually gotten out, because it can be counted on to do what it is told. When you get out the whole vote you will make boss rule difficult, because you will have gone behind the group that any boss can reach."

That is a fairly practical program, and if it is followed by women all over the country it will ensure a record-breaking

vote. In many a district a gang is in control simply because the so-called better element does not take the trouble to go to the polls. This is particularly true in primary elections. The political boss of a district is often elected by the votes of a few faithful whom he can always count on to come out. Undoubtedly, the larger the vote that can be got out, the smaller the percentage of vote that can be controlled.



Prohibition Enforcement

MABEL WALKER WILLEBRANDT, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, who has charge of prohibition enforcement matters in the Attorney General's Office, is not afraid to face facts. She has made a map showing the degree in which the Volstead Act is not enforced in different parts of the country. It gives the average of non-law enforcement as 38 1/3 per cent. As might be expected, the largest percentage of "wetness" is on the Atlantic seaboard. It varies from the southern part of New York State, Georgia, Alabama, with 90 to 95 per cent, to Utah, Idaho and Kansas, with 5 per cent. Tennessee, Iowa, Nebraska, Wyoming, South Dakota and Oklahoma come next in dryness, averaging 10 per cent, with Illinois, Delaware, Florida, Connecticut, California, Pennsylvania, Maryland, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, averaging 70 to 80 per cent, and the other states in between. The Canadian border is only slightly less wet than the Atlantic seaboard, ranging from 50 to 60 per cent.

It seems certain that as long as law enforcement agents of the prohibition act are in the control of politicians and are part of the network of the Spoils System, prohibition will not be wholly enforced. There is a remedy for the situation, and that is to take the entire division of the Internal Revenue Department out of politics and put it under the Civil Service. This was urged by the National Civil Service Reform League at their convention in December. The enforcement of the Volstead Act must be cut off completely from the manipulation of politicians. Prohibition can be enforced if to the power of all the moral agencies working to that end is added this reform.



With Hatred Forgotten

IT was a beautiful thing that happened at the unveiling of the Lee Memorial on Stone Mountain a little while ago, when the occasion might have been made to open old wounds—and wasn't. The address of the day was delivered by Professor Durham of Emory University, who took for his theme Lee the American, and dwelt on Lee's "leadership back into the house of America." He even risked on that Southern audience, including many ex-Confederate soldiers, a passage coupling Lincoln with Lee.

"I, a son and grandson of Confederate officers, with you in whose veins runs that heritage of flame, stand uncovered at the name of Lincoln. Let us thank God that in the holy of holies of America's heart sleep such great ashes; let us thank God that in the morning stars of the flag above us shines the gentle and immortal light of his soul. Son of the cabin, child of the wilderness, we salute you!"

And the most beautiful thing of all was the hearty applause with which the words were received.

Teachers May Be Good Though Married

PERTH AMBOY, New Jersey, according to the papers, has taken a long step—backward. Its Board of Education has declared that no married woman will hereafter be allowed to teach: not only will no married teachers be taken on, but those already employed will be dropped when their contracts expire. There's nothing new anywhere in this subject—on either side—but there ought to be a great deal of new energy of attack in any community where Boards of Education thus relapse. It is not their privilege to decide what is good for the teacher, or the teacher's family; it should be their business to decide whether certain persons are capable teachers for the children under their charge. From that point of view, the only argument would be that the married teacher neglects the school for her home. But that is a preposterous generalization. One might as well claim that young unmarried teachers, as a class, neglect the school for the sake of their suitors, and definitely limit the teaching class to those spinsters who have "stopped struggling." There are discouragements enough to good teachers at the best without cutting off the group who—if generalizations are to be made—ought to have the richest experience and the ripest wisdom to bring to their work.



The Importance of Houses

IN her article on housing Mrs. Edith Elmer Wood, who is a well-known authority, discusses a subject of crying importance. Senator Copeland has recently introduced into the Senate a resolution calling for an investigation of the housing situation throughout the United States. The housing problem has been acute ever since the war, and solutions are becoming imperative, especially, of course, in the large cities. In the editorial by Miss Blackwell to which Mrs. Wood refers, Miss Blackwell marvels at this generation for the disproportion between its mastery of sea and air and its failure to handle such fundamental matters as to how its people are to live safely, cleanly, efficiently. Viewed in perspective, our scheme of things is topsy-turvy land. The provision of wholesome, normal living conditions for human beings ought to be a taken-for-granted primary interest of governments and social systems.

Mrs. Wood has a solution to offer, based on long study of how other countries handle the housing problem. "If by their fruits ye shall know them"—the case would seem to be clear: the dark, damp, shamefully crowded tenements of New York and Boston compare badly with the cottages she describes. Are there arguments against this solution? What are they? Let's talk it out. Above all, let's tackle this as a woman's problem.



Conservation Is the Issue

THE betrayals of trust in the oil scandal have blurred the whole political perspective. Practical certainties have become far less certain. And Mr. Wilson's death has added another incalculable factor. These disgraceful disclosures, the further revelations promised, may bring almost any political consequences. They will mean new health if they involve a thorough housecleaning—and if they restore our lost standards of conservation. For, as Mrs. Stokes says in her review of the Fall-Doheny-Sinclair situation, the issue is our handling of our natural resources. The naval oil reserves were created under a conservation policy, initiated by the great conservationist, Theodore Roosevelt, affirmed and reinforced by President Taft and President Wilson, who set aside the California and the Wyoming reserves, respectively. That policy has gone by the board—the ideal of keeping the people's property for the people's benefit sacrificed through a succession of steps already too clear.

If this national disgrace serves to rouse us it will not be a total loss.



All Officials Upright!

IT is a sincere tribute that the press and the politicians are paying the American people in taking it wholly for granted that they will not tolerate corruption in public office. The rank and file of both parties demand clean hands in high places. The realization that even a suspicion, however soon disproved, is a political handicap is an indication of this moral soundness—though with discriminations abandoned.

One can't help wishing that the same uncompromising righteousness might apply to small political office. Suppose in every election district it were certain that a man guilty of even a small betrayal of public trust would be ousted. Why isn't it so, in situations where voters could so easily make their will felt if they had a sense of responsibility?



The Reason for "Turns"

EVERY once in a while someone protests against having to turn several pages before finishing articles that begin in the front of the magazine. We offer them sympathy—and regrets. We remember what an outcry there was when this mode of make-up was first applied to the big magazines. The advertisers, we were told, insisted on being "next to reading matter," instead of concentrated in a department all by themselves; and the practice of "turning" grew up because obviously a new story or article couldn't begin in a tiny space alongside a huge advertisement; and still more obviously illustrations of romances, photographs of celebrities, pictures of autos and soap and cold cream, would make an awful mixture—if any make-up person could mathematically combine them at all. Well, readers didn't like it, and said so; and predictions were made that the advertisers would lose, that this would prove to be just a fad, anyway. It didn't. The advertisers continue to pay the writers the compliment of liking to be "next."

That covers only part of the case, so far as the CITIZEN is concerned. Even if the advertising were concentrated, as it still is in such magazines as *Harper's*, *Century*, etc., our readers would have to accept "turns" if they wanted to keep pictures. (And they like pictures more than they dislike turns, it appears.) This is, of course, because of the CITIZEN's small size. You can prove it by figuring out just where each article would end if left to run on consecutively. Try it on an issue that has a number of pictures and see for yourselves how you would like the make-up.

Of course, we might spot the pictures through, regardless of what article they came in—drop the miner's cottage into the story of Mrs. Brueggeman, etc.; but we fear you would find it bewildering. Any arguments in rebuttal?



AGAIN—what is propaganda? The New York *Tribune*, following the Senate's investigation of "those twin villains, Mr. Edward Bok and Miss Esther Lape," has found a definition worth recording: "Propaganda is publicity that a man pays for out of his own pocket and for which he can be abused by a United States Senator. Propaganda is not what a Senator distributes at the public's expense (through the Congressional Record) while making life as uncomfortable and disagreeable as possible for all who disagree with him."

As a postscript, we should like to know in what tone and with what expression Senator Reed said: "Do you mean that you three ladies [Miss Lape, Mrs. Vanderlip and Mrs. Franklin Roosevelt] selected the rest of the members of the Policy Committee?"

What the American Woman Thinks

Can We Get

By Nancy M.

THE organized women of America, several million strong, stand committed to American membership in the World Court. East and west, north and south, wherever they have met they have expressed very positively their desire to have the United States ratify the protocol. Their preference would be that the Senate take action during the present session. If that can not be done, their second choice is that the coming campaign of 1924 express such a positive mandate for membership in the international tribunal that no elected representative of the people would dare disregard it.

It is worth while analyzing our chance of success.

Five million voters is no small number. Perhaps even that falls short of estimating this organized force of American women. They should certainly, with their combined efforts, be able to get almost anything they want. And yet probably not so many as a dozen of them could be found whose optimism would carry them to the point of hoping to get a vote on this question out of the present session of the Senate. There are too many good political reasons against it. There is also the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee. It has often been pointed out that the women of America should never forget him. He is giving us another good reason for remembering.

As this chance recedes before us we find ourselves hurrying on to our next demand that somehow the 1924 campaign be made to express our will. And again it is worth looking to see what forces oppose us here.

Time was when the Court was regarded as a party issue; when it was first organized and was either popularly confused with the League, or membership in it was thought to imply membership in the League. That meant that every good member of one party was expected to support it and of the other party to oppose it. But with one Republican president dying in the active support of it, and his successor also expressing his unqualified endorsement, there would seem to be no reason at all why the platforms of both the major parties should not include a plank of approval of our membership. That certainly would lift



it out of party politics. But at this moment there seems to be far more likelihood that neither platform will stress the matter and that the campaign may be strictly confined to domestic issues. Why?

Apparently there is only one language which the machine—any political machine—understands. To it votes talk; nothing else. And the several million organized women can easily be outvoted by that vast section of the constituency indefinitely known as the West. For the West, it is averred, is unalterably opposed to any sort of international co-operation. And the West is in no mood to have its convictions hampered or ignored. Therefore, the West must be humored and the Court be either voted down or shoved into the background and forgot.

It has recently fallen to my lot to make a rather extended tour through that section of the country, going before Leagues, clubs, state federations and conventions, Rotary clubs, open forums, college clubs, business and professional clubs, and other civic and educational organizations. I tried to estimate impartially what I found, and I cannot escape the unwilling conviction that in the main the politicians are right. With enough exceptions to prove the rule, there is no very vital interest among the Westerners in international relations. The war was a disagreeable experience. It left certain irritating results. Better not repeat the adventure. That is about as far as they have reasoned it through. There was hardly an audience among all I met that did not first have to be converted to something more than a superficial interest in international relations.

Easy enough it would be to persuade these men and women to make generous contributions for relief work among the European or any other people. The generous hand of the West is well known. Their sympathy is quick; their

What We Want?

Schoonmaker

charity broad. But when it came to having any deep conviction that Europe wants and needs something more from us than mere charity and advice, that, like it or not, we have come to the age of internationalism, and that we can no more maintain political isolation than we could endure economic or intellectual isolation—this I simply did not find.

But the whole point is that the task of converting such audiences seemed remarkably easy. Not that there was not in almost every group some who remained convinced of our need to stand apart. The words "policy of isolation" always brought out a little hand-clapping. I watched it and afterward tried to trace it out. And in every case I found that it came from a hand to which had been trusted some small—usually very small—wire of the political machine. This was as true of women as of men.

So for the first time I had cause to rejoice that women have been given so small a part in the political organizations. Without it they are freer to follow their own conviction, their natural conviction, which, it is generally conceded, is that law and friendship are better than war and enmity.

But to get that conviction across in the campaign is not going to be an easy task. Our politicians are far more interested in collecting votes than in making those votes a registry of informed, intelligent conviction. I came back from the West with little hope that any party or candidate could be found to undertake the task of laying the international facts before the West. If it is to be done at all, there seems to be but one available agency—the women.

It is a task of rather appalling proportions. But women have not shown themselves afraid of such large endeavors in the past. If in this year before the presidential election the millions of organized women will make it their business to inform and convert the unorganized women of the country, a force mightier than the machine will have been let loose and we will have our way. That that way is an undoubted step toward world peace is beyond dispute. It may also be by way of saving our own national soul which at least some of us believe is in greater danger than ever it was before.

Getting Out the Vote

By Alice Vignos

The First Prize Winner
In the Leslie Woman Suffrage
Commission Contest

THE housewife was reminded to vote on the morning of Primary Election Day when she brought in her milk bottle, which bore around its neck a slip-over tag on which was printed in large letters,

VOTE TODAY
Primary Elections

The name of our League was printed in small and unassuming type on the lower edge of the tag, above the union label.

A list of the milk dealers was obtained from the Board of Health. We were careful to call first on the largest dealer, knowing that if we had his co-operation, the others would follow. Our supposition was a correct one as all to a man most graciously cooperated.

We asked each milk dealer how many drivers he employed; the number of bottles left at places where milk was sold and how many families he supplied, in order that we might know how many tags each one would need. We placed an order for 35,000 tags. Canton, Ohio, is a city of about 100,000 inhabitants to whom 50,000 bottles of milk and cream are distributed daily.

The ward and precinct leaders asked the managers of restaurants, cafeterias, lunch rooms, shop cafeterias, drug and grocery stores to put the tag on the milk bottle when they served it to their customers.

On the morning of Primary Election Day, the general distributors left tags with the bottles at the above places. The drivers who delivered the milk at the homes were instructed to put a tag on one bottle for a family. All but a small proportion of the sixty-five drivers responded willingly.

Printed instructions for the milk dealer and a letter of appreciation and thanks, from our President and Secretary, addressed "To the milk-wagon drivers," were left with the supply of tags when they were taken to the milk dealers by members of the Publicity Committee.

Did the milk bottle tag help to increase the vote? "Yes." It was not uncommon to hear on election day, "I'd have forgotten to vote if it hadn't been for the notice on my milk bottle."

We know that the League was talked about, pro and con, all over the town on that day. We know that it pays to advertise and some candidates also know it because they paid for the advertising.

How We Financed the Advertising

The financial question is one that con-

fronts all Leagues in almost every undertaking. The Canton League put over this piece of advertising at the Primary Election without cost to the League.

We solicited political advertising for an enlarged edition of the August issue of our *Canton Voter*, in which we published facts concerning our local government and duties of the officers. The number of candidates who advertise at a Primary Election is small in comparison to a state and county election, so that we were unable to secure enough money from that source to pay for this issue and the tags too. We therefore added advertisements from the local mer-

chants, bankers and manufacturers. In securing our advertisements we stressed the point that our members would receive their copies by mail. The remainder of the 5,000 edition was distributed to the homes by our ward and precinct organization.

In addition to our special issue of the *Canton Voter* and the milk bottle tags, we ran twelve "Know Your Town" articles in our two daily newspapers for twelve days before election; held a luncheon meeting for the candidates for mayor and one for ward councilmen.

We feel that all our efforts helped and each one filled its own special need.

Women for Pulpits

By Marguerite Wilkinson



IF the present sprightly controversy between the fundamentalists and modernists is continued in the Protestant churches for the next twenty-five years, women may be ready to take part in it, for the theological education of women has begun and is not likely to stop. The Episcopal Church, often regarded as a stronghold of tradition by those who know only its conservative representatives, has begun the higher religious education of women at Berkeley Divinity School in Middletown, Connecticut. Last summer nineteen women assembled there to study great and ancient subjects usually reserved for men.

This Summer Course for Women was not merely one more religious conference or advanced Bible Class. Courses of that kind had long been plentiful. But these women at Berkeley were met for the intellectual consideration of important aspects of the Christian faith. A course in doctrinal theology was provided, which gave a clear and precise presentation of modern thought on the doctrines much discussed in the newspapers of to-day—the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation and the Virgin Birth, and the Atonement. A course in modern apologetics dealt with the relationship between scientific thought and religion, the question of miracles, the question of the inspiration of the Bible. In a third course the students discussed the thought and philosophy of the first two centuries after the close of the New

Testament. They read many selections from the sage and beautiful writings of the early Fathers of the Church, from Ignatius to Clement of Alexandria, and then talked them over frankly, freely, and enthusiastically in the classroom. There was the utmost intellectual candor.

It was delightful to see these grave theological ladies going to chapel in scholastic caps and gowns as the young divinity students go in the winter. It was delightful to listen to their judicious feminine arguments as to the relative merits of Tertullian and Justin Martyr. It was delightful to drink tea with them on the green lawn—and tea was very orthodox at Berkeley. But it was more than delightful. It was inspiring. It is important to know that this work was done last summer and that it will be done again this summer—important for more reasons than one.

Religion is drawing closer and closer to science the world over. The relationship between the two is being studied more sanely and reverently than ever before. This makes thought necessary not merely for the clergy, but for the intelligent laity everywhere. Especially is this true in colleges where young people get the best that science and pagan philosophy have to offer and meet the boldest and most brilliant of man's arguments against religion, but often fail to find anything which might sustain them in the faith of their fathers, or enable them to build a greater faith of their own. As a matter of fact, Christian Theology should be religiously taught in colleges to women as well as to men; it is not enough to teach it to a few in the divinity schools. But it is a beginning. This course should be especially interesting and valuable to young college women.

It is not enough, either, that leadership should be able to expound from the pulpit. It is necessary that the laity should be ready to follow and support intelligent and progressive leadership.

(Continued on page 26)

The Woman Voter

(This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER for
THE NATIONAL LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS
532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Federal Measures the League Supports

WORK in the Sixty-eighth Congress, up to the time of this writing, has been confined largely to Senate and House organization and to hearings. For weeks, hearings have been conducted on the Brown plan for the consolidation of Federal departments and bureaus. The investigation of the Senate Propaganda Committee into the Bok peace plan is another matter which may result in extended hearings. The investigation of a special Senate committee into the leasing of the Teapot Dome oil reservation is stirring much interest. Few bills have been reported out by committee.

The status of measures which the National League supports is as follows:

S. Res. 36: King resolution embodying the World Court proposals of President Coolidge and the late President Harding, with reservations by Secretary Hughes. Referred to Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

S. J. Res. 19—H. R. Res. 66: Child labor amendment. Referred to Senate and House Judiciary Committees. The House Judiciary Committee was slated to hear arguments for the amendment, Wednesday, February 7. It is doubtful, at this time, whether there will be any hearings before the Senate Judiciary Committee. The League has been represented at several conferences held with members of the sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in reference to the phraseology of the amendment. Several additional proposed amendments have been introduced since the last report, making in all twenty-four resolutions before the Senate and House.

S. 1337—H. R. 3923: Sterling-Reed bill creating a Department of Education, with its head a member of the President's cabinet, etc. Referred to Education Committees. Unusual interest was manifested in the three-day hearings on the Sterling-Reed measure before the Senate Education Committee during the week of January 21. Mrs. Walter Du Bois Brookings, chairman of the Committee on Education of the National League, presented the League's approval of the bill. Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley, of Boston, a former committee chairman of the National League, also spoke. The main objection to the measure was offered by the United States Chamber of Commerce and the Catholic Welfare Council.

S. 1408: Fess amendment to the Smith-Hughes Act, to increase appropriations for home economics. Referred to Education and Labor Committee.

S. 790—H. R. 685: Curtis-Graham bill, providing for a Federal prison for women prisoners. Referred to Judiciary Committees. The Senate has already passed Senator Curtis'

bill, and the House was scheduled to consider the Curtis-Graham measures January 30.

S. J. Res. 15: Jones amendment to the Constitution, providing for suffrage in the District of Columbia. Referred to Senate Judiciary Committee.

As a part of its advocacy of the merit system in the civil service, the National League was one of eight national women's organizations which protested recently to President Coolidge against "certain obvious discriminations against important government bureaus engaged in social and educational work, against interests of women as represented by those bureaus and against departmental services where large numbers of women are employed under the Personnel Classification Board's administration of the classification." The protest to the President especially emphasized that "the board has not complied with the law in respect to the requirement for a classification by duties, and any classification not based on duties and qualifications would defeat the purpose of the merit system."

"On November 6," the letter to the President read, "we offered our co-operation to the board through a committee of three technically qualified women whose expert services we had secured as consultants. Particularly in view of the fact that there is no woman member of the board and no technically qualified woman on the staff of the board, in view of the further fact that women have an especial interest in the classification of the civil service because of its bearing, not only upon the efficiency of the government work, but upon standards of justice and fair play to women in all professions, businesses and industries of the country, we believed that the board should study the classification as it affects women and should bring to bear upon it the viewpoint of women who by experience have become familiar with the problems involved."

"As the board has done nothing in response to our request, but has, on the contrary, since that date issued its Circular Order No. 13, extending to the field service the classification plan against which we protested as applied to the District of Columbia, we respectfully call attention to what seems to be persistent maladministration of the Classification Act, and ask that the points we make in the brief herewith be given consideration in the course of your investigation of the board's actions."

ANNE WILLIAMS.

Our Point of View

BECAUSE the campaign for our national election is upon us, conditions are ripe for the generation of great political heat. At such a time it behooves us who work in a non-partisan organization like the League of Women Voters, to make our point of view thoroughly understood, lest unfortunate misunderstandings arise.

Though we are working for the enlightenment of the electorate quite independently of party affiliations, we neither ignore nor think lightly of these affiliations. Many of our members are ardent party workers; we applaud their efforts; but while engaged in our activities, whether political, educational, or legislative, they are bound to keep party policies in the background. We are glad to welcome people of all shades of opinion to our ranks, from the extreme conservative to the ultra-radical, always provided they are willing to accept the working terms of a middle-of-the-road organization like ours and to refrain from using our League to grind their particular political axes. In this free untrammelled spirit, then, we are working for efficient government, improved

legislation for women and children and intelligent citizenship.

In the present bewildering discussion of international affairs we have also taken a stand. We were prominent among the many women's organizations which were active in furthering the reduction of armament by international agreement. The Washington Conference being concluded, we turned our attention to the consideration of international means of preventing war. At the Des Moines Convention we pledged "our active support to the proposal of the President and the Secretary of State for participation by the United States in the Permanent Court of International Justice, believing this to be the first step toward the outlawry of war and toward the fuller and more far-reaching international co-operation to prevent war." Through study courses, meetings addressed by competent speakers, and round-table debates we plan to disseminate accurate information on international affairs. Please notice that it is for international co-operation that we are striving; we are for "evolutionary, not revolutionary methods," as our president, Mrs. Park, puts it. "International" cannot in any reasonable way be interpreted to mean anti-national. Nations must exist, if there are to be the relations between them implied in the very word "international." Our strong desire for better international understanding in no degree weakens our national loyalty.

When under the stress and urge of that terrible period, we were all working shoulder to shoulder in the manifold activities made necessary by the World War, it was easy to be a fervent patriot. Now that the emergency pressure is released and we have been resolved again into groups representing district, class, or sect, it takes more courage to work for the salvation of our whole country. I know no finer kind of patriotism than that manifest in the League of Women Voters, a devoted band of workers who, believing that "citizenship is a public trust," and sustained by a broad vision of our country's needs, are willing to lay aside personal ends and throw themselves wholeheartedly into the task of developing the intelligence and the sympathies of our citizens as voters that they may one day grasp the true spirit of government.

MARY TENNEY HEALY,
President Boston League.

Toledo's "21 in '24" Party

THEY all came and King Winter came in with them. With the thermometer ten below, marching two hundred strong to the music of "America Triumphant," the new voters of 1924, with forty hostesses, entered the dining-room of the Woman's Building. Neither Father Abraham nor any one else who saw them coming will ever forget the sight of those eager young women whose vote will be a force for good or evil. There were rich and poor girls, pretty and homely girls, tall and short girls, blondes and brunettes, with burnt and scorched golden hair, bobbed and long; there were girls in evening and afternoon dress, street dress and sweaters, and girls in new and left-over and borrowed finery. Some were in the latest style and some were out of style, but their raiment was outshone by their bright, expectant, eager faces, for even the most blasé party-goer had never been to just that kind of party before.

When the chairman of the evening, Mrs. Robert Morris, had first mentioned her idea for a party in honor of the young women coming of age, many said it was a lovely thought but no one would come. But coupons appeared in three newspapers for a week, asking firms and factories, organizations, churches, and individuals to send the names of girls eligible, and people were also requested to mail checks for the number of guests they would be willing to entertain, so that no money for the party need be taken from the over-taxed treasury.

As friends warned the committee not to be disappointed if only a few girls came, the coupons began to arrive. Every mail brought them and the women worked so hard to get the invitations quickly to those addresses, that responses might come back in time to indicate for how many to provide. What

at first had been a few coupons dropping down like snowflakes here and there, developed into a three-days' blizzard, and an announcement had to be made that the dining room was taxed to its capacity, but it happily included the plaintive inquirer who hoped that not being born until December 31 would not bar her from the festivities.

The girls were placed according to the month of their birth, and a member of the League presided at each table, but July looked as happy as January under the warm glow of red candles, and holiday greens. Before sitting down they all sang "My Country, 'Tis of Thee," and during the dinner a letter was read from President Coolidge to these new voters, in which he said it would be a fine thing if the example of the Toledo League of Women Voters might be followed in every community.

There were other letters from the governor of Ohio and the mayor of Toledo, but at the risk of *lèse-majesté* it must be stated that the one from Mrs. Maud Wood Park was by far the best, being filled with food for thought for the diners. Then the director of music, Mrs. Megley, explained that the "Battle Hymn of the Republic" was written by a woman, and after everyone was thrilled singing that, Mrs. Morris gave a memorable address, "Opportunities for Future Citizenship."

This was responded to on behalf of the girls by a junior at Wellesley who predicted that they would soon read the first page with as much interest as they formerly had in the woman's page of the newspaper. Next, a Federal judge spoke of the significance of voting, and afterward the president told briefly of the responsibility of citizenship, of the price that had been paid to enfranchise us, and of the two million political positions to be filled by men and women who have in their power the misery of bad government or the actual betterment of it for all. Then the assembly sang the "Star Spangled Banner" together and the party was over.

It was pronounced a success and the committee are even now enthusiastic over plans for the 1925 party. Their own enjoyment was not materially lessened by the unusual circumstances of there being a little money left for the League's treasury after all the bills were paid; but what lingers longest in mind was the verdict of a grateful guest who remarked on leaving, "Lady, I feel as if I had been to church."

"Was it as solemn as that?" asked Mrs. Morris regretfully, for she had tried hard to make it interesting to all.

"No, I don't mean that. I just didn't know before voting meant all that."

That alone was worth the party. OLIVE A. COLTON.

The Buffalo Convention

THE fifth annual convention of the National League in Buffalo, April 24-29, promises to be "the best ever," according to tentative plans mapped out by the program committee, and others working for the success of the gathering. Speakers of national and international renown have been selected for three large mass meetings, and there will be a special feature in connection with the large dinner on Monday night, April 28. Departmental and standing committee chairmen have already arranged unusually attractive programs.

Buffalo is making extensive arrangements for the comfort of the hundreds of delegates expected from all parts of the country. Under the direction of Miss Louise Michael and her associate, Miss Genevieve Kraft, Buffalo women are perfecting an organization to take care of every convention detail. Mayor Frank X. Schwab has written Mrs. Maud Wood Park, national president, of the city's delight in having "such a splendid organization" meeting for over a week in the Queen City of the Lakes.

The Hotel Statler, which will be headquarters, is, according to the program committee, well adapted to the League's convention needs. All convention sessions, with the exception of two mass meetings, will be conducted in the large hotel ballroom. It is understood that never before in the history

of the League has there been such an early demand for hotel reservations, as already received in Buffalo.

The League of Hawaii

MRS. WALTER F. FREAR, formerly Miss May Dillingham, has undertaken, for the League of Women Voters of the Territory of Hawaii, to take up for the National League the matter of the information being given to students in Hawaiian schools and the university concerning the historic change in the status of the women of the country. In reporting Mrs. Frear's willingness to assume this burden, Mrs. Gertrude D. Bunker, president of the League of Hawaii, says:

"Such work as this does apply to us as we have a university and several private schools having as students young men and women who are approaching the voting age. Because many of them have come out of homes representing a different civilization—that of the Orient—it seems that such work is particularly necessary in helping them to understand one big phase of America's progress toward justice.

"The Hawaiian League did splendid work in September and October preceding the primary and election which came three weeks later. We stressed the matter of intelligent voting, at five large campaign meetings and at many smaller precinct meetings. Representatives of the League also appeared before many other organizations during that time to give ten-minute talks on voting. Individual instruction in the use of the ballot was given to hundreds of women. The number of spoiled ballots in the election was very much less than in the primary, and as we were the only organization doing this work, credit is given us for the improvement. The number of registered women voting was three-tenths of one per cent within that of the number of registered men voting, or 87.6 per cent. We have no figures to show what percentage of eligible women are registered but will work on that during the spring in preparation for next fall."

As a New Year card the League issued a leaflet reporting League work from September 1, 1923, to January 1, 1924. The members of the Executive Committee signed it, "Yours for better government," and the names in the list, in addition to that of Mrs. Bunker as chairman, are: Princess Kalania'na'ole, first vice-chairman; Rosamond Swanzy Morgan, second vice-chairman; Mary E. White, secretary; Nell L. Moore, treasurer, and Bernice Adele Ross, Louise Dillingham, Marie Moncrief, Agnes J. Lindeman, Bernice K. Spitz and Muriel J. Bergstrom.

The Committee on Efficiency in Government, is headed by Mrs. A. L. Andrews, wife of the dean of the university, who was first president of the League.

The New York League at Utica

FROM the newspaper headlines one would judge that the fourth annual convention of the New York League, held at Utica, January 15-16, was mainly concerned with the status of men in the organization. The delegates and visitors, however, carried away no such impression. The five sessions were crowded with work and with addresses, for not a few well-known men and women were glad to come and lay the topics in which they were most interested before those one hundred and twenty-five delegates from all parts of the state.

The first of the three large bulletin boards was devoted to the newspaper clippings from the press throughout the state during the year, arranged by counties. The delegates themselves were amazed at the amount of attention the newspapers had given the League. The second board held copies of the state bulletins from Minnesota to Mississippi and Massachusetts and Nebraska. The third board held the publications of the Leagues in the state, these being from Greater New York, Erie, and Westchester counties, and the programs of the citizenship schools, of which sixteen have been held since June.

The state chairman, Mrs. F. Louis Slade, in her address, specially emphasized as the work before us this year, the campaign to get out the vote. The National League literature on this subject was widely distributed and cards giving the 1920 vote in each county, and the voting population, were ready for each county leader.

Changes in the by-laws had been made necessary by the incorporation of the League during the year. The discussion and acceptance of these took parts of two sessions.

Measured by work done during the year, the most important of the committees reporting were the legislative, under Mrs. J. B. Andrews, and that on international co-operation, under Mrs. Henry Goddard Leach. The measures for which the legislative committee asks the League to work during the session of the legislature, are: extension of the direct primary to all state-wide offices; the minimum wage commission; the 48-hour week; equal eligibility of fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, as administrators; change in the Workmen's Compensation Law making the waiting period for compensation seven instead of fourteen days; rural school bill; mandatory woman juror bill. This bill has already been introduced into the legislature at the request of the League.

In addition to these measures, the convention went on record as endorsing reorganization and consolidation of the state departments, four-year term for governor, and executive budget.

The legislative committee made two proposals as to special study in the League this year. It asked the city Leagues to put on the program, study of the school situation in cities, with relation to proposed legislation. In connection with a number of bills on dower and curtesy, inheritance and support, it proposed an investigation in connection with authorities of New Jersey and Massachusetts where the laws have recently been amended.

The Committee on International Co-operation to Prevent War had for distribution at the convention a letter to Senator Wadsworth calling his attention to the following resolution passed at the convention:

"Resolved, That the United States adhere to the Permanent Court of International Justice under the conditions stated by President Harding and Secretary Hughes in the plan as published in February, 1923."

As a matter of fact, the greater part of the general program of the convention might properly have been called a program of this committee, since the main speakers were Dr. M. Carey Thomas, president emeritus of Bryn Mawr College, who, fresh from many months in Europe and Asia, spoke on "Our World Responsibility"; J. Henry Scattergood, first chief of the Friends' Reconstruction Work in France, whose subject was "Europe's Deadlock and America's Opportunity"; the Hon. Mary Ellis, who has come to this country bringing a memorial from the women of Wales, urging the women of the United States to bring this land again into helpful relation to Europe, and Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, who, whatever her topic—and this time it was "Without Vision the People Perish"—speaks always for international fellowship.

Her strong plea for the World Court is to be printed in the *Weekly News* (New York), but her topic was broader than that. It was not a demand for a national foreign policy which some say we no longer have, but for an international peace policy which we certainly lack. She called women to a new crusade. Suffrage is here, now peace is to be won.

"I am glad the League of Voters exists," she said. "You women standing together, working together, thinking together—you are the one great oasis of promise in this great world of unrest. Put this same faith in the new program that you put in the vote for women. We were never frightened by anything. Let us be the same now and put the same faith upon this principle—that law shall take the place of war—and stand up and never surrender. Always moving onward, let us have the same faith that we shall see the reward, the victory of the right once more."—From New York League.

League Work and League Women

MISS EDITH ABBOTT, chairman of the National League Committee on Women in Industry, has been appointed dean of the Graduate School of Social Service Administration of the University of Chicago, and the selection of so eminently fitted a woman for the position has been received with general satisfaction. Miss Abbott is a graduate of the University of Nebraska, her native state, and in 1905 was granted a doctor's degree by the University of Chicago, for work in political economy, political science, and law. The American Association of University Women awarded her the European fellowship, and she studied at the University of London. Wellesley College claimed her for a year as instructor, and lost her to the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy, where she was head of the department of social investigation. Since 1920 she has been associate professor of social economy in the school of which she is now dean. She has lived in a college settlement in Boston, in Cheltenham Settlement in the East End of London, and for twelve years at Hull House, on the West Side in Chicago.

"ARE you a 100 per cent American citizen?" asks the Illinois League in its January *Bulletin*, adding a brief set of questions which will enable you to grade your citizenship accurately. If you can answer in the affirmative the question, "Did I vote at every election last year?" that counts you 50 per cent toward the possible 100. "Am I registered for voting?" and "Have I listed all my property for taxation?" count 20 per cent each. Two 10 per cent items are "Am I aggressive in the support of worthy civic movements?" and "Do I obey all laws or only those that do not bother me?" Two five per cent items complete the count. They are, "Have I urged on delinquent officials the performance of duty?" and "Have I commended efficient officials?" At the request of the Illinois League the University of Chicago is giving a course, for which full university credit will be given, in problems of government finance. The course began January 11 and will continue every Saturday morning till March 22. It is conducted by Dr. Jacob Viner of the Department of Political Economy.

THE Living Costs Committee of the Toledo (Ohio) League has published a clever set of illustrations called "A Little Journey from Producer to Dining Room," with the sub-title, "Some Reasons for the Grocery Bill." Each small picture—there are seventeen in all—is enclosed in a circle and each circle has an arrow directing the reader's attention to the next picture in sequence, so that the eye travels across the sheet, beginning with a tiny scene labeled, "Agricultural Producer," through "Agricultural Products," "Haul" and "Local Markets," and back in the row below through "Transportation," "Terminal Service," "Terminal Market" and "Transportation," to the third row in which the pictures are "Industrial Converters," "Marketable Product," "Transportation" and "Storage." The four pictures in the last full row are "Wholesale and Jobbing," "Transportation," "Retail" and "Service Delivery" with "Consumer" in his dining room below the row as the final picture. The sketches have the quality of humor which made the illustrations in "From Grandmother to You" so interesting, and the set of little pictures could not be improved on, as a striking graphic presentation of the items of cost added to food products from the time the farmer harvests them to the time when they finally reach the consumer.

IN HER address as president at the recent annual convention of the Connecticut League, Mrs. Herbert Knox Smith gave this reply to "Why does the League exist?"

"To give women the timely correct information which they need in order to vote effectively; to create an atmosphere in which new ideas can grow, and then we plan to raise a crop of clear ideas. We also wish to create a de-

mand for better standards of efficiency in the business management of our government. We demand from the political parties a clear statement of issues. Finally, we ask for legislation needed to improve the human quality."

"THE right to vote implies the duty to vote," writes Mr. Sydney Cohen, president of the Motion Picture Theater Owners of America, in discussing the League's get-out-the-vote campaign. "I believe that the women of the United States, constituting one-half of the American electorate, should leave their impress on our country, and, of course, they cannot do this unless they vote and take an active interest in political affairs. Every qualified elector, man and woman, should vote."

THE state board of the Minnesota League and the board of the Ramsay County League held a joint meeting at the house of Mrs. C. P. Noyes, in St. Paul, early in January, with an exhibit called "The Sun Never Sets on the Minnesota League of Women Voters," as a special feature. The exhibit was made up of newspaper clippings from almost every state telling the story of the Minnesota League's mile of signatures and its presentation to the President and the Minnesota Senators in Washington.

AT THE convention of the Florida League in Miami, January 22-24, the National League was represented by the chairman of the Committee on Child Welfare, Mrs. John Jay O'Connor, who spoke on the general purposes of the League and the specific get-out-the-vote purpose of this year. After the Miami convention Mrs. O'Connor attended the annual convention of the Georgia League in Brunswick, January 24-26, and made the child labor amendment the subject of addresses and conferences.

CITY elections in Massachusetts in December increased the number of women holding municipal offices. Malden elected two women to the common council and one of them defeated her own brother-in-law in the primary. All Massachusetts Leagues did much pre-election work and the information-to-voters service of the Municipal Affairs Committee of the Cambridge League is said to have been so successful that other Leagues may well adopt it as a model.

CHARTS for the spring caucuses and conventions of political parties have been prepared by the Connecticut League in its get-out-the-vote campaign. Some most effective posters are planned and one of them is to bear this verse:

Are you the man who is rowing ahead
Or the man who is rocking the boat?
Don't tell the world that democracy's dead—
Get out your ballot and vote.

UNDER the leadership of Mrs. George T. Settle, the Louisville (Kentucky) League held a voting school at a local "better homes" exposition and for a fortnight before the recent election, in a department store. Louisville had its first experience with a municipal non-emblem ballot and the voting schools gave instruction in the proper use of the new device. The League has conducted no fewer than twenty-eight round tables on international co-operation.

MRS. JAMES MORRISSON, of Chicago, who was a member of the National League's commission to European women last summer, was the guest of the Montana League at its annual convention in Great Falls, January 18-19. On her way to the convention Mrs. Morrison stopped to give an admirable exposition of the World Court to League women in Billings, and repeated her success before the Silver Bow League in Butte.

FOR the first time, the annual convention of the California League, which is set for May, will be held in Los Angeles instead of in San Francisco.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

The Democratic Women's Club

A CONTINUOUS salon in the interest of the Democratic Party has been initiated—in the clubhouse of the Women's National Democratic Club.

Opened January 15, the old Colonial house at 820 Connecticut Avenue, Washington, D. C., stands ready to be the meeting ground of Democratic women from all over the country. As time goes on it is expected that the man who goes to corral the important women voters from his state will have to borrow his wife's guest card to this important club.

The house itself is most attractive. Decorated in the simple Jeffersonian style, it has some lovely pieces of furniture. Mrs. Woodrow Wilson has given a chair used by her famous husband; Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, a prized etching of Thomas Jefferson. Beside the lounges, library and dining-room, there are a few bedrooms for the use of out-of-town members. The dues are moderate—\$10 for initiation and non-resident privileges, \$25 for resident members. Founders gave \$100, in addition to dues and initiation fee, and benefactors \$250.

Nobody is worrying about the management, for Mrs. J. Borden Harriman is president of the Club and Mrs. Emily Newell Blair secretary. The Board of Governors is headed by Mrs. Woodrow Wilson.

The opening reception—at which Mrs. Wilson and Mrs. Harriman received—was given in honor of the National Committeewomen and Committeemen. And for future reference, let us say that most of the fifty-two women members of the Democratic National Committee are club members.

The new Women's National Republican Club will open in New York this month. More later.

In Tribute to Susan B. Anthony

THE Anthony League of Washington, D. C., is planning to launch a drive during the latter part of February for funds to build a million-dollar Temple-Shrine in memory of Susan B. Anthony. The memorial will be of white marble; the entrance duplicating that of Miss Anthony's own home. The plans call for an auditorium, two small lecture rooms, a fully equipped library, reading and writing rooms, rest rooms, a cafeteria, gymnasium and suites of offices to be rented at nominal cost for women's activities. Preceding the drive a mammoth mass meeting, celebrating Miss Anthony's one hundred and fourth

birthday, will be held on February 15.

And now just a word about the Anthony League: It was organized nearly twelve years ago by Mrs. Anna E. Hendley and Mrs. Nanette B. Paul, LL.B., in honor of Susan B. Anthony to carry out her ideals.

A New Home

THE New York State Federation of Women's Clubs took formal possession of its new home in Albany on January 29. The new clubhouse is a five-story building with a spacious ballroom and banquet hall; it has ten suites of rooms on the third, fourth and fifth floors, an elevator, and all modern conveniences. The house, which belonged to the late Anthony N. Brady, was completely furnished when the Federation took it over.

An American Honored

AN American woman, Miss Chloe Owings, has received a prize from the French Academy of Political and Moral Sciences. It is the Prix Carlier (1,000 francs) "destined to recompense the best work published in the last three years, which suggests new methods for bettering the physical and moral conditions of the masses of the City of Paris." CITIZEN readers may remember that in the September 8, 1923, issue we published a paragraph about Miss Owings' thesis, "The Children's Court," for which she received honorable mention from the University of Paris. Comment did not stop with this honor, however. The Children's Court of Paris established a Social Service for Children, founded upon the plan explained in this thesis, and it is partly because of the success of this service that Miss Owings, a foreigner, has received this unusual recognition.

Miss Owings is now with the Department of Protective Measures of the American Social Hygiene Association.

West Virginia's Candidate

IZETTA JEWELL BROWN has announced her candidacy for the Democratic nomination to the United States Senate from West Virginia. Mrs. Brown has been in the public eye before; in 1922 she made a splendid campaign, but was defeated by M. M. Neely, and it was she who seconded the nomination for President of John W. Davis at the San Francisco National Democratic Convention. She is an ardent suffragist and attended the International Suffrage Convention held in Rome last May. The Woman's Party

and the League of Women Voters both claim her as a member—in fact, she is state president of the League in West Virginia.

Alice H. Wood

THE death of Alice H. Wood (Mrs. Ira Couch Wood) has left a vacancy in Chicago hard to fill. One of its foremost women, Mrs. Wood was director of the Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, which, under her guidance, has done remarkable work for children throughout the United States. She was interested in all civic development, child welfare, national health—holding positions in organizations dealing with these subjects. She was very active in the Chicago Woman's Club and the Fortnightly Club; a member of the Departmental Committee of Civic Development, of the Chamber of Commerce of the United States; on the Advisory Board of the National Dairy Council; appointed by Judge Arnold to visit county institutions. She fought for the Sheppard-Towner bill in Illinois, and for other legislation women wanted last year. Readers will recall her article, "The Zero Hour in Illinois," which we published in the August 11, 1923, CITIZEN.

A. A. U. W. Meet

THE North Atlantic Section of the American Association of University Women will hold its annual conference in New Haven, Connecticut, February 15-17. Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Vermont, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania will be represented.

Egypt's Women

CHILD marriages will soon be a thing of the past in Egypt. The Egyptian Women's Society, only three years old, has scored its first big victory by obtaining the approval of the Council of Ministers of a law fixing the minimum marriage age for boys at eighteen and for girls at sixteen. The secluded life of the Egyptian woman has made organization for combined effort very difficult. Now that the first point has been won, the Society will work for the recognition of the right of women to equal educational facilities with men; the abolition of the Oriental marriage system; repression of the white slave traffic; modification of the Moslem law permitting a husband to divorce his wife without cause, and restriction to exceptional cases of permission to marry more than one wife.

General Federation Notes

By LESSIE STRINGFELLOW READ

THE board of directors of the General Federation of Women's Clubs recently held their annual meeting in Washington. Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, chairman of American Citizenship, made the motion, which carried unanimously, that the Federation definitely endorse America's entrance into the World Court. The Washington press, in comment on this action, says that it is "one of the most significant steps yet taken in women's political history." The motion characterizes the World Court as a non-partisan measure, calls upon both the Democratic and Republican parties to place participation as a plank in their 1924 platforms, and upon all clubwomen throughout the United States "to make articulate to the Senate" their desire that the United States enter the Court.

President Coolidge received members of the board during their stay at the capital; Mrs. Coolidge also entertained them, and Colonel and Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt, Jr., gave a tea in their honor. Maude Adams went down from New York to speak to the board, urging its endorsement of her plan for children's motion pictures, and its approval of a National Theater similar to that in France.

Mrs. Herbert Hoover received the deeds to the General Federation Model Home exhibited in Washington during the Shriners' Convention. This home represents, with its National Better Homes campaign, an investment of \$60,000.

When moved to its new permanent site on a donated lot, it will be used as national headquarters for the Girl Scouts of America, of whom Mrs. Hoover is president.

Both Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, vice-chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee, addressed the board members at its invitation, as did each of the sixteen women now holding important government offices.

Meetings were presided over by Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, of Minneapolis, president of the Federation, and the two vice-presidents, Mrs. W. S. Jennings, of Florida, and Mrs. Wallace H. Perham, of Montana. Mrs. Florence Floore, of Texas, treasurer, reported that the Federation was out of debt for the new clubhouse except for a sum borrowed from the Federation's own fund. Money has been subscribed by clubwomen all over America, and a contribution was received from France.

Important resolutions on the following subjects were adopted: The World Court, education of the citizenship of

the country for peace, the Army and Navy, transfer of the Isle of Pines to the United States sovereignty, the National Parks System, endowed national school for the teaching of natural science, National Theater, National Song Week, International Opium Conference, prohibition, illiteracy, the Blanket Amendment, Indian welfare, and a woman's bureau in the Washington police department.

A Visiting Woman M. P.



Adele Schreiber

EVERY little while someone asks the CITIZEN for information about women members of Parliament, and usually the answers have to be imported. This time the woman M. P. is herself imported—Adele Schreiber, of the German Reichstag, on an unofficial lecture tour in the United States for two or three months.

If numbers determine it, a woman M. P. is far less of a figure in central Europe than here. Our grand total of four, Great Britain's eight all at once, pale before Germany's thirty-five. Of course, we asked Frau Schreiber why, and were promptly told (in idiomatic and almost accentless English), "Proportional Representation." Germany uses the "pure list" system, under which the voter has to take the whole party list without the right to "scratch" his ticket. So that if the powers that make up the list see the advantage of having women on it—and they're likely to, where women vote—the women are sure of election.

Of the thirty-five women among a Reichstag membership of 460, twenty belong to Frau Schreiber's party, the Social Democrats, the other fifteen being divided among the other nine groups. Most of these twenty women, like the Austrian Diet*, are (unlike Mrs. Schreiber) actual manual workers.

"Will there be as many women in the new Parliament?" we asked her to guess, and she shook her head; the pleasant, humorous eyes shadowed. Because, on account of the "bad economic situation," it has already been proposed to reduce the number 25 per cent, to save expenses, and it is obvious enough that the women will be likely to be the first out. A second reason, as she sees it, is that the

tendency, under the heavy economic stress, is to swing toward extremes, and particularly the extreme of reaction.

Of course, we asked what women in office had succeeded in doing. And the answer was in line with what we have met time and again in the attitude of women in our state legislatures. "We have concentrated our efforts," said Frau Schreiber, "on protecting women and children, and in general social hygiene work—passing laws for better juvenile courts and for equality between men and women in responsibility for social morality." Adele Schreiber is herself chairman of the Committee on Vital Politics which is concerned with the whole subject of public health—and with half its membership women.

"How did you get into it all?" we asked her. "What were the beginnings—what bent the twig?"

"Well, you can say I was *born* a suffragist. I always wanted to be a boy, in order to have chances boys had and girls were denied—above all, in order to learn—anything and everything. But it was not until I was eighteen—in Liverpool—that I found out about suffragists, and discovered I was one." She became an active suffrage worker, has attended all but one of the great international suffrage congresses, and is a member of the International Alliance Board.

Adele Schreiber is actually not German at all, but pure Viennese—the daughter of a well-known physician and scientist—and lived her first twenty-five years in Vienna, except for study in England and France. She speaks no less than five languages fluently. Berlin has been her headquarters for the other years, with long absences to study the condition of the poor in foreign cities.

Her profession? Writer: newspaper work, articles, books; lecturing, and the editorship for some time of the suffrage paper, *Die Staatsbürgerin*, which is the German equivalent for *Woman Citizen*. And her special political interest? "Always" — with much emphasis — "mother and child." It is because of this absorption that she heads the Department of Welfare of Mother and Child in the Red Cross at Berlin.

Just now—naturally—her great concern is the future of her suffering country, and, beyond that, the cause of world peace. Since all reports from responsible people agree on the condition of Germany these days, what Mrs. Schreiber says of the bitter destitution is what our own returned visitors tell us. It cannot be exaggerated. Mrs. Schreiber is not asking for money. She is asking for a larger measure of justice to all, the world over, and pointing to what she sees as the hope for a future free from war, fear and hate; the almost untried influence of labor, and the almost untried power of women.

* Woman Voter, Dec. 1, Citizen, page 19.

Washington

(Continued from page 8)

as the counsel employed by the Sinclair oil interests that had acquired the leases. And that at the early hearings Mr. Fall declared that he had received certain amounts of money as loans having nothing to do with oil, which during these last few weeks have been shown to be only part of a story of the transfer of large sums of money from various oil interests to Secretary Fall, which is to be taken to the courts for proof. And that one of the principal witnesses has been Edward L. Doheny, a familiar figure around the capital in the interest of oil concessions, who anchors his yacht in the Potomac basin and squanders hundreds like dimes—and who, to the Democratic chagrin, has as often been found playing the part of "angel" to the Democratic campaign fund as he has consorting with Republican Secretaries of the Interior who speak his language. On the floor of the House the other day a Democrat in excited tones challenged the Republican side to produce one Democrat concerned in the present oil scandal and was forced to eat his words by Republican Leader Longworth, who reminded him that Mr. Doheny in the course of his experience at one time had contributed considerable to the Democratic treasury.

It is not a pretty story to write in the annals of American politics. It belongs to the old school of the sharp-shooting bronco-busters and Jesse James brand of politics as it was considered just after the Civil War. Regardless of party, it ought to make the blood of every decent voter, man or woman, boil. It is a fitting sequence to the activities of some of the same gentlemen in stirring up trouble between the United States and Mexico for the sake of private gain. Oil, and mining interests have involved the United States in more serious messes with the Mexican government than any other cause. And two of the prime movers in this have been Mr. Fall and Edward L. Doheny, both of whom had personal and corporate oil and mining properties in Mexico.

The spectacle of the Senate sub-committees, which Mr. Fall chaired for the purpose of making a laughing stock of everybody who went into Mexico with any other purpose than putting in power that government which would aid the exploitation of Mexican natural resources can now be remembered in its true light. Unfortunately, as a committee chairman, Mr. Fall was one of the shrewdest, most able and most cruel who ever sat at the head of the table. His questions and methods of interrogation were such that few men could withstand them or could answer in any way which did not serve the purpose of the chairman himself.

(Continued from page 8)

resolution was a substitute for the Caraway resolution to the same effect.

Introduced in the House

By Representative Keller, Republican, legislation doing away with taxes on corporation incomes, nuisance taxes, i.e., the small luxury taxes, and other changes in the present law.

By Representative Kindred, Democrat, New York, bill prohibiting correspondence schools having courses in medicine from sending diplomas or certificates of graduation.

By Representative Garrett, Democratic leader, resolutions requesting President Coolidge to obtain the cancellation of the Teapot Dome and California oil leases.

By Representative Cable, Ohio, resolution requesting an investigation of the extent to which large financial interests are endeavoring to defeat soldier bonus legislation.

Passed by the House

Resolution appropriating \$100,000 so that the President may employ special counsel to prosecute the leasing of the Government's naval oil reserves.

The Democratic side of Congress has burst itself during it all to make political capital out of the mess. Unfortunately so, for the momentum of the investigation, left to itself, would carry sufficient weight with any electorate. On the face of it it was quite bad enough. No voter needed to be told that the Republican party had not selected a star when it put Mr. Fall either in the Senate or in the Department of the Interior. But Democratic scorn has gone so far that not a few persons only casually interested will say, "Pshaw! I see; only more politics, when I thought it was a real scandal." Procedure in the courts, too, will take some of the edge from the story, particularly as the courts will have to deal with a man born as shrewd as any court and considered by some as twice as clever. It is highly unlikely that in the last analysis he has laid himself open to criminal action.

But the real issue remains of the defeat or the reavowal of the American policy of conservation of our natural resources for which President Roosevelt, Pinchot and others fought year after year. That is the subject for debate for women—not this other personal mess. One man does not make a party, nor do two or three Cabinet officers. Policies do, and conservation is one of the most vital the nation can consider. We can burn up our great resources in a comparatively few years by private grant and waste, or, we can do the other thing and insure future generations.

A glance at the Congressional summary herewith will show that the Congress has been unable to proceed with its routine work, due to the furore of the oil business, few bills of importance having passed and an immense amount of time having been spent in debate. On February 27 the two houses will come

together in joint session for a memorial service to President Harding.

The Senate sub-committee investigating the "propaganda" attached to the Bok Peace Award, of which Senator Moses, arch isolationist, of New Hampshire, is chairman, has made itself as ridiculous as certain Democrats who have lost their heads making partisan capital over the Teapot Dome. The hearing in effect has been a family quarrel over the League of Nations and the possibility that the judges of the award may have been favorably disposed toward the League in the first place. Mr. Bok held his own during interrogation and then, putting the committee in his place, as it were, offered to make them the judges in a new award involving bright new prize money of a sum that quite took them off their feet. Then they called Miss Esther Everett Lape, who had handled the details of the competition for Mr. Bok, an able, discriminating woman, who also held her own until the questions of Senator Moses flew a little too fast and left her in a temporarily bewildered state. Heaven help any well-meaning person, man or woman, from a summons to appear before a Congressional investigating committee. In the first place, the advantage is always with the batter. The pitcher has to catch as best he or she can without having had previous experience. Perhaps the metaphor is bad but the job of witness is worse.

The kindest and most fair chairman in the world, belonging to a political party endeavoring to set its own record right, being a human being as an additional handicap, assumes the rôle of inquisitor and asks questions some of which never could be answered intelligently by anybody, some of which never could be understood by anybody who has not come through the same political mill as the chairman himself, and some which are merely catch questions designed to make the witness look and feel foolish.

The only woman your correspondent ever saw who made a perfect appearance before the carping Senate Committee was Miss Agnes Laut, who was brought to the Mexican hearing by Mr. Fall as chairman of the committee, to tell the committee about the emaciated children she found in Mexico. Then Chairman Fall offered the lady questions which would have been suitable for the tongues of angels and the witness quoted Scripture by the lamp light that night till one could almost hear the whirr of wings. She wound up with "Suffer Little Children," and Mr. Fall and Mr. Doheny all but cried.

Some day, I suppose, some one will start a training school for Congressional witnesses—perhaps Senator Copeland, New York, with his humanitarian instincts. Senator Copeland is making a good record for himself in the introduction of social legislation of a high order,

and the whole New York delegation this year seems to be more active than usual and is putting in worth-while bills, particularly in the House. Senator Copeland's bill for the finger-printing of new-borns throughout the country is a constructive suggestion which would do away with the kind of baffling court cases which often arise due to difficulties in hospital records. The housing investigation which another bill of his proposes is a good measure. It is a long time since New York has had a Senator courageous enough to be known for social rather than business affiliations. He made himself popular on another point when he suggested in the Senate that something be done to provide for per-

centage deductions from the income taxes which will be paid all over the country on March 15, so that should the Republican tax reduction go through as outlined by Secretary Mellon it would not be another year before there could be direct benefit from it.

The Ways and Means Committee of the House is still working over the tax bill which shall be the tangible evidence of the President's and Mr. Mellon's suggestions, agreeing, in the main, with the Mellon plan, and hearing the protests of the Democratic and Republican insurgents on surtax changes. Time is getting short if this tax legislation is to be reported in the House, reported in the Senate, debated, passed by both houses

and finally sent to the President. Here it is February and the bill not on the floor of the Lower House yet, with adjournment slated for June. Interjection of the League of Nations-Bok issue and the Teapot Dome controversy have taken up valuable time.

One of the new Senators told your correspondent the other evening that the one thing which impressed him most as a new member was the ineffectiveness of speeches, the long, hard work that members might devote to the preparation of themes, only to be received by an empty house, an empty newspaper-gallery, and go unnoticed in the *Congressional Record*, which last is slated for condensation. What luck!

THE "younger generation" burst into print during the war period, and although a younger one is already crowding along, a group of the writers who gained fame at that time still claim the phrase as a kind of professional date stamp. It is curious that when they first "came out," they were more definite, sounded more mature, than they do now. They questioned accepted standards and provided substitutes. Now they only question and look askance at the most promising of their own creations.

John Dos Passos wrote "Three Soldiers" which stripped the last shred of romance from war. Then he snapped back into "Rosinante to the Road Again," which glowed with the true color and romance of Spain. Now he has produced a novel, "Streets of Night," in which he questions both realism and romance with the despairing story of two men and a girl who were afraid to live. The men, Wally, poetic and eager, who too suddenly sees in himself his hated father, and Fanshawe, the meticulous, whose futility is only occasionally disturbing, are both flesh, bones and blood characters. The girl is a tissue-paper doll, whom both men call wonderful for no reason that is apparent. The book is an account of the development of these people. It is only nominally a novel, for they have comparatively little influence on one another. Their lives touch, but the reactions would have come from anyone else quite as well. The book is uneven, unforgivably bad at times, unpleasant; and it has flashes of amazing beauty.

Heywood Broun's "Sun Field" is a novel of escape. "I was born a woman and baptized a Presbyterian," says his heroine, and he spends the rest of the book trying to help her get away from both. In the process, Judith, who is a

The Bookshelf

By M. A.



Dorothy Canfield, Jimmie, and (?)

FIRST of a line of American writers' pictures to be set up on the bookshelf, we introduce Dorothy Canfield—between books, as it were. She is shown here in the garden of the French villa where, for half a year, anyhow, she has been at work on a novel to be published in May. With her are her son, and a dog whose name might be Sandy. At home Dorothy Canfield Fisher lives in Arlington, Vermont, part way up a mountain, in a house with ancestral foundations to which she went as a bride. Her roots are in Vermont, with long transplantings to Kansas, Ohio, New York—and France, again and again. "The Bent Twig" was finished in Rome; "Raw Material," this year's splendid collection of stories and sketches, was produced at home. The new book will be foreign-born.

militant writer on a thin journal of thick opinion, married a baseball player because his arm in throwing the ball is as beautiful as a Greek athlete's. One's sympathies are all with the baseball player.

Beatrice Kean Seymour has written another of those three-generation novels in "The Hopeful Journey." Eve breaks down the barriers that stifled her mother Judith, Mona reverts to her grandmother's softness and slips out of the shell that binds her mother Eve. And each generation finds neither peace nor happiness. Yet at the end of the last chapter they are still sure that "the world might at least be grateful to us for our hopeful impulses." The book is neither so powerful nor so devastating as the earlier "Intrusion," but the characters are alive and human. There is much about woman and a career which touches on various phases of the problem interestingly and suggestively, without being in the least dogmatic.

T. S. Stribling, whose negro novel "Birthright" aroused so much discussion, has cut away from wondering and gone to wandering. "Fombombo" is a story of a revolutionary "republic" in upper Venezuela. An American drummer goes to its dictator to sell him guns. He is a husky, average young American, devoted to business, thinking in its terms, his forthrightness a complete contrast to the suave slipperiness of the dictator. The book is a corking adventure story. It is full of excellent characterizations. It is a careful study in contrasts between two diametrically opposed civilizations. It's the sort of book you can read joyously at one sitting, only to have its questions and implied philosophies recur, puzzle you, tease you till you hunt them out and read them again. The only annoyance is the question of language. The drummer's slang is completely untranslatable, and it is doubtful if even a convent education in English would enable a Latin to understand it.

Streets of Night, Doran, 1923. \$2.00.

Sun Field, Putnam, 1923. \$2.00.

The Hopeful Journey, Seltzer, 1923. \$2.00.

Fombombo, Century, 1923. \$1.90.

A Line on the Movies

By LAURA L. LAEDLEIN

Abraham Lincoln

This picture of Lincoln's life, from the time he was an almost dead baby in the frontier cabin, to the moment of his death in the house across the street from Ford's Theater, is for the most part sound and unsentimental, and often delicate. Its directing and scenario allow the Lincoln actor (George Billings) to build up a portrait that becomes, long before the end, a person you painfully don't want shot in the back as he sits chuckling over stage repartee. The pathos of the assassination is not forced, and with rare good taste is not emphasized; the dramatic close is one of the best we have ever noticed in pictures. We rather think this is one family choice which need not be argued past the soup. If Junior is skeptical, remind him that Lincoln was a mighty wrestler before the Lord. A Rockett-Lincoln production, story by Frances Marion, direction by Philip E. Rosen.

Heritage of the Desert

Herds of frightened sheep trotting in meek panic at the appearance of a big bear (note to the Deciding Vote: the bear is real), and some lovely scenes of desert sands and mountains are a background that merit a story a bit better

than this plot, with its population of Western "types." Bebe Daniels' style is a bit cramped in the small outline of *Mescal*. A Paramount picture, from a Zane Grey novel; Irvin Willat, director.

Through the Dark

That well-known story of the girl delicately reared in ignorance of her family's status in crookdom, who turns pseudo-criminal to work salvation to the good-crook lover. And does. Rattling crescendo down the black keys of intrigue to a high treble chord of family and social harmony. A Cosmopolitan picture, from a story by Jack Boyle, and directed by George Hill.

The Humming Bird

Dark streets of Paris, neat quiet thefts and crime's camaraderie, with the *Humming Bird*, gamine of the underworld, strutting down the reels (without her feminine "e") in a crook alias. Unexaggerated handling of the girl's haphazard entry into life of a different code. Any age's picture. Gloria Swanson has the job of getting into the skin of a foreign temperament and caste, and is intelligent about it. A Paramount picture, from the stage-play of the same name by Maude Fulton, and directed by Sidney Olcott.

The Lullaby

A story of the childish immigrant caught in the impersonal grind of law in a strange country, and a prison-born baby. Jane Novak acts the double rôle of convict mother and young daughter, and Robert Anderson is with all his hands and teeth and shoulders the guileless Italian laborer. If the plot were not as naïve as the immigrants it would be better. Weepy, without point for children. A Film Booking picture, from a story by Lillian Ducev, and directed by Chester Bennett. The picture is not taken from the stage-play.

Women for Pulpits

(Continued from page 17)

When they are ready, persecution for an idea's sake will be most unusual, the best of the clergy will be free to say the best things they have in their minds and hearts, and the church will be authoritative in a new and glorious way.

But that is not all. We need the ministry of women in our churches. In our day, when women face all the problems that they have ever faced in the history of the world and several more that are the result of their new economic and social status, they often need the advice of a trained ministry, but it is not always easy to go to men for such advice. There is a great field awaiting followers of Maude Royden who feel their vocation keenly and are fit to minister to other women as religious advisers. If they cannot immediately have ordination from men, they need not worry, provided they have it from God.

Wanted: Homes for Workers

(Continued from page 11)

mediary non-commercial loan society, at a very low rate of interest. The borrower's life was insured for the unpaid balance, so that in case of his death during the payment period, his family would receive the house free and unencumbered. Remember that Belgium's population is under 7½ millions, and that we would have to multiply 63,000 by 14 to find what we must do to equal it. And by the beginning of 1923, that number had increased to 86,000.

Still speaking of the time before the war, Holland had developed a generous loan system to cooperative housing societies. Italy had created bodies midway between public and private, the so-called autonomous institutes, working largely with funds from a public source. France, after some years' experience with loans to housing societies and home-builders, had just started on a policy of work through public housing offices, city and departmental.

The World War halted all this activity, as well as that of private builders. It upset the nice equilibrium established between costs and rentals. An acute shortage resulted from four years of inaction in building. The cost of labor and materials rose sky-high. No private capital would seek such investment, but neither could government housing be resumed on an at-cost basis.

Due to this condition, subsidy legislation was enacted in one country after another, during 1919, as an emergency measure, for a few years only, to permit the resumption of building. Subsidies have already been reduced, almost to the vanishing point, in Great Britain and Holland, and municipal building is progressing well in both countries. They have been stopped altogether in Italy, but building has stopped with them. In France and Belgium, they are expected to continue while the present inflation lasts, but their use is rigidly restricted by the urgency of economy.

The countries which first achieve 100 per cent good housing are going to produce a population of supermen. If we do not want to fall hopelessly behind in the race for a better civilization, it behooves us to wake up and get to work. We shall reap, in the long run, exactly what we sow. From a planting of slums and near-slums, comes a crop of disease, degeneracy and social discontent. From good homes, come good citizens.

Turn to the November 3 issue of the *WOMAN CITIZEN* and reread Miss Blackwell's editorial, *Homes Needed*, on page 15. It is one of the most cheering signs I have seen for a long time. For it shows that women of brain and heart are already thinking deeply about this essentially feminine question—the supply of homes for the people.

The Great Game of POLITICS

By FRANK R. KENT

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Government by Committee

(Continued from page 12)

course, exist, but in general this is the principle followed.

In favor of the practice it is urged that in the legislature, as elsewhere, experience is the greatest single factor; that the committeeman who has had the longest term of service will know the most concerning the subject matter of the bills which come before his committee. Without doubt, there is a large element of truth in this contention.

The opponents of the practice point out, however, that a difference of two years' experience on a committee when that experience has run for eight or ten years does not amount to much. The abler man, although chronologically having two years' less experience, may actually have mastered the subject matter of the bills far better than the "time server." They point out also that consideration of subject matter is not the only task of a chairman; that his function of presiding over committee hearings and as a parliamentary leader in guiding a bill through the legislature is in some ways more important. Ability to handle these phases of the work well does not necessarily come with seniority. To these arguments also there is considerable weight.

The second method of choosing chairmen is appointment by the speaker. It is to be found in the majority of our state legislatures. In its favor it can be said that the speaker will place the men at the head of particular committees who are best qualified for the tasks. Against it is the charge that it concentrates entirely too much power in the hands of one man. If you had the appointment of committee chairmen in your hands, and you were aware that they would throw a tremendous weight this way or that upon particular pieces of legislation, what type of individuals would you appoint? If, for example, you knew that a bill limiting the hours of labor for children would come before the Committee on Public Health, whom would you appoint as chairman of the committee? If you favored that particular piece of legislation, without question you would select a man who likewise was favorable to it. And that is exactly what is done. Committee chairmen are frequently chosen so that all the influence and prestige of their positions will be thrown to support the speaker's political or economic philosophy.

A third method of choosing chairmen is through election by the committees themselves. Those who advocate it say that it places the decision in the hands of the men who actually know the qualifications of the various aspirants. It overcomes the rule of seniority and enables them to select the most capable men. It also has the advantage of preventing the

tremendous concentration of power in the hands of the speaker. So far as the writer knows, this method of selection has nowhere been tried. It is certainly worth consideration.

The function of a committee is threefold: first, the assembling of information; second, deliberation upon the policy to be pursued and the method by which it is to be carried out; and third, recommendation to the legislative body concerning it.

Information is usually derived from two main sources, the legislative reference library and committee hearings. The value of a library designed to serve the particular needs of the legislators, collecting all the relevant material obtainable in print, is too obvious to need comment. Practically every state, a number of cities and the national government have established such institutions.

Committee hearings may be held at the state capital—usually they are—or elsewhere. In some jurisdictions the hearings are public; in others, they are not. To some hearings only experts are summoned; to others the general public is invited, or at least such portions of it as are interested. The value of these hearings varies from state to state and from committee to committee. In a state of the character of Massachusetts, where wide publicity is given to the hearings and a regular calendar is maintained, they are without doubt very much worth while. In other jurisdictions the hearings are more or less perfunctory, often being held merely for form rather than for accomplishment.

Sometimes special investigating committees are appointed, of which the Teapot Dome inquiry is an example. They are the exception, however, rather than the rule.

In connection with these hearings the question arises: Is the practice of holding separate hearings for the House and Senate committees wise? Should there not be joint hearings? That side which is represented by selfish economic interests will always be represented, no matter how many the hearings. But does the double hearing do anything more than throw an additional burden upon the few civic-spirited organizations which attempt to present the public point of view? Usually they are not exceedingly well financed, and the necessity of making two appearances upon the same subject causes some of them without question to concentrate their efforts upon fewer measures than they otherwise would. The double hearing certainly lessens the news value of a single hearing, for the fact that there will be a second hearing diminishes the dramatic effect that a "last fight of the pressure groups" might have. The fact that there already has been a hearing in its turn takes the edge off the second hearing. And so the question has very prop-

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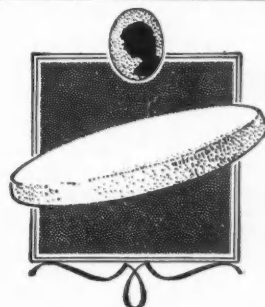


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erly been asked: What *does* the double hearing accomplish?

In connection with the second phase of committee work—deliberation—several problems arise. First and fairly important is the question of committee meetings. The numerous committees—usually unnecessarily numerous—of our legislative bodies inevitably make for conflicts of committee appointments. The result is that it is frequently difficult to get a committee together. This means for the conscientious, hard-working chairman a tremendous burden in the way of adjustments. It means for the chairman who desires to see his will rather than the committee's prevail the opportunity for manipulation and intrigue. A judiciously selected hour of meeting can very frequently be made to exclude a sufficient number of the "otherwise minded" to change what would be a defeat for the chairman into a victory. In fact, it is told that a certain Pennsylvania chairman held a meeting of his committee and reported favorably on a number of measures when he was the only member of the committee present at the meeting. Such manipulation is, of course, indefensible. The problem is how to prevent it. The requirement of a quorum will check the practice in its extreme form, but other safeguards are also necessary.

The second and probably more important problem is whether or not committee deliberations should be public. "Open covenants, openly arrived at," was the slogan of a distinguished statesman of our times. His chief argument was that the public is entitled to know how public business is being conducted. Nevertheless, when Mr. Wilson went to Paris, negotiations were carried on behind closed doors. The fact that discussion in public makes compromise more

difficult is the chief reason for secret deliberation. It seems to be a very human failing for a man who makes a public statement to stick to it and look for evidence to support his contention. Sound conclusions can only be arrived at in the light of facts. If, therefore, public deliberation inclines men to take positions with less regard for facts than does secret, some question at least may be raised as to its wisdom.

Closely akin to this is the question of publishing a record of committee votes. In favor of secrecy here less can be said. If the greatest portion of a man's legislative work is done in committee it follows that the public should be enabled to judge him upon it. Although a man's vote does not always indicate his position upon the various public questions up for consideration, nevertheless, as a general thing it is a safe barometer. And since a record is maintained of the votes on the floor of the legislature, little logical objection can be advanced to the publication of the votes in committee. This is one of the arguments advanced by those who desire legislative reform. And their point seems well taken.

In connection with the third function of a committee—reporting: the chief danger of the present system is that bills may be smothered in committee even when they have a majority in the House in support of them. To prevent this certain state constitutions provide that every bill must be reported out. The result has been that certain of the legislatures at least have been deluged with committee reports. Elsewhere reports are made mandatory upon the petition of a certain number of representatives or senators, as the case may be. This is now the rule in Congress, although an innovation of the present session. Elsewhere this right of petition is checked by

the provision that no bill to which a committee is unanimously opposed need be reported out. Whatever be the expedient, it is obvious that "graveyard committees" should, if possible, be eliminated. Committees of the character of the Pennsylvania "Judiciary Special," more familiarly known as "The Pickling Vat," where such legislation as was opposed by the dominant clique in the Republican party found its final resting place by virtue of the committee assignment, and the party escaped any responsibility concerning its defeat or passage, are indefensible.

Other problems of legislative procedure might well be advanced, but sufficient has already been said to convince the reader of the intricacy and confusion of the subject. Nevertheless, its importance warrants a reference to the outstanding book on the subject—*LUCE, ROBERT—Legislative Procedure.*

In the next number Dr. Wallace will discuss "Party Leadership in Legislative Bodies."

Bessie Brueggeman

(Continued from page 9)

Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, vice-chairman of the Republican National Executive Committee, will tell you that before recommending Mrs. Brueggeman for the appointment she communicated with women leaders in Missouri. The enthusiasm with which they seconded the name of Mrs. Brueggeman settled the matter. "When other women with whom she has worked admire and like a woman, you may be pretty sure she is all right," was Mrs. Upton's reasoning.

Hesitatingly I asked Mrs. Brueggeman whether she objected to being called a politician. She declared enthusiastically that she is very proud indeed to merit the designation. To her mind there is no stigma to "the game of politics" if it is played fair and square. Missouri knows her as one of its most astute political leaders, and honors her as one of its finest. When her work in Washington is done she asks nothing better than to return to the political arena.

"I first became interested in politics in 1901," she said, in answer to my question of "how come?" "My father was put up as mayor of St. Louis as a protest against the professional low-grade ward politicians who had controlled the city for years. Republican and Democratic politics were equally bad. He was put up by the Republicans as a reform candidate. The city was too strongly Democratic for him to be elected, but he made a fight that centered the eyes of the country upon him. I was tremendously interested. I attended all the political meetings—a thing unheard of for a woman at that time—and worked with him over many bothersome details. I even interviewed

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prominent politicians when he was too busy."

The picture of the eager, auburn-haired girl standing so stanchly by her father in his fight to free St. Louis from the rule of ward politics, going fearlessly to political rallies which often turned into violent mobs, loving the very smoke of the political battle which keeps many peace-loving citizens on the outside, is intriguing. That she impressed mightily the hard-fisted Republican leaders is evident from the fact that, eighteen years later, although she had not been active meantime, they elected her one of the two members of the Republican National Committee from Missouri. Mrs. Brueggeman had not taken an active part in the suffrage campaign, having been interested in industrial legislation, and having served during the war as captain of the St. Louis motor corps. But the men remembered her in the famous fight of 1901, and recognized her as a party asset.

In July, 1919, she attended a mass meeting of congressional districts—simply as an interested citizen—and she found herself elected to one of the most responsible party positions in the country. She was the only committee woman from any state elected by popular vote, the others being nominated by party leaders.

To prepare herself for the work of stirring up the Missouri women to an active interest in the Republican party, she apprenticed herself to Mary Garrett Hay and with her toured New York state to find out "how it was done." Back to Missouri she went, into every county, telling women that their hope for effective wielding of their new tool lay in allying themselves with one of the established parties and working from within its ranks. She organized local clubs of Republican women for the joint purpose of general education in citizenship and definite action in the presidential campaign.

As an advisory member of the campaign committee in 1920 she served with such leaders as former Senator Albert Beveridge of Indiana and Chief Justice Taft. She was appointed a delegate-at-large to the convention that nominated Harding, and was made a member of the executive committee of the Republican State Committee, the first woman to serve in that capacity.

From her broad political experience she has gathered certain conclusions, convictions firmly held. One is that women can never use the vote effectively if they try to stand aloof from men, to work as a unit against them, on the theory that their interests are different, instead of utilizing party machinery.

"I would be the last person to say that my party is perfect," she says; "but the way to improve the parties is not to stand on the outside and criticize, but to get inside of them and work construc-

tively. Women have got to roll up their sleeves and pitch in. They don't try to clean their houses by complaining about the dirt; they get to work and do something about it, and they don't mind mixing up a bit in the dirt for the sake of cleaning it out. It's the same with politics."

She is sure that the day is coming when more women will be appointed to responsible Government positions, not just to secure "the woman's point of view" or to "represent women" in the Government, but because they are outstandingly qualified for the work. "Appoint a woman because she is the best person for the job, and not because she is of the female sex," she urges.

Washington is still buzzing with talk of how Mrs. Brueggeman won out in her fight to prevent Comptroller General J. R. McCarl from holding up the funds of the Commission on the ground that they were not being expended in accordance with the terms of the federal compensation law. According to Mr. McCarl's interpretation of the law, occupational diseases could not be classed as "personal injury" and, although contracted in pursuit of duty, would not entitle the employee to Government compensation. Mrs. Brueggeman believed otherwise. Faced with an order from the Comptroller General's office which would have meant eviction from hospitals of thousands of Government

employees receiving treatment for occupational disease under the terms of the act, she went to Congress in the closing hours to urge an amendment to the act specifically including occupational diseases in its provisions. Her fighting blood was roused.

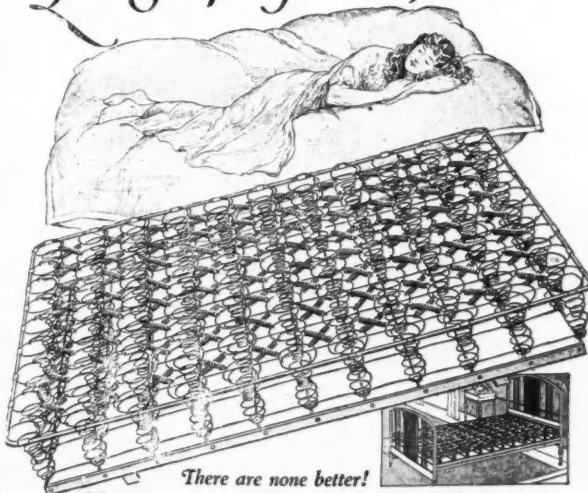
The necessary amendment was reported by the House Judiciary Committee, before which she appeared; passed by the House, and caught in the final jam before it could pass the Senate. Straight to the highest authority—to the late President Harding—went Mrs. Brueggeman, still unbeaten, asking him whether the case would not be subject to review by the Attorney General, and whether his interpretation of the law would not be accepted as overruling the McCarl decision. The Department of Justice decision upheld her contention for a broad interpretation of the law, and the day was saved.

It has remained for Mrs. Brueggeman, among all the Government heads who have felt the Comptroller General's pruning shears on their appropriations, to go to the mat for her convictions.

There is only one thing you find it hard to believe about this vivid personality. That is her answer when you ask her about the three snapshots of a chubby infant, playing with a puppy, which are always on her desk.

"My grandson," she explains. "Isn't he handsome?"

"like sleeping on a pillow"



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The Right to Be Well Born

By Gulielma F. Alsop

This is the first in a new series by Dr. Alsop, on the health of mother and child.

EVERY child has a right to be well-born. The achievement of this right will depend upon both its father and its mother. The mating of the parents determines the hereditary characteristics of the child. So much is fixed at birth by the choice of the parents; but an equally great degree of the welfare of the child depends upon the condition of the woman who bears it. The mother's condition and consequently the condition of the baby are subject to exactly the same laws of health and hygiene that control the health of any individual.

If science has shown that maternal impressions during pregnancy have no power over the unborn child, science has equally shown that the nutrition of the mother in a vast degree controls the nutrition of the baby.

Pregnancy is essentially a normal function of womanhood. In health it is accompanied by no abnormal cravings or fears or worries. The strange and perverted cravings for certain definite articles of food, as sour pickles or buttermilk or mushrooms, have their only foundation in a faulty nutrition.

But good nutrition cannot be suddenly sprung upon a bride overnight. The entire campaign for healthy girlhood culminates in healthy motherhood. The class of women who have difficult labors is the intellectual class and the class of women who do not work regularly with their muscles. For, ultimately, good nutrition depends upon how the food eaten is assimilated as well as upon its quality and quantity. And the factors that produce good assimilation are, after the proper selection of the food itself, exercise and sleep.

Provided a woman is healthy and strong, during pregnancy she will only have to pay extra attention to thorough elimination from all the emunctories of the body. She ought to engage her doctor for confinement as soon as she is pregnant and put herself under his care at once.

The much-dreaded morning sickness can now in most cases be lessened or banished entirely, and no woman ought to submit to it passively as a necessity of pregnancy. Headaches, lassitude, torpor, are all signs of ill health. A routine blood-pressure reading will avert most of the danger from eclampsia or convulsions.

There is sometimes a disproportion between the size of the growing baby and the size of the mother, thus causing a long and dangerous labor. Such a disproportion will be averted by a re-

stricted diet given the patient by the doctor, and by steady and systematic exercises during the entire pregnancy, so avoiding the difficulties and dangers of a long and instrumental labor.

The Anglo-Saxon custom of housing a pregnant woman is most cruel and pernicious. She ought to go about freely, both to work and to amusements. A healthy woman need not discontinue her work, unless for physical discomfort, until term. The longer she works, provided her work does not exhaust her, the better. Washerwomen, scrubwomen, the women who do all their own housework, always work up till the moment the baby is born and have easier deliveries than the sedentary woman. However, if a woman's work is confining, as in a factory or a store or a mill, she ought to discontinue it at least one month before the baby is expected in order to have sufficient fresh air and sunshine and exercise.

Though no fright will deform the child, the mother's daily condition during pregnancy will determine its physical stamina throughout life; whether or not it will be robust or delicate, nervous or steady. A nervous woman has difficulty in assimilating her food. She worries herself sick. And her condition of malnutrition causes a like condition of malnutrition in the baby, thus determining in large part the efficiency of its entire physical life.

If the first half of the condition of being well-born depends upon a successful and suitable mating of healthy parents, the second half depends as much upon the condition of the mother during pregnancy. And this condition of good nutrition and maternal well-being is brought about by a daily insistence upon the laws of health, these laws for once becoming of a vast and magic importance as determining the life of the baby.

Books for the women of Japan are coming in—but not fast. Have you all looked over your shelves for books suitable to build up a woman's library for the Japanese federation of women? They are needed, eagerly wanted. Please rush them—the time is growing short. As Mrs. Beard suggests, money would do nicely if books are lacking.

The fight of the Japanese women to clean up vice goes on effectively, according to late news through the W. C. T. U. They are almost certain of closing Tokio's most notorious houses. And that wonderful old woman, Kaji Yajima, who was here in 1921, is a leader in the fight.

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII

FEBRUARY 23, 1924

Number 20

News Notes of the Fortnight

Oil Items

OIL—and more oil. The high spots in the fortnight's developments are covered by Mrs. Stokes. Since she wrote there has come the revelation that former Secretary Fall planned the lease of the oil lands to Sinclair as early as March, 1921; former Senator Pomerene's selection as one of the special counsel to act on the oil leases has been confirmed; and the name of Silas H. Strawn, chosen as the second investigator, has been withdrawn by President Coolidge on objection from the Senate Lands Committee because of Strawn's connection with two Standard Oil banks in Chicago.

As in the case of former Attorney General Gregory, whose name was similarly withdrawn, there was no reflection on the personal integrity of the man.

Owen J. Roberts, of Philadelphia, was then named for the place and his appointment confirmed.

Mr. McAdoo made a favorable impression in his appearance before the Senate Committee to explain his oil connections. His service to the Doheny interests had nothing to do with the Teapot scandal, and involved no impropriety. The bearing on his political fortunes is another question; but at any rate a conference of his supporters has "demanded" his continuance as a presidential candidate.

As we go to press, Secretary Denby has relieved a difficult situation by resigning, and Attorney General Daugherty's resignation is expected to follow.

The Labor Party Program

THE British Parliament reopened February 12, and Ramsay MacDonald, Labor Premier, brought to it a report and a program. He reported the recognition of Russia and the plans under way for a commission to settle all affairs, financially and otherwise, between the two countries. In contrast to our State Department, he believes adjustment of claims logically follows recognition, instead of preceding. He

Very Briefly

RUSSIA accepted the invitation of the League of Nations to attend a naval conference in Rome for the extension of the Washington naval treaty to other powers. The Russian Government was unwilling to send a representative when the conference was scheduled for Switzerland, since it is boycotting that country on account of the acquittal of the slayer of the Soviet envoy to the second Lausanne Conference.

The first execution under the Nevada law that substitutes lethal gas for electrocution has taken place, the prisoner being shut up in an airtight stone hut. The consensus seemed to be that the new method was considerably more horrible than the old.

William H. Anderson, head of the New York State Anti-Saloon League, was convicted of forgery in the third degree for ordering alterations in Anti-Saloon League books; but with a stay of execution of sentence to admit of the possibility of appeal.

The trouble between France and Great Britain over the administration of the railroads in the Cologne district of the Rhineland has been straightened out.

The Mexican revolution seems to be weakening.

A loan of \$150,000,000 to the Japanese Government has just been floated here, to care for the reconstruction necessitated by the earthquake.

The State Department has withdrawn recognition from Honduras as a result of a situation in which constitutional government ceased to exist. There was a three-cornered election fight for the presidency, in which no one won, and no agreement was reached on a way out save by fighting. Meantime we have sent down a cruiser to guard American interests.

Herrin, Illinois, scene of the miners' war a year or so ago, had to go under military rule recently, because of dry riots started by the Ku Klux Klan.

will insist on "no propaganda." His account of his hopes for an adjustment, with France, of Central European problems, was optimistic, but could not be definite until the Reparations Commission reports on the findings of the experts committees. Mr. MacDonald has outspokenly blamed the occupation of the Ruhr for the condition of Europe, but at the same time has managed by frankness to establish an unexpectedly friendly relation with the French Premier. Another item in his program of hopes for foreign relations is that the

United States, as well as Germany and Russia, may enter the League of Nations.

He has offered a housing program which includes a guarantee of continuous work to builders, and the continuance of subsidies for construction of suitable workingmen's dwellings.

The German Blunder

THE incident of the German Embassy's discourtesy to the national mourning for Woodrow Wilson is not yet closed. Until the day of the funeral the Embassy flag was not half-masted, and then only by special order from Berlin, after the Washington populace had expressed its indignation in no uncertain terms. When the German ambassador, Otto Wiedfeldt, was first asked about the failure to half-mast the flag he said that the German Government considered Mr. Wilson a private citizen, though no definite instructions had been received.

Berlin tried to dodge responsibility, but the accepted version of the affair is that Dr. Wiedfeldt cabled, on learning of Mr. Wilson's death, that he would send official condolences and a wreath on behalf of the German Government; that the German Foreign Office cabled back he should do no such thing—presumably out of regard to the violence of the Nationalists, who were filling the press with slighting and insulting appraisals of Mr. Wilson.

Dr. Wiedfeldt interpreted this to mean that he was to do nothing. He was made the scapegoat by Berlin and there was talk of recalling him. Foreign Minister Stresemann was fiercely attacked by the German Socialists.

Serious consequences of the flag blunder were feared not only in regard to the plan for a loan to Germany, but even upon the collection of money for German children by the Allen Committee, whose drive was then going on under full pressure. Any tendency to make the innocent suffer for the blunders certainly should have been offset by the fine appeal made by Mrs. Woodrow

Wilson, who felt confident that she could speak for her husband in asking that the relief work should not be affected.

Poincaré's Crisis

PREMIER POINCARÉ won a victory when the French Chamber endorsed his proposition to go ahead with the reduction of public expenditures by special powers, the entire left bloc having refrained from voting. These economies include not only a twenty per cent increase in taxation but also a considerable reduction of the consular and diplomatic force and a horizontal cut in other government personnel. On the final vote on the tax increase the Premier again won—this time by a narrow margin and under the shadow of the falling franc.

Despite these successes there are persistent reports that Poincaré's official days are numbered. The fall of the franc, with the resulting criticism of French financial administration, has counted heavily against him, and his opponents in the matter of the Ruhr policy have increased in strength. Besides, under the strain of continual bombardment in the Chamber, M. Poincaré's health is yielding. There is a movement to bring about the return to the premiership of M. Clemenceau, possibly under the inspiration of President Millerand. One argument is that Clemenceau is the only man who could replace Poincaré without the change appearing to be a victory for Germany.

Venizelos Out

ANOTHER governmental leader has suffered a complete collapse of health—Venizelos of Greece, who returned so recently to establish a regular government in his country. He has resigned his premiership, and Kafandaris, former minister of the Interior, has formed a new Cabinet. There was a sharp issue between the Venizelos party and the Republicans, the former wanting a plebiscite to decide the future government of the country, and the latter wanting the royal dynasty abolished forthwith by the National Assembly. The issue is still unsettled.

The provisional government of Greece was recently recognized by the United States, Great Britain and France.

The Tax Deadlock

THE Republican tax measure was reported by the Ways and Means Committee to the House carrying the original twenty-five per cent surtax. The bill also carried a provision for a twenty-five per cent reduction in income taxes for 1923, and a few other changes. Very soon after its appearance on the floor of the House it became evident that it could never be carried with the low surtax rates. The radical Republicans demand a forty per cent surtax and a reduction of fifty per cent in the normal income tax rate. They

threaten that if they don't get their way, they will vote for the Democratic—the Garner—bill, which calls for a forty-four per cent rate. An effort was made to get Republican agreement at thirty-seven and a half per cent, but as this is written, no compromise has been reached.

Meantime the measure for a constitutional amendment to prohibit tax-exempt securities altogether was lost.

France Tightens Up on Divorce

FRANCE has decided not to be the foreign Reno. For some time Americans of wealth have been securing their divorces in France because they could get their freedom with the minimum of time and trouble. The French law permits mutual agreement, which is usually called collusion in this country; and it does not permit wide publicity. But France has concluded she has had enough: an order has been issued to the French courts forbidding the granting of divorces on other grounds than those which would be valid in the American applicant's own states. Which is a very different matter, though there are those who say this has been the theory heretofore, and that ways round it will not be hard to find. Among the reasons offered for the new rule is the fact that France does not enjoy the imputation of moral or legal laxness.



Once again we have chosen a landscape painter—see "Wind Blown" on our cover. But like many artists, Miss Anna A. Hills does not confine her work to one phase only—some of her interiors of Dutch and French peasants' homes are charming.

Miss Hills, who is a native of Ohio, studied in Chicago, New York, and then went to Europe. Wilhelmina H. DeKoning, in Rijsoord, Holland; Jean Paul Laurens, in Paris, and J. Noble Barlow at St. Ives, England, all influenced her work. Since her return to America, Miss Hills has lived at Laguna Beach, California, where she helped to organize the Laguna Beach Art Association, of which she is now president.

As a further evidence of her versatility, Miss Hills uses both water colors and oils for her landscapes.

Italy Recognizes Russia

SECOND among the great powers to recognize the Russian Government is Italy. A report that Austria had recognized Russia was published, and denied almost at once, but the probability is that action will follow soon. Italy completed a commercial treaty and formal recognition at the same time, and an ambassador is to be appointed at once. Rumania has also started negotiations with Moscow looking toward recognition. Japan is reported to be considering a course that will restore commercial relations, and there is a similar report concerning Holland. It is now considered that Great Britain and Italy have an important advantage over the United States in the matter of Russian trade.

Help for Farmers

AT the conference called by the President to consider the financial problems of the agricultural Northwest, a \$10,000,000 farm-relief corporation was formed. The money, which cannot be supplied by the Government itself, is being subscribed by large business concerns, railroads, etc. It will be loaned to prevent foreclosures and forced sales, and to enable the wheat farmer to diversify his crop.

How serious the Middle Western and Northwestern farmer's situation has been, and is, is hardly realized by the East. The effects have not yet been felt in the East, and there has been a tendency to underrate the farmer's plight. It is conservatively estimated that the corn-belt farmer's income this year will be about 35 per cent above pre-war levels, but that the things he buys will cost 60 per cent above pre-war levels.

Gandhi's Release

MOHANDAS GANDHI, the Hindu Nationalist leader, has been unconditionally released from prison, on the doctor's representation that his health was seriously endangered. He must spend months in retirement. Mahatma (Master) Gandhi, as he is usually called, was arrested for sedition two years ago, shortly after the visit of the Prince of Wales to India, when Gandhi's followers failed to abide by their pledge of non-violence. He was sentenced for six years.

Coming so shortly after the entrance of the Labor Party into office, his release was attributed to that influence; but the order seems to have emanated from the local Indian government. The Swaraj party is the inheritor of the Gandhi tradition, and the non-cooperation theory has been carried on to some extent in the period of Gandhi's imprisonment; but there have been no serious clashes with the British authorities. The effect of Gandhi's release will be watched with much interest.

February 19, 1924.

Innocent
Sufferers



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And
Poor
Rewards

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

February 14, 1924.

In Congress

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE feels the national disgrace of the oil scandal deeply. The thing has cast gloom over the Cabinet. No one knows where it may end. It has almost ceased to be a party affair. It has become too much of a national scandal. Private stock records are being looked into, and correlated activities of everything that could have any connection with the award of oil concessions to private persons are being investigated for possible irregularities.

For instance, Senator LaFollette without any trouble got the Upper House to vote for a reopening of the recent Treaty between the United States and Colombia, whereby that South American republic was paid \$25,000,000 and, the LaFollette resolution intimates, certain oil concessions were made to private citizens in this country—which, of course, is the vaguest of accusations but enough to cause the subject to be looked into. Senators need but spell the word "oil" these days, and an investigating resolution is passed. Both sides of the Senate know not the moment nor the hour when something smelling of oil will be fastened to their desks. It is an uncomfortable and deterring atmosphere, to say the least. Little real business can go on until the situation is cleared.

Office-holding, Plus

Linking Mr. McAdoo, Franklin K. Lane, Hiram Johnson, former Secretary Fall and dozens of others with oil, legitimately or illegitimately, brings up a question which often has puzzled many a correspondent and which never has been fully explained. There are certain codes of ethics in many professions which have as their basis of law the simple fact that one man may not serve more than one master at a time; but in the profession of office-holding there seems to be no limit, in state or federal

ADJOURNMENT of Congress out of respect to Woodrow Wilson somewhat deferred Congressional action. The House, however, now has the tax bill before it and is ready to enter the long session of change and amendment which has been predicted before the Senate receives the measure. Legislation of note during the fortnight is as follows:

Introduced in the Senate

By Senator Robinson, Democratic leader, resolution demanding the resignation of Secretary Denby of the Navy as a result of the Teapot Dome investigation.

By Senator Jones, Republican, bill authorizing the use of naval vessels to prevent smuggling.

By Senator Owen, Democrat, legislation providing for free importation of bedding, wearing apparel, household goods and utensils by cooperative farming associations.

By Senator McCormick, Republican, resolution declaring United States martial law in the island of Haiti undemocratic, and contrary to American ideals and President Harding's policies.

By Senator Capper, Republican, bill for the aid of associations of producers, particularly for promoting better markets.

By Senator Bursum, Republican, bill creating a government fund of \$50,000,000 for loans to banks and trust companies in order to stabilize financial conditions in the West.

By Senator Jones, Republican, bill prohibiting former Cabinet officers from accepting employment in any company prosecuting a claim against the Government for a period of five years after Government service.

By Senator Norris, Republican, legislation authorizing the Government to operate the Muscle Shoals nitrate project, manufacturing explosives for the army and navy and fertilizers for agricultural uses.

By Senator Frazier, Republican, resolution requiring members of Congress and all Government officers whose salary exceeds \$3,000 to file with the Federal Trade Commission statements of stocks, bonds and other investments.

By Senator Dill, Democrat, resolution requesting the State Department to furnish papers relating to the treaty with Colombia and particularly anything relating to oil concessions given to American citizens in that country.

By Senator Dill, resolution demanding that the State Department furnish copies of all correspondence with foreign governments relating to oil concessions abroad.

government. A Congressman may be half a dozen things; may continue his law practice in New York, making it only the more lucrative by enlarging his office and making himself the Washington representative whose valued, and highly expensive, advice is sought at important week-end conferences between partners and clients. He may retain his canning business in the South or his lumber industry in Maine, and fight for can and lumber legislation with an open front. A Senator, Hiram Johnson for example, may accept a fee from a municipality in a great traction fight, *i.e.*, the New York City case, may retain his connection with a prosperous law office in his home city, may be a Presidential candidate, and serve the people of his state as a United States Senator at the same time.

Mixed Lines

Your correspondent has not room here to recite the specific records of many men in Congress who keep both ends going and considerable in the middle, besides attending to their Congressional representation, but it would make good reading if merely listed. At the same time there are others in Congress who lead lives unselfishly devoted to the public trust reposed in them to such an extent that they give every possible moment to the public business and can be found at their desks at unheard-of hours day and night. But the majority lead double, triple and quadrilateral lives.

It is little wonder then that occasionally in our political history there crops out a case where a man was unable to separate properly all his private and public interests. It is asking considerable of a human creature who has made every cent he has in the world by canning tomatoes—thereby being able to lay aside the money which made it possible to undertake a political career—to expect him not to view a legislative program confronting him on the floor of the Senate in terms of what is best for a man who wants to make money out of

the canning business. Assuming that his canning industry is being continued, as it is nine times out of ten, it is only the rare mind of great breadth and power who can put the tomato canneries of the country out of consideration and give sole thought to the legislative problem of the moment only as it affects the country as a whole. Senator Frazier, one of the progressive bloc from North Dakota, the former North Dakota Governor who got into intermittent difficulties with the Non-Partisan League, has sponsored a resolution which would require all members of Congress and all officers and employees of the Government who receive a salary over \$3,000 to file with the Federal Trade Commission a sworn statement giving the amount of stocks, bonds or other investments held by them. He would make this cover ten years and include holdings during that term in any industrial, railroad, packing, shipping, mining, oil development or other corporations or firms. The names of firms for whom the public officer or member of Congress had acted as attorney would be required on the list to be submitted to the Federal Trade Commission.

Rules for the Cabinet

It is not likely that the Senate will pay any attention to this reform legislation, emanating from the progressive minority, but it carries a note of considerable interest. Senator Jones, of Washington, Republican, also has introduced a bill to the point in which former Cabinet officers would be explicitly prohibited from accepting private employment with any company prosecuting a claim against the Government for five years after holding the Cabinet position. There are certain constitutional limitations for public officers, of course, but the public practice certainly has far outgrown the law. It is commonly supposed that a Representative in Congress will devote but part of his time to the public work and that he will carry on his own private affairs, for it is with this excuse that he is paid hardly enough to meet his family expenses or maintenance at the capital. The system is as unsatisfactory as the diplomatic service has been where only men with private incomes could undertake foreign assignments. Foreign service is slated for thorough revision. The other may come as a result of this ill-smelling oil investigation.

The hardest working members of the Cabinet all look discouraged and depressed. Secretary Hoover has worked as perhaps has no man in a Presidential Cabinet in a generation. It has been common talk that no matter how early a bureau chief arrived in the morning for a headstart on the day's business, he found Mr. Hoover's car already parked in front of the Commerce building. And the same thing applied at night. Secre-

Passed by the Senate

Resolution by Senator King, also Senator Norris, requesting the Attorney General to furnish complete information regarding the status of suits having to do with war contracts.

Resolution by Senator LaFollette requesting the Public Lands Committee of the Senate to investigate the naval reserve oil leases held by the Honolulu Consolidated Oil Company in California.

Resolution continuing the War Finance Corporation for nine months from March 1, this year.

Resolution by Senator Robinson, Democratic leader, calling for the resignation of Secretary Denby as a result of the Teapot Dome oil investigation.

Introduced in the House

By Representative Wolff, Democrat, providing the death penalty for war profiteers upon conviction of treason.

By Representative Greist, Republican, bill giving Mrs. Woodrow Wilson the free use of the mails.

By Representatives Jeffers and Browning, Democrats, resolution calling for the investigation of the income tax returns of Harry F. Sinclair, Edward L. Doheny and Edward L. Doheny, Jr.

By Representative Garner, Democrat, resolution to apply a plan for income-tax reductions to 1923 taxes.

By Representative Butler, bill authorizing a naval construction program of \$97,000,000, consisting of eight scout cruisers and six river gunboats.

By Representative Upshaw, Democrat, bill creating a Federal motion-picture commission to supervise and control motion pictures and to promote production of wholesome films.

By Representative Thomas, providing for cash bonus payments to former world war soldiers.

Passed by the House

Appropriation bill for the support of the Department of the Interior carrying \$262,000,000.

Bill approving the settlement of the war debt of Finland to the United States according to the terms negotiated by the Foreign Debt Commission.

tary Hoover has kept his secretaries at a speed of turnover highly unsatisfactory to any but a man tireless and without nerves. He has paid private secretaries in addition to the Department's quota in order to keep up with his idea of what the office of the Secretary of Commerce ought to be. He has undertaken correlated activities and knotty problems of international aspect without any motive except that of public service.

For a reward, the Republican party is smeared with the Fall scandal, and the present Cabinet, and the Harding administration in particular, looked upon as a second or third rate outfit, due to the irregularities of one or two men. Secretary Hughes, Secretary Hoover, Secretary Mellon, and the rest have put their heads together over the same table and worked over problems presumably for the public good, with men who were not always keeping that end in view. The faithful now get the bitter end of it. They are the innocent sufferers. Presi-

dent Coolidge is not free from the discouragement by any means. To a lesser degree he has been in the same boat and will have to live down the consequences for some time.

At the present rate of increasing the ramifications of the scandal, neither party will come off unscathed. A recent report from North Carolina caused slight Republican merriment at the capital. Senator Jim Reed, of Missouri, Democrat, had been invited to address the state legislature, and the appointment was made and confirmed. When Senator Reed insisted that Senator Lenroot, as chairman of the Oil Investigating Committee, ask Mr. Doheny about Mr. McAdoo's connection with the Doheny interests, the Carolinians became so incensed at what they believed to be a betrayal of the Democratic party, they telegraphed Senator Reed to disregard the proffered invitation and to consider himself well out of it.

The President on Denby

Within a few hours after President Coolidge received the Robinson resolution calling for the resignation from the Cabinet of Secretary Denby, the President issued a statement declining to be guided or instructed by the resolution on the ground that the dismissal of a Cabinet officer was a matter for executive action, unless the Cabinet member were actually impeached by Congress. The President also has been inclined to rest the whole Teapot Dome investigation with the findings of the court before which the case will be tried with the special counsel appointed by the President for the purpose. In his political speech in New York on Lincoln's birthday—a pronouncement which will be interpreted as his policy and purpose for some time to come—the President made an emphatic point which left no surmises as to what his direct course would be.

"Lately there have been most startling revelations concerning the leasing of the government oil lands," he said. "At the revelation of greed making its subtle approaches to public officers, of the prostitution of high place to private profit, we are filled with scorn and indignation. We have a deep sense of humiliation at such gross betrayal of trust, and we lament the undermining of public confidence in official integrity. But we cannot rest with righteous wrath, still less can we permit ourselves to give way to cynicism. We propose to follow the clear, open path of justice. There will be immediate, adequate, unshrinking prosecution, criminal and civil, to punish the guilty and to protect every national interest. In this effort, there will be no politics, no partisanship. It will be speedy. It will be just. I am a Republican, but I cannot on that account shield anyone because he is a Republican."

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Marie Virginia Smith

Women in Life Insurance

By Eve Chappell



© Stephenson Studio
Mrs. Basil Manly Boykin



© Backrach
Clara M. De Noon

MORE than five thousand women are working in life insurance at present in the United States. Some are becoming discouraged and turning to other work.

Some—but they are few—are earning twenty-five thousand dollars a year, or even more. Between these extremes are many women—and the number is steadily increasing—who are earning annual incomes that range from five thousand to twelve thousand dollars. Enthusiasts all are these women who are making good, judging from the few chosen to interview. Any one of them will tell you that the opportunities for women in life insurance are great; that success is not a matter of the way the luck holds but the way the worker herself holds; that the only limits to achievement in this field are the limits within one's self.

"Physically, ethically and economically, it is a satisfying business," Marie Virginia Smith said. Miss Smith is with the Equitable, and has a brilliant record of policies written for business and professional women in New York.

Mrs. Basil Manly Boykin, manager of the women's department for Georgia and Tennessee of the Fidelity Mutual, declared: "There is no business that offers such good chances to women." And while Mrs. Boykin's statement is not the fruit of long experience, since she is a recent recruit, it is no stronger than that of the manager in Boston of the women's department of the Penn Mutual, Corinne V. Loomis, whose contribution to "Careers for Women" said: "The opportunities for the college or trained woman in insurance are greater than in any other line of work." And the faith of Annie Alexander Russell of the Equitable is as firm. Miss Russell should know. She is a pioneer in the work as it stands in its modern form, so different in methods and results from twenty years ago. She, more than any other, is responsible for a new type of woman insurance worker. She introduced new ways, and has trained many a novice.

These successful insurance women are not easy to catch and interview. For one thing, they are very busy. For another, their work does not clamp on the chains of time clock and office hours. They are their own executives. Not record-breaking producers, but successful ones, and, for one reason or another, conspicuous for some special work, are quoted.

Miss Russell has been in insurance fourteen years, all of them with the Equitable. For several years she has been in New York, but she began her work in West Virginia. She selected her work against the advice of every relative and friend that she had. Yet more important, against the advice of the man to whom she applied for a contract, and he, thinking a little practical discouragement might accomplish more than mere words, set the minimum for her first month's work at \$50,000. She did not

know it was an unheard-of requirement; she accepted it, and went a bit above the mark. In preparation, for months she had studied life insurance and salesmanship. This study, covering about six months, Miss Russell believes to be essential.

"A woman may get her training in one of the universities or colleges which now include such courses," Miss Russell said. "Or she may get it in the more usual way, studying in the office of general agents or agency managers. It is all a far cry from the days when the new agent was given a rate-book and a 'God bless you' and sent out to ring door bells and insure whoever could be talked into submission.

"At the start a woman should have at least a year's expenses ahead, for she is serving an apprenticeship, and getting a working knowledge. Her payment is in commissions on the business written. In rare instances she will make money from the beginning, but the chances are that she will need to be tided over the first. It is because of inability to finance the first year that many women with life insurance talent, who might have made brilliant successes, sometimes turn to other things.

"Most successful insurance women work only nine months in the year. But the work is not easy. In addition to a thorough knowledge of the business and the ability so carefully to prepare her case that she does not talk her prospect into taking insurance, but induces him to think himself into taking it, she needs courage and philosophy and self-discipline. The temptation to idle and procastinate is great.

"The work does not bar older women: seems indeed to be especially adapted to women of mature years. But by stimulating the mental forces, it seems to keep youthful women young, and to turn back the clock for older ones.

"About the incomes: There are a few cases of women earning twenty-five thousand a year, or even more, but they are usually general agents who contract

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Anna T. Rusche

The Challenge of the Twentieth Century

By James M. Wood

THE proper training of its women is the greatest single task that confronts the twentieth century. Upon the solution of this problem depends all social and moral progress. It is the basic remedial measure in curing permanently individual, community, national and racial ills. Yet the educational, the professional, the business world—even woman herself—knows less and cares less about woman than ancient Egypt about the God of the Hebrews.

Tremendous progress in education has been made in recent years, but nowhere is there an educational institution, either public or private, that is attempting even remotely to serve the needs of woman or to promote her welfare. Vassar goes to Yale; Wellesley to Harvard; Bryn Mawr to Oxford for curricula that were developed for men in no case later than the seventeenth century. Fifty years ago, when these colleges were either unborn or were yet in swaddling clothes, it probably was necessary to demonstrate to the world that woman possessed the necessary mental ability and the physical strength to pursue the same studies as her brother. This is not true today. Still no institution has yet been willing to disgorge the whole conglomerate mess of inherited masculine traditions and to substitute therefor a curriculum built upon the actual social and economic needs of woman herself.

College Courses Don't Fit the Needs

Whatever demands may be made upon her, woman's position in the home and in the training of her children can scarcely be challenged. Yet in which of our colleges can she secure even the most elementary forms of that knowledge which will help her in the solution of the problems that she must face, or where is there a course of study so organized as to even bring into the focus of her consciousness those ideals which are fundamental in the making of a successful home? Her chief social contacts are either personal or through the medium of letters, articles, or addresses. But what is there in the orthodox freshman composition course to assist her materially in establishing any of these contacts? It is said that ninety per cent of the wages in America are spent directly or indirectly by women. As a result of this fact magazines and periodicals have sprung up to teach men the art of successful salesmanship. But where is there

a course where women are taught even the rudiments of successful buying, than which there is no more fundamental economic problem in her life?

The so-called college for women is the most conservative institution in Amer-

Here is a challenging, controversial article on a subject of great importance. It is written by the President of Stephens Junior College at Columbia, Missouri, who in the course of his educational experience has developed some very interesting theories, both about colleges and about women's place in civilization. We are asking several college professors and heads to comment on Dr. Wood's article, and our readers in general are invited to talk up.

ican education today. Its contributions to education, even in its chosen field, are far less potent than are those from many colleges and universities for men that have only recently admitted women to their halls.

Nor is this severe indictment to be considered a criticism of our so-called colleges for women. Probably no change should be made in their educational policy; certainly none is here advocated. Their task is not to educate women, but rather to create for women an intellectual aristocracy. In this field they will continue to gain fame, but none will ever be truly great because all are built upon a foundation that is not fundamental in human life. They have chosen to build upon intellectual rather than upon spiritual values. Instead of adding to the treasures of the world, they are aping the traditions of men.

This is strange when the most potent influence for weal or for woe that has ever manifested itself in human history is that which springs from the life of woman. Philosophers have recognized her power; statesmen have bowed to her sway; poets have sung her praises; priests have alternately sainted her and led her to the guillotine. No civilization has ever risen higher than the ideals that motivate her life; none has ever drunk deeper the dregs of degradation than from the cup that she has held to its lips.

These are not idle statements; they are facts known to all who think and to all who feel. Yet there is no one—not even woman herself—who will attempt to solve the riddle of the ages.

Until this is done and until those constructive qualities of womanhood which have constituted the basic elements in all lasting civilizations are brought to the light of day and consciously made the cornerstone of a new civilization, humanity is doomed to face its Armageddons either on the battlefields of Flanders or in the sloughs of suspicion, hatred, disease and crime.

Humanity in all of its struggles has been motivated by two great complementary forces—the creative instinct of man plus the instinct to conserve that dominates the life of woman. In all ages the keynote of the former has been Force; of the latter, Service. For this very simple reason the pages of history teem with the "achievements" of man and are ominously silent regarding the services of woman. Except as she appeared above the horizon as a curiosity or as a monstrosity, woman did not exist for the historian prior to the twentieth century. Because he has deemed it beneath his dignity to heed the lessons she might have taught him, man has failed utterly to build a civilization except upon the shifting sands of time. Whenever humanity is willing to compel man to interpret his creative instinct in terms of the ideals of service that inhere in the life of his mother, humanity will create for itself a civilization that will be eternal as the heavens. Then will the strong individual, community, nation, or race look not for mastery, but rather for opportunities to serve a weaker brother.

The Foundation—Motherhood

Is this not a Utopian dream? It might be if nature herself had not provided means for its realization. She has endowed mankind with forces that are neither rational, institutional, nor material, but that use these as means to an end, spiritual forces—if you will. These forces must become central in a civilization that is to be honored with any considerable degree of permanence. These are they that find fullest expression in the life of woman, and herein lies her great opportunity to build for her children a civilization whose paths of glory will not lead to the grave. Man build as wisely as he knew—and failed. For woman to follow in his footsteps means to invite the same disaster. Humanity must dig for deeper foundations, and it will find these foundations not in brotherhood, but in motherhood—not in

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Rosamond Pinchot as the Nun, Orville Caldwell as the Knight and
Lady Diana Manners as the Madonna in—

White
Studios, N. Y.

The Miracle



OT for its theme or its plot; not even primarily for the acting or the personalities is "The Miracle" chosen as the play for this issue. Rather for the extraordinary event that it has proved in the season's history—in the history, indeed, of the stage.

It is a spectacle of fairly bewildering beauty, a production evolved from several richly resourceful imaginations with superb daring and artistry. For this performance a cathedral has been literally built on the stage—altar, pillars, stained glass, and all—reaching far down the side aisles. The whole house is drawn into the illusion. The play is a pantomime—with no words spoken save for chants, mob cries and—once—The Lord's Prayer. But the theatre is full of sound—not only the emotional expressions of the characters, but bells and organ music and singing, accompanying and interpreting the action.

That action is the story of a young Nun just withdrawn from the world, taking the duties of sacristan in the cathedral of an old convent, whose treasure is a miracle-working image of the



Madonna. A crippled Piper, miraculously healed, lures the Nun to abandon her sacred duties and go back into the world with a young Knight. The Madonna comes to life and assumes the deserter's robes and humble duties. The Nun spends seven unhappy years in the wicked world, tossed from court to mob and at last returning, repentant, to the foot of the miraculous statue.

It is a story medieval in tone, with a haunting symbolism that matters far less than the exciting succession of astoundingly lovely scenes.

Yet the beauty does not eclipse the acting: the young Nun, vital, impetuous, is played excellently by a girl new to the stage—Rosamond Pinchot. Lady Diana Manners, of the bluest blood of England, is the exquisite Madonna—at least part of the time, alternating with the Princess Matchabelli, dark and august where Lady Diana is blonde and gentle. The Piper (Werner Strauss) stands out effectively in a tantalizingly elusive rôle.

"The Miracle" is the creation of Max Reinhardt, the production was designed by Norman Bel Geddes, and is the courageous undertaking of Morris Gest.



Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
Mrs. Peter Hughes-Griffiths and Mary Ellis, of the peace delegation from Wales

The Women of Wales To the Women of America

SOMETHING rather wonderful is happening just as this magazine goes to press—something that may be the first swell of a wave destined to sweep round the world.

For perhaps the first time in history a Peace Memorial is being presented by the women of one country to the women of another. At a luncheon organized to represent the united women's organizations of America a group of three women of Wales are offering a great oak chest full of Welsh women's signatures to a plea for alliance in the greatest of crusades—a crusade for world peace.

"We speak simply as the Women of Wales"—so reads a passage from the Memorial—"the daughters of a nation whose glory it has been to cherish no hatred towards any land or people, and whose desire is for the coming on earth of the reign of fellowship and good will. We long for the day when the affairs of nations shall be subject no longer to the verdict of the sword. . . . The future is big with hope if we, as the women of this generation, do our part. To us has come an opportunity as real as the responsibility is grave. We would, therefore, appeal to you, Women of the United States of America, 'with malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right,' to aid in the effort to hand down to the generations which come after us the proud heritage of a warless world."

Back of this Memorial and this chestful of names lies a story of profound appeal, with almost epic outlines. The delegation, always modestly insistent on their quality as representatives, not individuals, told it to us with an engaging simplicity. But first their names: Mrs.

Peter Hughes-Griffiths, head of the delegation, wife of a Welsh Presbyterian minister in London—like one of our Western women in her splendid height and free carriage; Miss Mary Ellis, B. A., on leave in our country and spending it in getting acquainted with American women, East and West, and winning them everywhere with her exquisite, gentle modesty and her charm; and Miss Elined Prys, B. A., young, lovely, a social worker, with splendid relief service in Rumania to her account.

All three are perfectly certain they are in no sense celebrities, and if any reporting person can find out from them which one originated the idea for the Memorial she will do it by means of torture. They have come only as "women of Wales."

Well, the idea originated, somehow—with the women's section of the Welsh School of Social Service, a summer school where people discuss religion and politics and public affairs. That was only last May. A few women, fired by the idea, called a week-end conference at Llandrindoo Wells (Miss Ellis assisted the office pencil here), and the upshot was the decision to call a National Conference of Women at Aberystwyth. Here, with Mrs. Hughes-Griffiths presiding, the definite plan was made to organize for a Memorial from the women of Wales to the women of America. Two paid organizers were appointed, one to work in North Wales and one in South Wales—and right here let it be said that was all the paying done anywhere. The rest was volunteer work and volunteer money; even the official delegation crossed the sea at their own expense.

Presently organization was going on in every district, town and tiny village in the country, and a house-to-house canvass started. And that means something in the rocky, hilly rural districts

of Wales, where trolley cars are not, nor many buses, and money for hiring autos is scarce. *Walking* was the way it was done. Many women walked miles—one woman walked twelve miles to get a single signature. The women of Wales, you see, really want peace. That's why, out of a total woman population just over a million, 390,296 women's names are signed to the plea—about sixty-five per cent of the possible signers, if you count out those under eighteen. That's why, too, all the strongly marked party lines, all the sharply defined lines of sect, all class barriers went down. North Wales and South Wales, so unlike, worked together; all the women of Wales worked together. *Women can!*

So those signature forms in the oak chest are moving. They speak of a deep passion for peace. Some of them are smudged with ink because they were taken from house to house in the rain; some are finger-marked with much handling; some bear cross-marks to indicate the approval of women unable to write, contrasting with the signatures of hundreds of young university women. The names of all the well-known Welsh women may be found on the forms—like Dame Margaret Lloyd George, or Mrs. Coombe Tennant, Great Britain's first delegate to the League of Nations, neighboring the signatures of humble peasant women living in little villages on the Welsh hills—one a woman a hundred years old. And then having faced bad weather the signatures finally endured the winter Atlantic and brought their mute, eloquent message.

But why to us? The Memorial tells you; Mrs. Hughes-Griffiths tells you. It was on a claim of an old friendship, an old alliance. For aside from the claims of the Welsh blood in the veins of Thomas Jefferson, in those of the founder of Yale, this is not the first time that "the little land of the hills" and the great Republic of the West have joined in the quest for peace. An American, Elihu Burritt, and a Welshman, Henry Richard, together organized a series of peace conferences in the middle years of the nineteenth century, carrying on a campaign for the "bond of brotherhood" among nations in Brussels, Paris, Frankfort, London, Manchester, Edinburgh. This splendid beginning failed; "but," say the Welshwomen, "it is the recollection of the comradeship between an American citizen and a son of Wales in the cause of peace, together with the knowledge of our joint sacrifice in the war, that emboldens us to address to you this appeal."

They do not suggest many details of action. They rejoice in work already done by Great Britain and the United States in cooperation; they are delighted at the movement for the World Court; they "feel that the dawn of the peace which shall endure would be hastened"

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The Legislative Gauntlet

By Schuyler C. Wallace

Of Columbia University

GOVERNMENT by committees" has long been a favorite characterization of our legislative procedure. And there is certainly considerable truth in the description. It does not, however, picture the whole process. Nor are the committee chairmen, powerful as they are, the sole leaders of the legislative body. The progress of a bill through a legislature may well serve to illustrate this.

All bills as they are reported out of committee are placed on a calendar, that is, on a list from which they are to be taken in order of precedence. And in Congress, as well as in many of the state legislatures, there they tend to stay. Since the volume of business is such that it is impossible for the legislature to consider all the proposals, it is evident that the less important must give way to those of a more pressing character. In Congress the decision concerning what shall be taken up is placed in the hands of the rules committee. In conjunction with the steering committee of the majority party, this small group of men practically control the business of our national legislature. Both the actual calendar and the time that may be devoted to each piece of legislation are determined by them. Only through a special rule advancing a proposal over innumerable other proposals on the calendar can a measure hope to secure the attention of Congress.

Thus there is lodged in the hands of this small group of men the determination of what is important and what is not important. There in great measure resides the leadership in the lower house of Congress.

The Rush of Last Days

The situation in the lower chambers of the state legislatures has not yet become so acute. And yet, even in them, toward the end of the sessions circumstances have compelled the adoption of "sifting committees." The turmoil of the closing days has been sufficient in some states to bring a rules committee into being. In Montana, after the fortieth day, a joint legislative committee composed of five members from each branch of the legislature fixes the order in which the pending legislation will receive consideration. In New York the committee on rules in the Assembly takes charge of all legislation during the last ten days. So at least, the rules say.

Actually this period of control is greatly extended by the practice of setting a date for adjournment and subsequently postponing actual dissolution.

This condition, however, does not prevail the country over.

In the Senate, the committee on rules has no such power as it has in the House, nor does it have in the upper chambers of state legislatures, generally. Decisions as to the order of business in these bodies are usually arrived at in informal conferences. Consequently leadership here does not exist in the same sense that it does in the lower house.

When a bill reaches the calendar of the Lower House its future depends on: the Rules Committee — Committee Chairmen — the Steering Committee — the Speaker of the House. In the Senate — repeat, with variations. Then, sometimes, comes the conference. All of which leads to the question: Is the two-chamber legislature a success?

The leadership of personality is always present, but not that based upon the occupancy of a strategic position relative to legislative procedure.

All leadership, however, does not rest with the committee on rules, nor with the committee chairmen, nor with a combination of the two. True—without the favor of these two powerful forces no bill could reach the floor of Congress. And the same is true in some of the state legislatures. The speaker, however, although shorn of much of his former glory, still retains immense power. His position on the steering committee alone would assure him of that. But in addition his place confers upon him enormous prestige. His power of recognition alone enables him to exert a tremendous influence. Time and again it has been used with effect. James G. Blaine recognized no one unless he knew and approved the purpose for which the member sought the floor. Although it is now said that in Congress "the speaker uses his power of recognition to no important degree save on the two days of the month (and the last six of the session) when motions to suspend rules by a two-thirds vote are in order," nevertheless an exaggerated use of it is still found in state assemblies. Toward the end of a session the speaker becomes almost an autocrat dispensing preference as he pleases by recognizing this or that member. His power to make rulings

likewise contributes to the same end. It cannot be charged that all speakers formulate their rules in such a manner as always to favor their friends and embarrass their opponents. Yet, generally speaking, there is not much doubt but that in so far as interpretation permits it, the rules are construed to produce this result.

No less important is the speaker's power of reference. By a judicious selection of committees it frequently is possible for a speaker to determine the fate of a bill. It is usually well known that certain committees have certain attitudes, that they favor or oppose particular types of legislation. A slight shuffling of committee reference is all that is necessary to produce a given result. And it is a rare speaker who scrupulously abstains from such manipulation. The speaker's power in this particular is considerably enhanced if he selects the committees. In that case committee assignments can very readily be made with the conscious purpose of making the speaker's reference decisive. This situation exists only in the state legislatures. Where the speaker appoints a committee on rules, in addition, his control is pretty nearly complete. This committee is, in effect, the speaker's cabinet. Its members are in many cases chosen because of their sympathetic relationship to him. Again, however, this is not a general condition.

A Long Trail

The situation in the upper chambers is very different. The presiding officers there, although having many of the attributes of the speakers—the right of recognition, reference and ruling—have less often used them to make themselves party leaders. Usually, in so far as leadership exists in these bodies, it rests with the majority floor leader and his lieutenants.

It is apparent from even this brief review that a bill, to run the legislative gauntlet successfully, must have the combined support, in the House of Representatives at least, of the committee chairman, the committee on rules, the steering committee and the speaker. And the same is true with some variation in the lower chambers of state legislatures. Rarely is it possible to get a bill before the House save with the approval of the committee. And rarely is it possible, even then, in many legislative bodies without the added support

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Editorially Speaking

The Right Way to Clean House

THERE was much contradictory opinion on the President's response to the Senate's call for the dismissal of Secretary Denby. And very little difference as to what should be the final outcome so far as the Secretary of the Navy was concerned. The policy of conservation has popular approval, and the presence in the Cabinet of a man who, though innocently and sincerely, was responsible for the alienation of the public's property, was generally unacceptable. It became more so when Mr. Denby declared that he would do the same thing again in the same circumstances. That the Senate's resolution constituted an invasion of the Executive's province is clear enough, and the President was no doubt right in his definite refusal to be directed. The patience of the public in awaiting his pleasure without more clamor was a proof of their faith in his integrity and justice. It is a relief that Secretary Denby has saved him further embarrassment and ended an impossible situation by resigning.

The President expressed the right attitude for the public in this time of sickening revelations:—adherence to the "clear, open path of justice," without politics and partisanship; but also with "no mingling of innocent and guilty in unthinking condemnation." There should be no yielding to a hysteria which destroys discrimination. Great cruelty can come from overzeal in a good cause. The purposes of justice are not served by mass condemnation. This is a matter in which the individual can contribute directly to forming a sound and sane attitude, without a second's relaxation of the will to make our national house clean.



Another Disarmament Conference?

FROM two sources come proposals for another conference on the limitation of armament. From our House Committee on Appropriations, upon the discovery that the Navy Department's program of naval construction would require the expenditure of \$35,000,000 annually over a period of ten years. The Committee refused to sanction the first appropriation and advised instead a new conference. The second proposal is made by the new British premier, Ramsay MacDonald, suggesting a conference for the discussion of both land and sea programs of disarmament. Believing that all the people of the world want agreements of nations to prevent war, he has declared opposition to any increase in armaments, though promising to maintain adequate defense while such agreements are being reached.

The Washington Conference, as everyone knows, stopped short of effective limitation on aeroplane and poison gas—on, in short, the very weapons that would be used in the next war. That the nations have not built all the ships allowed under the ship building program adopted then shows again what was all too clear at the time—that the most important limi-

tation had not been achieved at all. Ships were on the obsolescent list already. The Washington Conference, even so, was tremendously worth while, and so would another conference be even if it also fell short of the farthest goal.



How Far Should the Gates Open?

IT is much to be hoped that Congress will take early action on the new Johnson Immigration Bill just reported to the House. The present three per cent law was passed in 1921 to act as a dam to the flood of undesirable Europeans who were threatening to pour into the country. It was a temporary measure and comes to an end on June 30th, when unless some new provision is made the gates will again be wide open. According to some recent figures, 46 per cent of all the incompetents in the institutions of New York State are foreign born, and it takes one-third of all the state taxes to care for them.

While the present law is based on 3 per cent of the census of 1910, the proposed Johnson Bill is based on 2 per cent of the census of 1890, and while it will make little change in the number of immigrants admitted from northern and western Europe it will greatly reduce the number from southeastern Europe. Time has shown that certain nationalities not only do not become citizens but that they are totally incapable of assimilation. More than 60 per cent of the English-speaking nations, the Scandinavians and Germans, become citizens. Under the present emergency law 387,000 immigrants may be admitted yearly, under the one proposed the number would be 168,837, plus certain near relatives who are already here. The new bill also provides that the would-be immigrant before leaving home must make application for a certificate from the United States Consul.

A flexible law is greatly needed to minimize injustices and to meet the exigencies of individual cases. Our immigration laws have been needlessly cruel to others and blunderingly inadequate to protect ourselves. We know the kind of immigrants we want and the kind that are a positive detriment to the country. It is time that this knowledge be put into the law. The subject demands the immediate attention of Congress and the most careful and courageous action.—G. F. B.



National Garden Week

"THE U. S. A.—Garden Nation of the World in 1930"—is the slogan of the General Federation of Women's Clubs for its second National Garden Week campaign, set for April 20 to 26. Certainly we have the resources to realize that ambition—the question is the ambition itself. Every one who knows the country at all widely has painful memories of shockingly inartistic flowerbeds and dis-

graceful back yards in dismayed numbers; of bare roadsides and awkward plantings. There are other memory pictures, too, of course—lovely ones; the point is merely that, nationally, we need such training as only the General Federation can give if we are to develop a national sense for garden beauty.

This campaign for more gardens is linked with the campaign for better homes. "A house does not suggest a home unless it has a garden and growing things around it," says Mrs. John D. Sherman, chairman of the Department of Applied Education, responsible for both movements. So the week's program starts off with consideration of the relation of garden to home, and from there goes on with an outline whose provocative words make a city-bound garden-loving spirit frantic for trowel and soil: back-yard gardens, trellises, home vegetable gardens, parks, community gardens, school gardens, tree planting. Nothing more wholesome, more sanely constructive could be stressed than community work for beauty and growth. The Federation is working here with values as sure of yielding returns under such stimulation as is any healthy plant under water, sunshine and care.

Programs for the week may be secured from Mrs. Sherman at General Federation headquarters, 1734 N Street, North West, Washington, D. C.



Is Dr. Wood Right?

THE CITIZEN doesn't pretend to be in a position to make a thorough valuation of all that Dr. Wood says (on page 10)—it offers the article on women's education because of the interest of the ideas and because the subject is so well worth discussing. There is a pleasant and interesting memory of a day when Dr. Wood came to our office, and in the course of explaining his views, made some of our opinions rock on their base. We had an idea that the distinctions between men and women in education should be abolished—that such differences in training were responsible for some of the "inferiorities" of women. Dr. Wood believes in emphasizing the differences. We wish there had been room in the article for all that he had to say in that interview, and that his personal enthusiasm and convincing sincerity, his whole-hearted commitment to his theory could be conveyed as well in print as it was in person. Both the CITIZEN and Dr. Wood will be glad to have free comment on the article.



A "Dangerous Influence"

SOME time ago we published a sketch of Mrs. Kate Burr Johnson, North Carolina's Commissioner of Public Welfare. A sequel comes in a newspaper story forwarded to us from a friend in the state. Beyond that we cannot vouch for it, but it sounds convincingly harmonious with all that we know about Mrs. Johnson. A welfare superintendent was to be appointed in one county. The candidates were the Republican already in office, appointed when the county was under Republican control, and a Democrat. There was nothing against the Republican except that he was a Republican, but the Democrats, when the political complexion of the county changed a year earlier, had taken it for granted that the Republican would get out and a

Democrat be put in. The first vote of the board of education and the county commissioners resulted in a tie. Mrs. Johnson was to cast the deciding vote and there was a rumor that she would vote for the Republican, because he was a good superintendent and a change would not benefit the department. Politicians were aghast. Pressure was brought to bear. Mrs. Johnson, appointed by a Democratic governor, wasn't playing the game! Mrs. Johnson was interviewed—reminded that politics is politics. She continued to believe that politics might have something to do with good government—and voted as she had threatened.

Mrs. Johnson, therefore, is decidedly a "dangerous influence" in politics—and the very type of "dangerous influence" it is earnestly hoped women will be everywhere.



Take the First Steps

THE time is very close for those early steps that will determine who is to be chosen President of the United States next fall. "Is it a long call from the spring caucus to poison gas and world peace?" asks Julia Margaret Hicks in an educational bulletin put out by the Connecticut League of Women Voters. "No farther than from the acorn to the oak. National and international policies have their beginnings in the home town."

It is worth while going on with the Connecticut League's timely exhortation:

"In a couple of months or so will come the spring caucuses. The Democrats will have one in your town and so will the Republicans. What is a caucus? It's a meeting. Who can go to the meeting? Only the voters who belong to a political party. The Republicans can go to the Republican caucus and the Democrats to the Democratic caucus. . . . The job of the caucus is to elect delegates to the state convention. If you go and vote you help pick out the delegates. If you stay at home you are losing your only chance to say what man your party shall nominate for President."

Politics, good government, like charity, begin at home, and the only way to count is to count at home—and early.



Crusading for Peace

WE are sorry we have to go to press without describing the presentation of that Memorial from the Women of Wales to the Women of America, whose preliminary story is told elsewhere in this issue. It promises to be a memorable moment. There is something appealingly gallant about this action on the part of the women of little Wales, reaching out a hand to the women of this huge country—something that escapes words and records itself only in emotion. These women in their memorial speak of a crusade for peace, and one is reminded of a passage in a speech made by Mrs. Catt at the convention of the New York State League of Women Voters:

"There is coming a crusade; it is coming all over the country, it is rising now; we hear only the distant thunder. It is coming and it is coming from women, and when it comes men will be glad because it has come, because the anti-war program is a program for decency, for civilization, for Christianity."

Here is a force never yet really tried—the united will of women against war. Wales has shown how it can unite all factions; let us prove that again, here, on a greater scale.

What the American Woman Thinks

PROHIBITION we have. If we wanted to, this nation couldn't wiggle out of that. One house in thirteen states can prevent repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, and since twenty-three states had constitutional prohibition before the nation did, most sensible anti-prohibitionists realize that a change in national policy cannot be brought about until there is a change in the policy of over a half of the states. The only issue really before us then is whether we'll now try to get out of its obligations dishonorably since to do so honorably is an impossibility.

Honor lies only in a whole-hearted shouldering of the task; dishonor lies in the half-hearted, reluctant, evasive attitude of some states and some public officials on what has become a great national issue. There is half-heartedness, too, on the part of many citizens, and this year more than any other previous one offers opportunity for delivering telling blows at the forces of lawlessness to those groups who will awake from listlessness in the cause of law enforcement.

Just now the Eighteenth Amendment and means of its enforcement are under constant discussion. As election year draws near, the shifting winds of political expediency come laden with the scent of bootleggers, and all hands rush to get their guns. Whether many will really stalk the game, or find convenient seats on fenceposts and listen to the baying of the political hounds, remains to be seen. You, who desire for your homes a permanent security from the lawless, are not so much interested in what these candidates say as what they have done; not so assured by beautiful platitudes, as by a record for honesty and fearlessness of action.

A time is coming when politicians will learn that fearlessness in public office is the "best politics" and that it reaps a harvest at the polls. They'll only learn it in so far as such groups committed to law enforcement make it true.

The success or failure of prohibition can arise from no one man—not even the President of the United States, and the Secretary of the Treasury, although probably from a Federal standpoint they hold the balance of power, because it lies within their power to unify, coördinate and stimulate whole-hearted activity from so many evidence-gathering units in the Treasury Department, and to assume a firm stand on the question before foreign nations.

Half or Whole-hearted Prohibition?

By Mabel Walker Willebrandt

Assistant Attorney General of the United States

But the question is bigger than any President. Its ultimate success lies only in the united effort on the part of citizens to make *their own* communities assume a full share of the opportunities of enforcing policies laid down by the Eighteenth Amendment, coupled with an earnest, intelligent and right-armed policy at Washington.

The Federal Government should be held solely responsible for stopping up



the source of wholesale supply of the illicit liquor traffic. That means *stopping smuggling*. Smuggling can only be stopped by policing adequately the coastal waters within a belt three miles around our shores and ports of entry. And we have Federal forces to do that in the coast guard, the customs officers, which, if coördinated and linked up with United States marshals and prohibition agents on shore, could catch the "big fellows."

The decisions of the Supreme Court repeatedly upholding the sovereignty of the Eighteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States against all attack and the unlimited right of this nation to defend itself against thirsty foreigners in the recent Walker & Anchor Line, and Shipping Board cases, placed a powerful legal right at our disposal. Remains only the mobilization of our coastal officers to enforce that right.

The other branch of violation the Federal Government must assume full responsibility for is misuse of industrial alcohol and illicit withdrawals for so-called non-beverage uses. Big organizations are formed to manufacture hair tonic and toilet articles and varnish and other harmless sounding articles needing alcohol. Then they forge higher

quantities on the permits and divert the alcohol.

Uncle Sam has to bear the brunt of criticism for letting them get away with it, for they do operate under an ap-

parent stamp of approval (in the form of a non-beverage permit) of the United States Government.

Prohibition agents and International Revenue agents must watch these "lawful enterprises" more closely.

The trouble is, so far, that the Federal Government's efforts are too scattered. They made, and United States judges disposed of, over 45,000 cases last year under the National Prohibition Act. I can safely say that 40,000 of that number were local in character and should have been handled in the state courts.

That brings me to *your* part—you, the citizens. I've not dodged laying responsibility on the Federal Government for these two varieties of cases, but you can't dodge responsibility for stimulating your own agencies of law enforcement in your respective counties to handle local violations.

That's what the "concurrent" clause of the Eighteenth Amendment meant—that you had part of the job. And Uncle Sam's name loomed so big, you lay down on your share. If this undertaking is a success or even has a fair trial, you've got to pick up your share of the load again.

Make honest enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment a criterion of the qualifications to hold public office in every *local job* in your city and state.

See that the police catch and local courts punish local offenders. That will leave the Federal agencies, limited as they are in number and scope of operations, free to mobilize against the big bootlegger. See that your local officials catch the retailer and Uncle Sam can catch the wholesaler.

Responsibility for prohibition enforcement is peculiarly well situated in the Federal Government, in the Treasury Department. There are some who would remove it. From a somewhat extended experience I have come to believe it is properly placed. Customs and coast guard are under the Secretary of the Treasury and they form the nucleus of defense against smuggling.

To help watch the distillery, brewer and dealer in industrial alcohol, many Federal laws grew up prior to prohibition and are still in full force and effect and furnish a first base of operations against the bootlegger. Every prohibi-

tion agent should be an Internal Revenue agent too, for the latter have broader powers and are experienced under these prior laws carrying more drastic punishment than the Prohibition Act.

Then every bootlegger and importer is as big a tax evader as he is a violator of other Federal laws. His income tax should always be examined. We have one under sentence who was found to owe the Government over a million dollars

in taxes. Much of the cost of enforcing prohibition can be offset by coordinating the efforts of the bureau which investigates income tax with prohibition.

The Department of Justice is not an evidence-gathering department of government. We have to do the best we can with the evidence presented to our United States attorneys. We don't want to spend any less time on prohibition enforcement, we just want that time to

count more by prosecuting the bigger criminal and bringing him to speedier justice. Now we are milling through thousands of police court cases.

Let us then pull together—you catch the little fellow, punish him quickly and drastically, and then hold us in the Federal Government responsible if we do not mobilize every agency at the command of the Government to dam up the sources of illicit wholesale supply.

The Case for Birth Control

By Margaret Sanger

Written by the President of the American Birth Control League in response to CITIZEN readers' requests for information about the movement

EVERYWHERE we look, we see poverty and large families going hand in hand. We see hordes of children whose parents cannot feed, clothe or educate even one-half of the number born to them. We see sick, harassed, broken mothers whose health and nerves cannot bear the strain of further child-bearing. We see fathers growing despondent and desperate, because their labor cannot bring the necessary wage to keep their growing families. We see that those parents who are least fit to reproduce the race are having the largest number of children; while people of wealth, leisure and education are having small families.

It is generally conceded by sociologists and scientists that a nation cannot go on indefinitely multiplying without eventually reaching the point when population presses upon means of subsistence. While in this country there is perhaps no need for immediate alarm on this account, there are many other reasons for demanding Birth Control. At present, for the poor mother, there is only one alternative to the necessity of bearing children year after year, regardless of her health, of the welfare of the children she already has, and of the income of the family. This alternative is abortion, which is so common as to be almost universal, especially where there are rigid laws against imparting information for the prevention of conception. It has been estimated that there are about one million abortions in the United States each year.

To force poor mothers to resort to this dangerous and health-destroying method of curtailing their families is cruel, wicked and heartless, and it is often the mothers who care most about the welfare of their children who are willing to undergo any pain or risk to prevent the coming of infants for whom they cannot properly care.

There are definite reasons when and why parents should not have children, which will be conceded by most thoughtful people.

First.—Children should not be born when either parent has an inheritable

disease, such as insanity, feeble-mindedness, epilepsy or syphilis.

Second.—When the mother is suffering from tuberculosis, kidney disease, heart disease or pelvic deformity.

Third.—When either parent has gonorrhea. This disease in the mother is the cause of ninety per cent of blindness in newborn babies.

Fourth.—When children already born are not normal, even though both parents are in good physical and mental condition.

Fifth.—Not until the woman is twenty-three years old and the man twenty-five.

Sixth.—Not until the previous baby is at least three years old. This gives a year to recover from the physical ordeal of the birth of the baby, a year to rest, be normal and enjoy her motherhood, and another year to prepare for the coming of the next.

We want mothers to be fit. We want



them to conceive in joy and gladness. We want them to carry their babies during the nine months in a sound and healthy body and with a happy, joyous, hopeful mind. It is almost impossible to imagine the suffering caused to women, the mental agony they endure, when their days and nights are haunted by the fear of undesired pregnancy.

Seventh.—Children should not be born to parents whose economic circumstances do not guarantee enough to provide the children with the necessities of life.

A couple who can take care of two children and bring them up decently in health and comfort, give them an edu-

cation and start them fairly in life, do more for their country and for mankind than the couple who recklessly reproduce ten or twelve children, some of them to die in infancy, others to survive but to enter the mill or factory at an early age, and all to sink to that level of degradation where charity, either state or private, is necessary to keep them alive. The man who cannot support three children should not have ten, notwithstanding all pleas of the militarists for numbers.

Eighth.—A woman should not bear children when exhausted from labor. This especially applies to women who marry after spending several years in industrial or commercial life. Conception should not take place until she is in good health and has overcome her fatigue.

Ninth.—Not for two years after marriage should a couple undertake the great responsibility of becoming parents. Thousands of young people enter marriage without the faintest idea of what marriage involves. They do not know its spiritual responsibilities. If children are born quickly and plentifully, people consider that the marriage is justified. I claim that this is barbaric and wrong. It is wrong for the wife, for the man, for the children.

It is impossible for two young people to really know each other until they have lived together in marriage. After the closeness and intimacy of that relation there often comes to the woman a rude awakening; the devoted lover becomes careless and dissatisfied. If she becomes pregnant immediately she becomes physically disturbed, nervous and irritable. The girl has changed, and the boy who knew her as a happy smiling sweetheart finds her disagreeable and disgruntled. Of course thousands of people learn to adjust themselves. Nevertheless, I maintain that young people should marry early and wait at least two years to adjust their own lives, to play and read together and to build up a cultural and spiritual friendship. Then will come the intense desire to call into being a little child to share their love

(Continued on page 28)

The Woman Voter

(This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER for
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532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Federal Measures the League Supports

OF the many developments in the work of the Congress in the last two weeks which will be of most interest to League members, two hearings, one on the child labor amendment, and the other on the proposed equal rights amendment, sponsored by the National Woman's Party, may be singled out.

Representatives of eleven nation-wide organizations of women, representatives of the American Federation of Labor, and of various national trade unions appeared at the first hearing before a subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, February 7, in opposition to the so-called "equal rights" amendment. The hearing was conducted by Senator Ernst, of Kentucky, as chairman, Senators Shortridge, of California, and Walsh, of Montana, being the other members of the subcommittee. Senator Copeland, of New York, sat through part of the hearing. Miss Ethel M. Smith, of the National Women's Trade Union League, as chairman of the "equal rights" subcommittee of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, made arrangements for the hearing.

Because of illness, Mrs. Maud Wood Park, National League president, was unable to speak. Miss Belle Sherwin, vice-president of the National League, who was selected to introduce the speakers, read letters sent to the Senate Judiciary Committee by Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, vice-chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee, and Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, expressing their opposition to the amendment. Absence from the city prevented both Mrs. Upton and Mrs. Blair from appearing.

Mrs. Upton's letter in part was:

"Personally I believe this amendment unnecessary because states can themselves do away with objectionable statutes if they so desire. I am particularly opposed to it because it will do away with the protective laws for women for which we have worked for so many years and which have proved of such great benefit to women and their children.

"Eleven states have been asked to pass a like amendment and all have refused save one, Wisconsin. This fact in itself proves that there is no general demand on the part of the voters for this amendment.

"Women in general, and certainly all working women, with the possible exception of a few who have been misled by the interpretation placed upon it, are opposed to the amendment, and I know your committee will not report favorably without a careful study of the question. I feel sure that after

such study you will decide not only that the proposed amendment is unnecessary but that its enactment will withdraw protection from a group which sadly needs it."

Mrs. Blair wrote in part:

"In my opinion the inequalities and disabilities this resolution seeks to remedy may be satisfactorily dealt with by the state legislatures and this remedy is being applied, I understand, in many states. I believe further that it would be disastrous in many ways to nullify the protective legislation that has been enacted in behalf of women and this is the effect I understand this proposed amendment would have."

Mrs. Samuel C. Henning, of Louisville, an officer of the Kentucky League, who was in Washington at the time of the hearing, presented the National League's opposition in the form of an adopted program of work approved by the League at its last three conventions after careful study. Mrs. Henning declared that existing legal and civic discriminations against women can be removed by the far safer method—that of state legislation. She pointed out the League in the last two years had been instrumental in having sixty state laws passed which removed objectionable sex inequalities. Mrs. Henning further branded the proposed amendment as a "vague and sweeping" method which would "imperil existing legislation."

Miss Mary Van Kleeck, director of industrial studies, Russell Sage Foundation, declared that under the proposed amendment courts would be put in a position of trying to define what is women's rights; in other words, put in a position of legislating. Miss Van Kleeck cited the record of the National League as a commendable illustration of what can be done by state laws. The amendment, she said, violates the very important rule in legal practice—to be specific and definite—and is "liable to involve us in serious confusion."

Miss Agnes Regan, secretary of the National Council of Catholic Women, called the amendment a "palpable misnomer." She said the history of civilization for the last hundred years is a record of a fight to have the differences between men and women recognized. Mrs. Kate Trenholm Abrams, appearing for the General Federation of Women's Clubs, read a statement from Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, national president, telling of the women's clubs' opposition. Miss Esther Oberg, of Minneapolis, representing the Y. W. C. A. Industrial Department, pleaded with the Senators "just to use common sense."

Other speakers were Mrs. Florence Kelley, representing the National Consumers' League; Miss Agnes Nestor, legislative chairman, National Women's Trade Union League; Miss Melinda Scott, American Federation of Labor; Mrs. Maud Swartz, president of the National Women's Trade Union League; Miss Rose Schneiderman, vice-president, National Women's Trade Union League; Mrs. Edith C. Paul, American Federation of Teachers; Miss Nelle Swartz, chief of the Bureau of Women in Industry, New York State Labor Department; Mrs. Alexander Wolf, National Council of Jewish Women; Mrs. Reginald Stevenson, Girls' Friendly Society in America; Miss Lita Bayne, American Home Economics Association; Mrs. Glen Levin Swiggett, National Council of Women; Miss Anna Neary, American Federation of Labor; Miss Myrtle McAvoy, International Brotherhood of Bookbinders; Mrs. Rose Yates Forrester, Brotherhood of Railroad Clerks; Miss May Manning, Stenographers and Office Workers' Union.

Senator Ernst announced the proponents of the amendment as the "National Woman's Party; Virginia branch of the National Woman's Party; Illinois branch of the National

Woman's Party; San Diego, California, branch of the National Woman's Party; Wilmington, Delaware, branch of the National Woman's Party." The hearing for the proponents, scheduled for February 6, was postponed until a date to be announced later. Senator Ernst assured the opponents they will be given an opportunity for rebuttal.

The first of what is believed to be a series of hearings before the House Judiciary Committee on the proposed child labor movement took place February 7. Of the twenty amendments pending in the House Judiciary Committee, several were discussed by their introducers before the opening statement of Miss Grace Abbott, chief of the United States Children's Bureau. After Miss Abbott's introductory remarks on behalf of the proponents, the hearing was adjourned until Friday, February 15.

Miss Abbott presented statistics to show the growth of child-labor prohibitive legislation in the states. Miss Abbott said that during the life of the two child labor laws which were declared unconstitutional, children everywhere throughout the country enjoyed a higher protection than ever before. It is expected that Miss Abbott will be the first speaker at the February 15 hearing.

The status of other measures which the League is supporting is:

S.1337-H.R.3923: Sterling-Reed bill, creating a Department of Education with its head a member of the Cabinet, etc. Referred to Education Committees. Proponents of the measure feel the three-day hearings before the Senate Education Committee during the week of January 21 were very successful. The House Education Committee is scheduled to begin hearings on the measure, February 20.

S.Res.36: King Resolution, embodying the World Court proposals of President Coolidge and the late President Harding, with reservations by Secretary Hughes. Referred to Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

S.790-H.R.685: Curtis-Graham Federal women-prisoners' bill, referred to Judiciary Committees. Although the measure was on the calendar of the House for January 30, it was not reached. The Senate has already passed it.

S.1408: Fess Amendment to the Smith-Hughes act, to increase appropriations for home economics. Referred to Education and Labor Committee.

S.J. Res.15: Jones Amendment to the Constitution, providing for suffrage in the District. Referred to Senate Judiciary Committee.

Women in the Fifth Region

IT was a wind-swept prairie town with only two hundred inhabitants, shacks dotted here and there, very few average dwellings, out upon the horizon a few sparsely scattered farms, not a tree in sight, the temperature 34 degrees below zero and one's heart feeling as frozen as Mother Earth. "Splendid distances," the secretary exclaimed. "Is it worth while?"

A visit was made to the one woman of the community who, the secretary had heard, was interested in the League of Women Voters, a pioneer settler of Eastern birth. "Yes, we have a League of twenty-five women," she exclaimed.

"Where do they come from?" the secretary asked.

"From the farms and village. Our women are hard pressed—very few creature comforts, no crops the last seven years—this year only six to eight bushels to the acre, but they wish to be informed.

"In 1918 when the political parties asked me to start a particular party club, I said emphatically: 'No, not yet; I have read in some Eastern papers of the League of Women Voters. Its aims and policy are what we want now,' so we started the League here on newspaper cuttings until such time as I saw in our state paper that the state League was organized, then I wrote in to get more help. Even now I know so little of your work; not one of us has been able to attend a convention—we are here because it is impossible to get away—frozen

assets. The big thing we have accomplished is this: In most towns the women are hopelessly divided on the political issues because of lack of knowledge, whilst here we have avoided the impasse because of our acquaintance with the League."

The secretary discovered the pioneer worker and the pioneer League in this particular state. Afterward the secretary met some of that little bunch of farm women. They came to hear something from "the outside world," attired mostly in bungalow aprons, patched with a different material, some with shoes which one knew were patched by themselves, faces all aglow and eager with a conviction to better their own lives and those of their household, listening with rapt attention until the midnight hours, when all of them went their separate ways, the wind howling and the thermometer 36 degrees below zero.

This pioneer League had paid its state dues up to date and has pledged the same amount this year.

The secretary, on returning, answered the question, "Is it worth while?"

N.P.P.

In One Connecticut Town

IN 1920 we went out and worked with the leaders of our parties, getting out the party vote. We did not like the tickets but had "party loyalty." We watched processes and learned the ropes.

Before the 1921 town election, the League of Women Voters worked for registration and prepared material for an unpartisan instruction booth near the polls. The political parties acknowledged our presence by doubling their town committees and adding as many women as there had been men. We expected them to nominate women for the school board, but they renominated the men already serving. We learned that as long as a candidate for office maintains his party regularity, it is considered impolite not to nominate him again.

The minority party would have nominated a woman, but the women had not agreed on any candidate. Friendly old politicians told us we should get nowhere until we had our candidates picked and agreed on and knew that they would run if nominated. Later, when two women in succession refused an important office which we had insisted must go to a woman, we saw the importance of that.

Last year the minority party ran a woman for the legislature. She was acceptable to the League, which worked with enthusiasm to show voters how to split their tickets without having them thrown out. The booth was the scene of wordy arguments with politicians, some of whom had been counting votes for years, but disagreed so radically on how to count split tickets that we sent for the town counsel and got the procedure regularized, apparently for the first time. This disagreement must have changed the result of close contests in the past.

The woman legislative candidate ran so far ahead of the ticket that the League was shown to be important enough to be taken into consideration, and members were carefully watched at the next election to see how they reacted to the much better nominations which were made for some offices.

This year brought the second town election since the League was formed. We took stock and found that we knew several things from experience. We had learned that the Connecticut practice of minority representation in town government gives the party second in size an equal number of members on the school board and the finance committee, one out of three selectmen, four out of nine constables, etc., so that if only three votes were cast for the minority ticket, about three-fourths of it would still be elected. So the contest on these officials can not be made at election.

We had learned that in thirty years no independent candidate had ever been elected, and that in the decade since the party caucus was replaced by a fake and futile primary, no independent nominee had ever won over the "regular" on the party slate. So a contest at the primary is wasted. We had learned that the printed party ballot, which is put into the

hands of every party member at the primary, is watched until it is deposited in the ballot box, and is counted, so that the total of scratched ballots may be offset by regulars called in or sent after, before the primary closes. This printed ballot is prepared by the party town-committee and in one party is entrusted to an inner executive committee of perhaps five men (no women). So a contest is difficult even in committee.

We drew two conclusions: first, that the primary election laws will have to be made over before democratic government can be restored; second, that under existing laws the only force in the voters' hands is concentrated effort to show these two handfuls of party dictators the expediency of keeping independents contented by nominating good candidates. We saw that both these ends must be served by publicity that would show all the voters how the wheels went round, so that what the party town-committees did would have the center of the stage, which is what they do not like if they are not playing straight with the voters.

The League explained this working method of ticket-making to its members and secured as much publicity as possible. It also drew up resolutions which were published at the same time that they were sent to the two party town-committees. These resolutions pointed out that we recognized the party town-committees as wholly responsible for the party slates and for the elected officials. We called their attention to cases where legal qualifications for office-holders were ignored; we asked for the appointment of qualified women on the school board, and we petitioned that in nominating or renominating constables and other officers, records for obedience to and enforcement of the laws be considered.

Then we publicly urged the women of both parties to go in with open eyes and watch what happened and, especially, to choose good candidates and urge them upon their party town-committee chairmen, backed by petitions and influence of every legitimate kind. There the League rested, except to man once more its unpartisan information booth on election day and to give instructions in marking ballots, at the three banks on the preceding Saturday.

League members in one party got together and nominated a very able woman for the school board. Their petition was received with scant courtesy by their party chairman, and their candidate was not nominated; but another woman, well known as a strong party adherent but also a good, big-hearted woman, was nominated, replacing a very undesirable man who would have been renominated if the women had not made their campaign and made it in time.

In the other party, the women selected three good candidates for the school board and suggested women for two other offices never before given to a woman. Both were accepted. The party had the worst constable in town—an Italian, who could deliver straight votes to whichever party paid for them, and who ran a "speak-easy" without even having to speak easy.

The women on the party town-committees, most of whom were League women, objected to his renomination. They had no candidate to offer but they made their point and the place was held open until the records, party and personal, of two men suggested could be investigated. By keeping close to the job until election, they secured the nomination and election of the better man. There were eleven hundred split tickets at that election and only a handful were thrown out.

How the same results could have been obtained by the women's clubs of the two parties we do not see. Both parties need cleaning up; both are operating under the same faulty laws. The so-called primary was concocted by the inner ring of the party long in power, after the progressive men had nearly beaten them in open caucus. They boasted of it. It is insurgent-proof. The spotlight has to be turned on from outside the party and so far no independent movement has accomplished anything. The League has made a small beginning which, in Connecticut, is much. It has done it by cool analysis of the situation and by widespread dignified, impersonal publicity. Any League can do it.

New League Publications

MRS. EDWARD P. COSTIGAN, chairman of the Committee on Living Costs, has prepared a pamphlet of ten pages, dealing with "Coal and the Consuming Public." It includes a summary of reports of the United States Coal Commission and suggests remedies for high prices. Consumers are urged to prevent the "peak demand" for coal transportation too acute to be adequately met by the railways, by means of early buying and systematic storing. The pamphlet gives, in the most convenient form, all the lay reader needs in the way of information to make intelligent discussion of the coal question possible, and footnotes are a guide to the more detailed knowledge members of living costs committees will desire.

League members will find the new pamphlet by Catherine Waugh McCulloch, which the Committee on Uniform Laws Concerning Women has just issued, as interesting as it is instructive. It is entitled "The Economic Status of a Wife Working at Home" and makes it clear that "when laws are drafted by men only, who have only man's viewpoint, they are liable to work out unjustly. Women and men together can prepare a safer, more just family-property law than can be found on the statute book of any state." Several flaws in state laws which apparently give spouses "equal rights" are pointed out, and Mrs. McCulloch explains in detail why what appears to be perfect economic equality under the law is often anything but equality in practice. Miss Esther Dunshee, chairman of the Committee on Uniform Laws, is preparing a booklet containing data on such a law as Mrs. McCulloch deals with and on other legal disabilities of women.

The latest addition to the growing list of League periodicals is the *Bulletin* of the California Civic League of Women Voters, of which the January issue is the second number. Other Leagues will find the January number of special interest because it is devoted to plans of the California League. Each standing committee gives a full outline of its proposed work, the Committee on International Co-operation to Prevent War adding a brief bibliography. The chairman of the Committee on Uniform Laws Concerning Women, Mrs. Parker Maddux, lists the legal inequalities still existing in the state and says that compared with the laws of other states they are very few.

"Handy Digest of Election Laws" is a convenient and valuable booklet prepared for the assistance of New York women by Mrs. T. B. Taylor, Troy Road, Schenectady.

What Minnesota Recommends

THE Minnesota League in its get-out-the-vote program, urges women, "above all, be sure to attend the primaries. Nothing is easier than to upset the plans of politicians to put through a ready-made slate. Political trickery and all that is most harmful to the best interests of the parties thrive in districts where the ordinary member is too indifferent to go to the caucuses and do her part."

The new committee on political relations makes several suggestions as to how women can be effective before the primaries. They are: Find out who is the party committeeman or person authorized to act for your party in your own precinct; make sure he plans to arrange for the holding of a primary as provided for by the law and by the call of the state central committee. Sometimes, especially in rural districts, the holding of a primary is omitted and the district is then represented at the county convention by self-appointed delegates; offer co-operation in making the arrangements for the primary; see that a suitable place is provided; see that due notice is given of the time and place for holding the primary; tell local newspapers that women will appreciate having them give publicity to these arrangements; find out how many delegates are to be elected from your district; talk with other women as to who would make suitable candidates for delegate; do not hesitate to nominate a woman simply because

your district is entitled to only one delegate, provided she is qualified for the place.

As work on the day of the primary election, the new committee of the League makes these recommendations: Remind friends to go to the primaries; be at the place designated and be there early. This is important because the law requires that the voters present at the time shall elect a chairman and secretary for the meeting and also two election judges; make sure that all candidates for delegates are given equal opportunity to place their names before the voters. If informal ballots are introduced bearing the names of candidates, see that these ballots are made equally available to all the voters; see that voters are clearly instructed as to the number of delegates to be elected. Their ballots will be thrown out if they vote for too many; make sure that the ballots are counted fairly and accurately, and the report of the election judge correctly made up. See that the table where the ballots are conducted is kept clear of papers and other material which might lead to confusion in counting the ballots.

Two League Conventions

MRS. JOHN JAY O'CONNOR, chairman of the Committee on Child Welfare, brings enthusiastic reports of the convention of the Florida League and the convention of the Georgia League, which are fully borne out by newspaper accounts and letters. The Florida League convention was held in Miami, January 22-24, at the Halcyon Hotel, and the feature of the first day's session was a school of elections, illustrating the process of electing a President, from the precinct primary and convention, through the national convention, to election day. The chairman of the county Democratic committee demonstrated the precinct primary, and the convention was conducted by the chairman of the Dade County Republican Club with the one hundred League delegates taking part. Candidates for governor were "headliners" in the program of the second day and a Democrat and a Republican leader explained their political beliefs. Mrs. O'Connor and Mrs. Solon Jacobs, third vice-president of the National League, addressed the convention. Other speakers were: Mrs. Laurie Jean Reid, director of the Children's Bureau of Florida, Mrs. W. S. Jennings, president of the Florida Legislative Council, and Mrs. W. J. Bryan. The by-laws of the state League, which did not permit an officer to succeed herself, were amended to allow the reelection of the president, Mrs. J. B. O'Hara, of Lake Worth. Mrs. Frank Stranahan, of Fort Lauderdale, was elected vice-president; Mrs. Earl J. Reed, of Lake Worth, secretary, and Mrs. George A. Munson, of St. Petersburg, treasurer. Delegates to the Buffalo convention chosen are: Mrs. Ida M. Oberlin, Miami; Mrs. Anna L. Andrus, Miami; Mrs. H. C. Tillson, Lake Helen; Mrs. J. B. O'Hara, Lake Worth, and Mrs. W. S. Jennings, Jacksonville.

The Georgia League convened in Brunswick on January 24, for a three-day session, with Mrs. Harry Chamberlin, state president, in the chair for the first session, and Mrs. F. W. Altstaetter, first vice-president of the state League and president of the Savannah League, presiding at the second session. Two important talks were given by N. A. Ballard, Commissioner of Education, and Dr. J. H. T. McPherson, professor of history and political science, at the University of Georgia. Mrs. John Jay O'Connor made an address on the child labor amendment and says that the most delightful and unusual part of the convention was a dinner given to the delegates, contrary to all precedent, by the Young Men's Club. About thirty women, many of them speaking in public for the first time, talked at the dinner, and wittier speeches have never been heard at any League gathering.

MEMBERS of the Kiwanis Club in Girard, Ohio, listened to a brilliant exposition of the Bok peace plan by Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, secretary of the National League, January 22.

League Work and League Women

REPORTS of the League's reception on January 15 in honor of Mrs. Taft and Mrs. Wilson have been received from newspapers in all parts of the country and deepen the conviction of League officers that a debt of gratitude is due the women whose kindness assured the success of the entertainment. Mrs. Wallace, wife of the Secretary of Agriculture, stood in the receiving line in the place which Mrs. Taft, because of illness, was unable to take. In addition to the officers and guests mentioned in the *Woman Voter* of January 26, the following women assisted: Mrs. Warren, wife of Senator Warren, of Wyoming; Mrs. Oddie, wife of Senator Oddie, of Nevada; Mrs. Bayard, wife of Senator Bayard, of Delaware; Mrs. Edge, wife of Senator Edge, of New Jersey; Mrs. Jones, wife of Senator Jones, of New Mexico; Mrs. McLean, wife of Senator McLean, of Connecticut; Mrs. Charles Bell, of Washington (D. C.), and Mrs. J. Borden Harriman. The members of the committee on arrangements, who left nothing undone that should have been done, were: Mrs. John Jay O'Connor, Mrs. Alvin E. Dodd, Mrs. A. G. McClintock, Mrs. John Boit, and Mrs. Milton D. Purdy. About twelve hundred women, wives of members of the House and Senate, the Cabinet, the Supreme Court, women in high official positions, representatives of women's organizations, representatives of unofficial Washington society, and visiting League members from many states attended the reception.

MISS BELLE SHERWIN made the opening address at the two-day school of politics and government, conducted by the Wayne County (Michigan) League, in Detroit, January 29 and 30. Miss Helen Rocca, of the Department of Efficiency in Government of the National League, gave a lecture on the relation of women to the Federal government; Professor Ralston Hayden, associate professor of political science at the University of Michigan, discussed the conduct of foreign relations; Professor Thomas H. Reed, of the same department, took "Nominations and Elections" as his subject, and Professor Horace Secrist, director of the Bureau of Business Research at Northwestern University, spoke on paying the cost of government. The speaker for the first evening of the school was Charles B. Warren, former ambassador to Japan.

MRS. HENRY THOMAS MULLINS, president of the Indiana League, will preside at the dinner of state League presidents, which is set for the first evening of the National League convention in Buffalo, April 24-29. The dinner for editors of League bulletins and League press chairmen, Saturday, April 26, is in charge of Miss Charlotte Conover, executive secretary of the Dayton (Ohio) League.

THE United League of Rhode Island is planning to repeat its success of last year, the school of governmental measures and ideas at Brown University. Like last year's institute, the school of 1924 will be held during the spring vacation, opening on April 3 and closing on April 5. The general topic is "Policies and Methods of Government."

RESULTS of the study of simplification of government were shown at the Virginia League's first citizenship luncheon of this year, when Miss Adele Clark, League president and chairman of the simplification committee, summarized the committee's recommendations. Partial consolidation under which the state government will have twelve departments has the committee's approval. At present there are no fewer than ninety independent administrative agencies.

WITHOUT her knowledge and in her absence—she was in Washington at the time—the city council of Parkersburg, West Virginia, elected Mrs. John Ruhl successor to a lately deceased councilman. Mrs. Ruhl is the first woman to serve on the Parkersburg City Council and goes into office with a tremendous record for civic usefulness and independence of thought.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

The Republican Women's Club

LESS than a month after the opening of the Women's National Democratic Clubhouse in Washington came the opening of the Women's National Republican Clubhouse in New York. On February 11 the building at 8 East Thirty-seventh street was thrown open in a reception attended by hundreds of guests—and the transfer of the club from "rooms" to its own home was complete. The house, remodeled from two private houses thrown into one, has five stories, with auditorium, dining rooms, lounge, library, parlor, fourteen bedrooms, and bathrooms and closets to make any woman envious. It is furnished throughout in early American style, with lovely old mahogany, pewter, prints and candlesticks, gleaned by diligent search from antique shops by Mrs. Charles H. Sabin (the president) and Mrs. Arthur E. Lott—the Committee on Decorations and Furnishings—and combined into a really marvelous whole. Flowered wall papers, tiny brass knockers—all keep the key.

The house was financed by a bond issue, taken entirely by club members. One hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars was raised in denominations of \$50, \$100, \$500 and \$1,000 bonds. And it is interesting that the small denomination bonds were the most popular. The drive for funds began in May, 1923, at a luncheon, when \$100,000 was raised within twenty minutes. The women have managed all their own financing—floating the bonds and computing the interest. The bonds pay six per cent semi-annually and the first dividend has already been declared.

Three years ago the club started, with thirty-five members. Now it has sixteen hundred—no wonder it needs a new home. Thirty-seven states are represented, their banners on the walls of the auditorium indicating the range of the membership.

On the day following its opening, the club had the honor of receiving President and Mrs. Coolidge before their appearance at the Lincoln Day Republican dinner.

Photographs of both big party clubs, we hope, will be available shortly.

Lady Astor's Plan

IN the latest issue of the CITIZEN we published an article by Edith Elmer Wood on the housing problem. Lady Astor has also seen the need of homes for the working class, and established a ten-thousand-pound housing trust in Plymouth, to be devoted entirely to the

erection of houses; the Town Council to provide the site. Income from the property will be used to build more dwellings. The block plan of building will not be followed but individual cottages erected. A novel feature is the reduction of the rent—five per cent per head—for each child under fourteen, provided the total reduction does not come to more than thirty per cent of the normal rent.

Seattle's Candidates

MRS. KATHRYN MIRACLE—councilwoman in Seattle, Washington—has announced her candidacy for the office of mayor, according to the *Legislative Counsellor*. Mrs. W. E. Barnhart, a well-known worker for child welfare, has filed for City Council. Both of these women are especially fitted for office.

The Bank Women's Monthly

THE Association of Bank Women published the first issue of its new monthly in November, 1923. It is appropriately called "The A. B. W. North East West South," as the membership of the Association embraces women bank officers and managers of departments from Wyoming to Maine, from California to Texas. The "North East West South" is not considered an official organ, nor is Mrs. Key Cammack, vice-president of the Association, known as its editor—instead she carries the novel title of "Broadcaster."

The A. A. U. W.'s Annual Meeting

THE annual convention of the American Association of University Women will be held in Easter Week, from April 21st to 25th, at Washington, with its headquarters at the Washington Hotel.

Oberlin's Victory

THE Oberlin League of Women Voters conceived the idea that it would like the city manager plan applied to Oberlin. So the campaign began. In June a petition was started and kept circulating until August 1. Meantime, newspapers discussed the plan, and movie houses took it up, throwing snappy sentences on their screens between pictures. Women's rallies were held, and cottage meetings took place all over town where seven or eight persons could be brought together. Thus Oberlin, through the work of the women, was educated to the city manager idea, and, of course, when it came to a vote, the plan carried.

For University Women in London

THE International Federation of University Women has decided that some arrangement should be made for University women in London. New York and Washington have clubhouses, and one has recently been opened in Paris. Crosby Hall, with its historic background, seems a most fitting place, and the University and City Association has granted to the British Federation an option for the purchase of a five hundred years' lease of the property for ten thousand pounds. The site alone has only lately been valued at fifteen thousand pounds. Twenty-five thousand pounds will ensure accommodations for forty residents and start the Hall on a self-supporting basis. Five thousand pounds in addition is needed for a library. Persons or organizations giving one thousand pounds have the right to name a room.

Another School of Democracy

ANOTHER regional conference has been held, following the plan of the Democratic National Committee to hold Schools of Democracy throughout the country explained in the December 29 CITIZEN. This one was in Cleveland, Ohio, January 31 to February 2. Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky and Ohio were represented.

The Twelve Greatest Meet

THE Twelve Greatest American Women, chosen last May after a year of study, are to meet at a dinner on Monday, April 28. This is one of the features of the League of Women Voters' fifth annual convention, which will be held in Buffalo.

It will be the first time that these representative women have been brought together.

A "First Voters" Drive

CHICAGO'S First Voters' Republican League is about to launch a membership drive to enroll thousands of young Republican women living in Chicago in branch clubs which will be affiliated with the League. The League already has a membership of over a hundred clubs.

A Correction

THE information regarding this year's Kentucky legislators, published in the January 26 CITIZEN, was incorrect. Both Miss A. Viola Hans and Miss Ella Compton made a splendid fight for the office, but were defeated.

General Federation Notes

By LESSIE STRINGFELLOW READ

LOS ANGELES is to be the scene—June 2 to 15—of the 1924 Biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs. With convention headquarters at the Hotel Biltmore, all sessions will be held at the Philharmonic Auditorium, which adjoins the hotel.

Each day is carefully planned so that delegates may attend all sessions without conflicts. The first two mornings will be given up to reports of committees and routine business. Formal opening takes place on Tuesday evening, the third, when Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, national president, will sound the keynote of the convention in her President's address. There is to be a Press and Legislative Day, Education Day, Public Welfare Day, Fine Arts Day, American Citizenship Day and Foreign Relations Day.

California, both northern and southern, has made extensive plans for these guests. All points of any interest will be shown them—the lovely old missions, the beaches, the mountains, the clubhouses, the famous Hollywood Bowl, as well as cinema studios, Leland-Stanford University, the University of California, Tamalpais and the cities around San Francisco Bay.

The Federation, it should be realized, is a world-wide organization having federated women's clubs in Canada, the Canal Zone, China, England, France, Hawaii, Japan, the Philippine Islands, Sweden, West Australia, the West Indies, Cuba, and Peru, and application for membership from both Buenos Aires and Argentina. There are also Federation members in Germany, Mexico, South Africa, New Zealand, and Alaska. It is expected that these countries will all be represented at the Biennial, and that the foreign evening will be one of the most fascinating of the entire convention.

BEGINNING with January, the Oregon Federation of Women's Clubs is issuing a new official club organ. It is known as the *Oregon Federation News*, published under the direction of the Department of Press and Publicity, of which Miss Vella Winner, of the *Oregon Journal* (Portland), is chairman.

THE Indian Welfare Committee of the General Federation—Mrs. Stella Atwood, chairman—is urging the Secretary of the Interior to appoint, through proper authorities, a commission to make a careful survey of the separate Indian reservations in the Pueblo, Pimas and Navajo regions. The purpose of such a survey would be to obtain the data showing the best way in

which each region should be handled so that the Indian may have a normal existence, and to estimate, tentatively, necessary appropriations. Another request is for the complete reorganization of the educational system for the Indians.

THOSE interested in contributing to the establishing of a School of Government and Citizenship may send any sum desired to J. A. C. Chandler, president of William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Virginia, where the Marshall-Wythe School is to be founded. Since William and Mary opened the first law school in this country, an appeal is especially made to the American Bar for help.

A New Venture

A FLOATING bookshop is the latest wrinkle, and the idea originated in a woman's head. Miss Ruth Lerch, backed by prominent publishing houses, has taken five hundred volumes aboard the steamship *Samaria* sailing for Suez, Egypt, India, China and other countries of the Orient. If she is successful in selling these books, other ships will be fitted up, and the ocean voyager can carry away with him maps and guides of the places he intends to visit, or novels to while away tedious hours in hotel rooms.

Alberta's Alderman

ALDERMAN Annie Gale, of Calgary, Alberta, was the first city alderwoman in Canada. She is now seeking election for her fifth consecutive term.

An International Conference

THE Women's International League for Peace and Freedom has called an International Conference for May, 1924, in Washington, D. C. Twenty or thirty countries are expected to send delegates. Miss Jane Addams, international president, will preside.

Another "First"

DR. FANNIE FERN ANDREWS, lecturer and social worker, is the first woman to appear on the program of the American Political Science Association.

In a Different Dress

"MOTHER and Child," the official publication of the American Child Health Association and the American Child Hygiene Association, changed its name with the January issue. It is now known as the *Child Health Magazine*, and is larger in size and scope.

Convention Hospitality

A NON-PARTISAN committee of women will stand ready to welcome women visitors—whether delegates, alternates, or members of the family—at the 1924 Democratic Convention in New York. This is the new plan of the New York National Convention Committee which hopes to make the venture highly successful. The object of such a committee is to make the Democratic women feel at home in New York and know it better when they leave.

Points of View

By Charlotte M. Conover

THERE'S a woman in our village, and she is wondrous wise,
She bakes the most delicious cakes, not to mention pies.
She knows all about her neighbors—every ache and pain and sin—
But on the problems of the day her fund of thoughts is thin.
To her baking and her knitting and her gossip still she sticks,
She says, "Oh, don't ask me, my dear—you see, that's politics."

There's a woman in our village, and she is wondrous wise,
She writes club papers by the yard, and even versifies.
She knows about the Ten Best Books—is sure that Culture pays—
But she's blank upon the problems of our troublous modern days.
To her social work and literature and poetry she sticks,
She says, "It's quite too low-brow to be versed in politics."

There's a maiden in our village, and she is wondrous wise.
She knows the proper use to make of sparkling maiden eyes.
Her cheeks and lips are landscaped, and her hair is always curled,
And she's never caught discussing solemn problems of the world.
To her flirting and her make-up and her "permanent" she sticks,
She says, "The men won't love you if you talk of politics."

And then there is another one, a woman we admire—
To tell her virtues and her charms two stanzas will require.
She "housekeeps" with the best of them and cooks to beat the band,
And it doesn't take her all the day, because her work is planned.
She loves her children quite a bit (they're cunning little chicks),
And makes that love the basis for her love of politics.

She also writes club papers, and she's cultured through and through.
She knows she's quite good-looking and rejoices in it too.
She even uses rouge sometimes—to tell the awful truth—
But you can't fool her on politics—she knows the game, forsooth.
To her children and her country and religion still she sticks,
She says, "Why, can't you see it?—they're the heart of politics."

The Legislative Gauntlet

(Continued from page 13)

of the committee on rules. If the measure is a really controversial one the aid of the speaker will certainly be very desirable, and his opposition would be extremely serious.

Finally, after the bill has run its course in the lower house—the committee, the calendar, the debate, the vote and the signature of the speaker—it goes to the Senate. There it runs a similar gauntlet. Leadership here, however, is not so concentrated, and responsibility for the vicissitudes of the measure is even more diffused.

Should the bill be amended at any stage of the proceedings in the upper chamber, it is returned to the body from whence it came. The House is then presented with the alternatives of acquiescing in the change or rejecting it. In the latter event the two houses appoint a conference committee for the purpose of effecting a compromise, if possible. Three men from each body, appointed either by the presiding officer or the chairman of the committee whose bill it is, constitute the usual conference committee. Practically the entire legislative process is then concentrated in their hands. The report of this committee must be agreed to or the bill will fail, at least for the session. Rarely is there sufficient time for a second conference, and even more rarely will the second conference accomplish anything more than the first. Thus actually the decision upon important phases of legislation rests in the hands of a small group of men, for on important measures it is a stubborn house, indeed, which will turn down a bill drawn along the broad principles it approves, merely because certain items or details are displeasing to it. New subject matter, even, has been known to appear as a consequence of conference proceedings.

Reasons for the Upper House

The concentration of power in the hands of this more or less irresponsible group and the difficulties centering around this phase of procedure have more than once raised the question whether bi-cameralism (the existence of two houses in our legislatures) makes for responsible government. Particularly has the question been raised within the states, for there the abuses of the conference system have been most pronounced.

Historically the second chamber was established to insure aristocratic representation. Only the comparatively rich were permitted to vote for members of the upper house, and only the rich were permitted to sit as members therein. As the historic reason has become less and less important other reasons have been found for the maintenance of the sys-

tem. The division of the legislature into two houses, it is claimed, checks tyranny, for there is usually sufficient disagreement between the two bodies to prevent legislative encroachment. Furthermore, the mutual jealousy of the two branches causes the one to scrutinize the work of the other with a critical eye. Hence none but well-considered pieces of legislation have very much chance of passage. And hasty action is assuredly prevented. It is also usually added that it is more difficult to corrupt two bodies than one.

Is "Bi-Cameralism" Wise?

What weight should be attached to these claims? Do they offset the disadvantages of the conference committee and the attendant lack of responsibility?

So far as the system rests upon the aristocratic claim for class representation it rests upon a very fragile foundation, for it is certainly irreconcilable with the theory of democracy. Of no greater merit is the contention that such a system is necessary for the prevention of tyranny. The courts have been pretty effective agencies in preventing the encroachment of the legislature upon the other parts. And they are very likely to continue so for some time to come. Although the belief that the existence of two houses sometimes slows up legislative action is not altogether fallacious—it very frequently has that effect when the two houses fall into the possession of opposite parties—nevertheless it is a question whether this is desirable. Few other countries in the world are as conservative in things political as we are. And yet elsewhere second chambers are toppling. The general theory seems to be that if the upper house agrees it is unnecessary, if it disagrees it is a nuisance. In view of this, whether the people of America need any such check upon their actions is arguable. There might also be raised the query as to whether this check actually operates in times of crisis. As we know, decisions upon important pieces of legislation are usually made in party council. And where the party has control of both branches of the legislature the existence of the upper house does not constitute a check.

How much attention should be paid to the claim that the survey of the proposals of one house by the other prevent ill-considered legislation from passing may be judged from an analysis of the situation in New York in 1910. Of the 2935 bills introduced into the legislature that year thirty-four per cent were killed in Assembly committees and twenty-nine per cent in Senate committees. Six per cent of those reported out were killed by each house. Something over sixty per cent of the measures introduced into one house went to the other. Of these, the Assembly killed six per cent of the Senate's bills, while the Sen-

ate killed fourteen per cent of the Assembly's. Thus each chamber *did* in some measure check the other. However, nearly twenty-five per cent of the bills that passed both houses were vetoed by the Governor. The Governor and the committees together were responsible for the demise of approximately sixty per cent of the proposals. In comparison with this the check of the upper house seems ineffective, indeed.

The contention that it is harder to corrupt two houses than one, seemingly so obvious, contains, nevertheless, a fundamental fallacy. The fact is that under modern conditions the existence of two houses just doubles the opportunity for corruption. To prevent legislative action is the desire of the sinister forces in the vast majority of cases today. That there is greater chance of doing so where two legislative bodies exist, each with an absolute veto upon the action of the other, than where there is one, is apparent. Two opportunities of corrupting a majority are present under this system, whereas only one exists under the uni-cameral arrangement.

The fact also that there are certain inconveniences inherent in operation of the bi-cameral system adds force to the question of its wisdom. The very existence of a second chamber with its duplicate leadership and processes adds confusion to the political machinery, and in so doing lessens the responsibility of the participants in legislative activity. Not only this. The device has more than once been used as a method of avoiding responsibility. Bills demanded by public opinion have frequently failed despite the fact that both houses ostensibly approved the principle involved simply because the two branches were unable to agree on details.

Worth More Thought

The proposition of abandoning the bi-cameral system is not an academic one. It has been proposed by practical politicians in Arizona, Kansas, Ohio and Oregon. And the example of the Canadian provinces, seven of which have long operated successfully under a uni-cameral system, constitutes a standing challenge.

Whether necessity for a change of this character exists in the United States, each reader must decide for herself. Whether a system of legislative organization and leadership of the kind just described is the most desirable is likewise a subjective matter. All that the writer of this article can do is to refer those interested in the problem to further sources of information, chief among which are:

Robert Luce—*Legislative Procedure* and D. L. Colvin—*The Bi-cameral Principle in the New York State Legislature*.

Dr. Wallace's next article will be about the place of the American Executive.

The Bookshelf

ONCE in a while a book knocks at the edge of this shelf which is a thing of beauty as well as a source of real delight. Then reviewing becomes more of a privilege than ever, and one feels a glow of honor at handling such a piece of lovely art. Harriet Hammond McCormick's "*Landscape Art, Past and Present*," is that kind of a book. It gives briefly and sympathetically the history of landscape gardening, and outlines the phase it has reached in the United States. Allusions to specific gardens are illustrated by photographs of such beauty that they look like etchings.

Mrs. McCormick was a pioneer suffragist in Chicago, and the founder of the Garden Club of America. Her interest in other women and her love for gardening met in her landscape work, for she felt that this was distinctly a field in which women could play a very valuable part. She makes specific mention of the schools which admit women to their landscape courses. The text of the book was a paper which she delivered at a club meeting. After her death, her husband, Cyrus McCormick, gathered the photographs and had the book made as a tribute to her memory.

The edition is very limited, so that only a few people may have the pleasure of seeing it, but those few will pay their tribute of gratitude to the earnest and gracious lady who wrote the text and to the man whose devotion made the beautiful book.

Three more volumes of "*The New Larned History for Ready Reference, Reading and Research*" have come to add dignity and information to our shelves. It is proving on closer acquaintance even more useful and delightful than it seemed at first. The volumes are light enough so that they pull out easily from a bottom shelf. They lie open at the proper page with the utmost courtesy. And they are a perfect store of information. The only trouble is that if you start looking up a specific historic fact, you will be sidetracked, first by one and then by another fascinating bit of infor-

mation, and before you know it the evening is gone. Our only objection is that the volumes don't come along fast enough. We tried to find out about the Basque language, and were referred to Philology, so we must pine in sad ignorance until the volume arrives which has "P" in it.

Samuel Merwin has gone 'way back to Roman times in his new novel "*Silk*." It is a story of what the Romans didn't get, the secret of silk. Today every child knows about mulberry trees and silk worms, but then it was a secret known only to the Chinese and guarded with their lives. A young Chinese student tells the story of his mission into Persia, beyond the boundaries of his map, into an unknown land full of unknown people who lived by strange customs. How the Wazir plotted against him, the romance of the Virgin Queen and the Prince of China, the protection of the secret, all these are told from the student's standpoint in his stilted, marveling language. It is an interesting picture of the clash of two old civilizations, full of alien beauty. There are stereotyped pages, situations were the author could not shake off the conventions of romance, but in spite of these the book has a real value. Its writing must have involved an enormous amount of intricate research.—M. A.

Few North Americans realize how much beautiful poetry has been produced in the republics to the south of us. Poets there are held in high honor; and among those who have won recognition and applause are not a few wom-

en. A little volume of poems, entitled "*Inquietud*," by Luisa Luisi, sister of the distinguished Uruguayan feminist, Dr. Paula Luisi, ought to be read by those ignorant persons who still fancy that the Latin-American countries have no culture and Latin-American women no depth of thought. Here we find keen feeling, perplexed pondering over the profound mysteries of existence, agonized wrestling with individual grief and grief for an afflicted world. There are delightful love poems and subtle appreciations of beauty in nature and art. It is hard to reconcile the almost child-like face shown in the author's portrait with the power of thought and feeling revealed in the poems.

One of the great figures of our time is described in "*Gandhi the Apostle: His Trial and His Message*," by Haridas T. Muzumdar. The book sketches India's history, discusses India's contribution to civilization, and Indian society and art. Then follows an account of India's experience under British rule. According to the Hindu author, the mistakes and injustices of this rule have welded India's many tribes and religions into a nation, with an intense national consciousness and a keen desire for freedom.

Then comes the remarkable life-story of Gandhi—humanitarian, nationalist leader and saint; preacher at once of non-violence and non-cooperation; loved and followed by a larger number of human beings than any other living religious teacher. Of especial interest is the story of Gandhi's trial, with the full report of his own remarkable speech on that great historic occasion.

The book closes with tributes to him by distinguished Westerners. It is a mine of valuable information.—A. S. B.

Landscape Art, Past and Present, Scribner, 1923. \$20.00.

New Larned History for Ready Reference, Reading and Research, C. A. Nichols, 1923. \$96 and \$159 for 12 volumes.

Silk, Houghton Mifflin, 1923. \$2.00.

Gandhi, Universal Publishing Co., Chicago, 1923. \$1.50.



Fannie Hurst

NEXT on the Bookshelf's row of writers to be pictured and introduced comes Fannie Hurst, whose latest book, "*Lummox*," was reviewed in the issue of December 15. "*Lummox*" marks a turning point in Miss Hurst's career—a new style, and the critics agree, a higher art. Before it came several volumes of short stories, which have made her a star magazine figure. Miss Hurst has studied women of all sorts at first hand; she has herself served as saleswoman and waitress, and made a steerage trip across the Atlantic to gather material. She is a fine exam-

ple of what persistence does (when backed by talent), for she stood the shock of thirty rejections by the "*Saturday Evening Post*" before her first acceptance, in 1912.

Her marriage was a nine days' wonder: a part-time marriage, in which she and her husband each kept an apartment and saw each other when they wanted to, on the theory that freedom and freshness are both essential to a successful marriage.

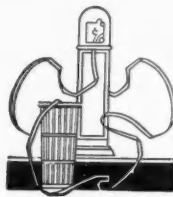
The best answer to her critics is that this marriage is still going after eight years.

Your Investments

EVERY nation of the world has its own system of currency, usually evolved slowly through centuries to suit its needs. Practically all the currency of civilized nations has a gold "mint parity," that is, the standard theoretical value is in terms of gold. China, Mexico and India are the principal countries in which a silver standard is also maintained.

There is not enough gold in the world to mint coins for every purpose in every country, and besides, gold coins would be unsuitable for every-day use—being either too small or too large and heavy, except in units of approximately \$5 to \$10. So paper notes and silver, nickel and copper coins are in general use, representing a certain amount of covering gold. It is largely conceded that about thirty per cent "cover" is enough for all practical purposes; that is, the coinage of any country can be equal to at least three times the amount of gold held by the government and its agencies. If, however, the gold reserve should amount to less, it is likely to affect the exchange value of the money of the country, because it decreases the real value for which the paper, nickel, silver, etc., are tokens. "Printing press" money always depreciates a currency, an extreme example of this being the German mark today, which has become worthless paper because it no longer has any reserve behind it.

There are also many other factors which influence the exchange value of money, among them the balance of trade. If a country exports more than it imports it is said to have a favorable trade balance. In this case there is naturally a greater demand in the world for that



country's currency (or credit representing currency) with which to pay for these exports; more gold is shipped in. This tends to make the currency of the country having an excess of exports rise in exchange value (since more gold is behind it) until it may even have a foreign exchange value greater than its "mint parity," or standard theoretical value.

When, however, the imports of a country exceed the exports, it must, of course, ship gold (or credit) to pay the difference; the demand is greatest for currency of other countries, and the tendency is to make *these* rise in value while the country's own currency depreciates in exchange value.

In considering the imports and exports of a country, one must include not only the value of the merchandise in foreign trade, but also the "invisible trade balance." This "invisible trade balance" results from shipments of gold or credit which do not appear under ordinary exports and imports. The largest items of this kind are interest of national bonds and other domestic bonds held outside the country, which, of course, means an export of gold or credit to meet interest and maturity payments; remittances from immigrants, the hire of a country's ships and money spent by foreign travelers. The two latter are in effect im-

By Eleanor Kerr

ports of gold, while the two former are exports.

Invisible trade balance works in an opposite way from the visible trade balance. This apparent inconsistency is due to the fact that the accumulating of credit to be shipped to another nation acts in a reverse manner from the accumulation of merchandise, since it decreases the gold and credit of the country instead of adding to it, as does the sale of merchandise abroad.

A striking example of this is found in Great Britain. In normal times that country imports more merchandise than it exports. Since a large proportion of her food must be obtained abroad, she would therefore have an unfavorable merchandise trade balance. However, the British pound sterling has usually been worth more in terms of other currencies than its theoretical value; that is, it has been at a premium against all the world. This has been due to the favorable "invisible trade balance" resulting from Great Britain's enormous investments in foreign countries from which she constantly receives interest payments.

Before the war the United States had a considerable adverse "invisible balance," although her merchandise balance of trade was favorable. Since then, however, the adverse "invisible balance of trade" has become a favorable one, due to the large number of foreign bond issues sold in this country within the last ten years and to the two billion dollars or more of our own securities (mostly railroad bonds) brought back from Europe by our citizens.

In later articles Miss Kerr will explain in simple terms other problems of currency.

Washington

(Continued from page 8)

I am a Republican, but I cannot on that account prosecute anyone because he is a Democrat.

"I want no hue and cry, no mingling of innocent and guilty in unthinking condemnation, no confusion of mere questions of law with questions of fraud and corruption."

The House limited its debate upon the oil resolutions in deference to Woodrow Wilson, and at the request of Representative Longworth, Republican leader, passed them promptly. It thereafter took up the proposed constitutional amendment prohibiting states and municipalities from issuing tax-exempt securities. Representative LaGuardia, of New York, was impassioned in his protest against this change in the Constitu-

tion. He said that New York had in contemplation millions of dollars' worth of improvements which would be interfered with if such an amendment were passed. The amendment was defeated and left the House free to go on with the tax bill itself, which has just been reported from the Ways and Means Committee.

President Coolidge has been advised that the legislative program of the House now is concentrated upon five points with a view to adjournment on June 1. These are the tax legislation, immigration bill, the Muscle Shoals nitrate project, soldier bonus—upon which the President has again expressed his impending veto, and the regular appropriation bills which, with the tax legislation and immigration, will take up the larger portions of the allotted time. The first two of the appropriation bills already have been passed as I write; the second

one, the supply bill for the Treasury and Postoffice Departments carries one of the largest amounts that has been voted for Departmental support since the war.

The House within the last few days has received the new immigration bill approved by the Immigration Committee, of which Representative Johnson is chairman. As had been expected, it not only continues the restrictive feature but increases its severity. This bill is on the calendar of the House for consideration as soon as the tax measure is out of the way, which probably will not be for some time. The present immigration law will expire on June 30, so action well in advance of the end of the present session is hoped for, if for nothing more than to give the immigration officers throughout the service time for preparation of the new enforcements and regulations.

The new bill would change the basis for the quota from each country to be allowed to come into the United States, from the census of 1910 to the old census of 1890, and reduces the percentage from three per cent to two. It also inaugurates the system of inspection of immigrants at the source of embarkation instead of at the fateful Ellis Island. This is a much mooted point among immigration officials and social reformers, with heavy arguments on both sides, Secretary Hughes himself having said that the overseas inspection system might involve us in the negotiation of special treaties for the purpose. The bill exempts wives, children and aged parents of American citizens and endeavors to solve the Ellis Island problem.

Chairman Johnson has included in the new legislation further restrictions upon the admission of Japanese and other immigrants from the Far East, upon which subject he is an addict exclusionist. Since the passage of new exclusion laws of California, Washington has been surprised to learn that other states have been extending alluring invitations to Japanese agricultural workers to come

and open up their territory with characteristic Japanese hard labor and methods of economy. To kick them out when the states are developed, some ask? The Johnson definition of an admissible Japanese immigrant is one who is a Government official, his family or attendants, a tourist, business man or seaman coming to the United States for a temporary stay, a minister, teacher or student, or one previously admitted who is returning after foreign travel. From the number of lobbyists and conscientious objectors to such restriction around the capital, one would not expect smooth sailing for the bill without some revision.

The subject is pregnant with fight and interminable discussion, and has been put off before because of inadequate time on the legislative program for so exhaustive a subject.

Representatives of the Women's Peace Society have been active at the Capitol in the fortnight, interviewing senators and congressmen in behalf of a resolution to make war a crime and to take away from Congress the power to declare war.

The Right to Be Well-Bred

By Gulielma F. Alsop

College Physician at Barnard

THE right to be well-bred comes next after the right to be well-born. It, too, depends upon the health and intelligence of the mother.

The first year of a child's life is the most precarious. The percentage of deaths in the first twelve months of life far exceeds the number in any other year. But here again, the way to health, to infant well-being, is so simple to write out that it is hard to believe it is, in some cases, so hard to achieve.

To the new mother, however, one of the most appalling moments of her existence is that when the nurse or grandmother goes away and leaves her alone with a morsel of humanity that can neither speak nor understand. All the baby's wants have to be known by the mother and then supplied by her. The laws of hygiene assume a tragic importance. The baby's daily bath is not a slighted morning chore, but a ritual. Cleanliness is a positive quality upon which the health and even the life of the baby may depend. Nutrition, even reduced to its simplest method, nursing at regular intervals, becomes a weekly marvel as the scales show the increase in the infant's weight. Sleep, when the skin is flushed a soft and rosy pink, is a life-bringing time. "Out-of-doors" becomes a much-prized necessity. And when the first year has safely passed and the baby begins to lift up a hand before its puzzled eyes and move each finger separately, or later begins to crawl, the question of exercise has passed from the

realm of ordinary boredom into the romance of "Baby's First Step."

The mother knows that it is by these things—food, sleep, exercise, sunshine—that the baby lives and grows, thrives or withers. And so, perhaps, for the first time in her life, with the real enthusiasm of efficiency, a woman sets about creating health by hygiene.

The mother learns that the kind and quality of her milk influences the growth and development and vigor of her child. The number of vitamins gives the child its protection against disease as well as its impetus toward growth. Her own food then is a thing of miraculous importance. Daily, as the baby grows, the mother sees the result of her own eating, good or bad, expressed in the terms of another individual.

And then perhaps in her neighborhood the proud mother sees another mother, thin, languid with fatigue, pushing a baby carriage in which a puny child sucks a futile thumb and wails thin feeble cries, and the proud mother suddenly realizes, as she looks down at her own rosy, plump child in its immaculate clothes, that she herself has made the difference between the two children. She herself has chosen to have a baby like her own, not a baby like the other woman's. She herself, through the year of pregnancy, saw to it that she was well fed, well exercised, well aired and vigorous. Now, after the weakness of the first month has passed, the proud mother is again herself, well and strong enough to take care of her baby ade-

quately. She has a good appetite. She has studied nutrition. She knows what to eat.

Moreover, she knows that what the baby needs is nothing intricate or complex, requiring a conclave of learned physicians to discover, but an intense, undeviating thoroughness in all the laws of hygiene. She knows that the baby thrives upon an iron-bound regularity. She knows that the baby has to have a *daily* bath. She knows it has to be fed *every* three hours. She knows it has to sleep after *each* feeding. She knows it has to be out of doors *every* day. Even a sunny room, with the windows up, is not enough for the baby. She knows it has to sleep twenty hours out of *each* twenty-four. All this must take place *every* day for success.

The carrying out of these laws demands a large part of the mother's time. There is no mechanical short cut by which they can be accomplished. Besides, they demand intelligence and untiring perseverance to achieve the desired result.

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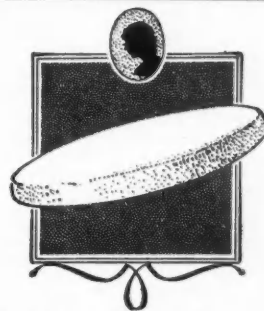


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upon how well the mother understands the laws of nature by which growth and development take place, and upon how well she is willing to carry out those laws.

When hygiene becomes a question of their children's happiness, mothers make good. They endow their children, by the time of adolescence, with a wealth of vigor and physical and nervous power. And then mothers, and the children themselves, too often forget that the same laws by which the children grew determine adult health.

If hygienists could ever make the question of adult hygiene appear in the same glamorous light as the question of infant hygiene, the day of the superwoman would dawn.

The Challenge

(Continued from page 10)

ideals of force, but in ideals of service.

Thrice in the history of the West has man, the creator, built a civilization, and thrice has it been swept away. Like the builder in the parable, his error lay not in the building itself, but in the foundation upon which the structure rested. The Greek said to himself, the greatest thing in nature is the human intellect. Let civilization but rest upon reason and it will be permanent. The Acropolis stands today, a giant human skull, from which not only reason, but life itself has fled. Yet there are among us those who would immortalize the Grecian failure. The Roman deified the institution, but in vain did he build the Forum from the blood of slaves and of martyrs. The English and the German seized upon the Darwinian theory of the Survival of the Fittest, gave it a materialistic interpretation, and saw their civilization crumble in the greatest deluge of

blood that has ever flooded the earth. Rationalism, institutionalism and materialism are essential elements in any human structure, but each has proved itself woefully inadequate as a foundation upon which to build a civilization.

Since permanence cannot be found in any of these outstanding temporal values, one can but turn with questioning eyes to those long neglected, misinterpreted and often maltreated spiritual values which find their fullest expression in the life of that despised member of the human race called woman. The stone which the builders rejected must become not only the head of the corner, but likewise the whole foundation upon which a totally new civilization may rest. The creative forces of husband and son must be directed by the deeper currents that course through the hearts of wife and mother. No individual or civilization will ever rise higher than these currents carry it.

These are facts. No greater opportunity ever confronted mankind than the one that is laid upon the woman of today. What will she do with it?

Birth Control

(Continued from page 17)

and happiness. When children are conceived in love and born into an atmosphere of happiness, then will parenthood be a glorious privilege, and the children will grow to resemble gods. This can only be obtained through the knowledge and practice of Birth Control.

P. S.—The American Birth Control League desires that the instruction in Birth Control should be given by the medical profession. Only through individual care and treatment can a woman be given the best and safest means of

controlling her offspring. We do not favor the indiscriminate diffusion of unreliable and unsafe Birth Control advice.

Women in Life Insurance

(Continued from page 9)

directly with the company, and in turn make individual contracts with agents. Some companies have never had general agents, and some are gradually discontinuing the system by giving no new contracts. It is a business of considerable financial hazard, and entails great responsibilities. Unless a woman has capital, her best opportunity is as agency manager, whose business it is to secure and train agents and promote the business of her company in the territory assigned. She is on salary, supplemented in some companies by commissions on business written.

Constance Woodward, Elizabeth Bauer, Valerie Tausky and Marie Smith are representative women who followed Miss Russell into the insurance field; names prominent in any convention of underwriters.

Miss Smith came into insurance straight from the suffrage campaign and from social work among women in industry. Fine things both into which to pour energy and enthusiasm, but for livelihood she wanted a business, and one that would satisfy her three-cornered demand. She liked the physical freedom that insurance work gave. And it was a business—so ardently sought by women, so rarely found—in which there is no differentiation between a man's remuneration and a woman's. And, just as rare, a business in which a woman is not shelved at fifty. Ethically the work satisfied Marie Smith, because she believes that insurance is the one bit of scientific finance that the human race has evolved, and that the person who sells it is doing constructive social work; is lessening the misery and the poverty of the world. "But we women talk less sentimentally than do the men agents," Miss Smith said. "We can't talk to women about the widows they will leave, you know; and 'widows and orphans' seem always to go together. We talk about the economic value of every human life."

Anna T. Rusche is another name notable in a list of New York insurance women. Miss Rusche is agency director for the women's department of the New York Life. Whether or not to maintain a special women's department is a question decided differently by different companies. The Equitable has abandoned its women's department, believing in better results if the women work shoulder to shoulder with the men, whereas the New York Life, having followed that policy for years, has just opened a women's agency. Miss Rusche has been thirteen years with her company, and has had training in various phases of the

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work, having served as cashier as well as in the field. In 1922 the New York Life had more than one hundred women workers in New York City; their paid business amounted to six million dollars.

But not the only, nor yet the chief, opportunities, are offered in New York City. Among successful insurance women the name of Lena Lake Forrest stands out. This ex-president of the Business and Professional Women's League is special agent of the Detroit agency of the Massachusetts Mutual. And Clara De Noon, of Huntington, West Virginia, is a woman who is the admiration and the despair of her fellow workers. Miss De Noon is with the Penn Mutual and, according to Miss Russell, year in and year out she writes for her company from half to three-quarters of a million dollars worth of insurance, with all that means in commissions and renewals—a sum which must be disconcerting to compute when time for income tax draws near.

Mrs. B. M. Boykin, of Atlanta, has less than a year of service behind her with the Fidelity Mutual, but she has made a conspicuous record. The manner of her entry into the insurance world was this: In her home, Atlanta, Mrs. Boykin was president of the woman's club, besides being engaged in many other social activities. The club had no money to build the new home it so greatly needed and desired. Mrs. Boykin knew something of the intricacies of the modern insurance policy, and she suggested that the club insure the lives of some of its members, pay the premiums and the interest on the money borrowed on the policies, and build the clubhouse. All of which was done. Forty-seven women were insured and a fifty-thousand-dollar clubhouse built within a year. The next year another building was wanted; seventeen more women were insured, with policies retiring in ten years instead of fifteen as the first had been, and the dream of a banquet hall to adjoin the Woman's Club Building—one of the show places of Atlanta—became a reality. All this showed to the insurance company the mettle of the club's president. To her surprise Mrs. Boykin was offered the managership of a women's department. She accepted on condition that she might first finish her term as club president. Meanwhile she studied insurance.

Working now with Mrs. Boykin are fifteen women, all club trained, and some are college women. Only one is under thirty. Insurance does not attract the very young woman, Mrs. Boykin believes. Perhaps the very young woman lacks the sympathy and the life-understanding that are essential to this work. Or there may be other reasons. With insurance courses offered in colleges and universities, the work has taken on the dignity of that for which one makes definite and arduous prepara-

tion, and it holds the rewards of such work. It is likely that more and more girls will come to look upon insurance as a career.

But even in the old days, twenty-five years ago, it was already a good business and a career to the woman who could see it. For it was then that Mrs. Florence Shaal, general agent in Boston for the Equitable, made her beginning, recruiting her agents from among school teachers and nurses. Her work has grown year by year. Florence Shaal's is a great name among insurance women.

And even yet, in spite of modern methods, a courageous soul armored either in complete naïveté or complete sophistication fares forth on a "cold canvass," which is professional jargon for a ringing of door bells or getting past the office boy by whatever means one can to present the offerings of one's company. And to the wonder of women trained in modern methods, these courageous souls sometimes succeed. "But it really isn't the way," the modern insurance woman says.

Companies, such as the Metropolitan, which have an industrial branch, offer less opportunity to women. Out of a probable twenty thousand agents in the Metropolitan service in the United States not more than a dozen are women. This is not accident. Agents in the Metropolitan are required to write all forms of insurance—industrial as well

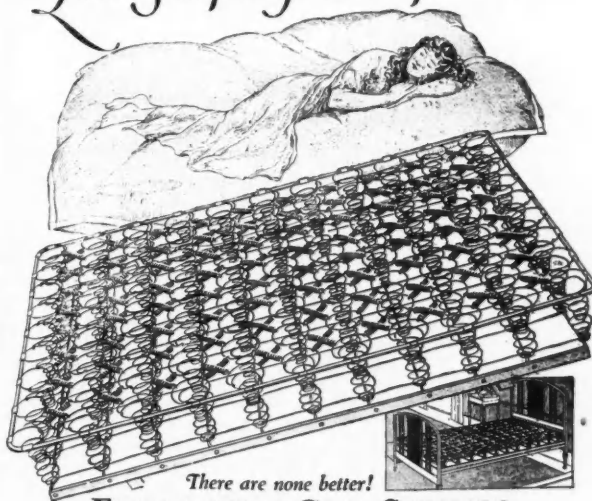
as straight life. But women agents do best in other forms than industrial. Though women and children carry industrial insurance, the business usually is transacted with the man of the family, who must be seen after working hours. Premiums are paid in small weekly installments, and their collection is the work of the agent who wrote the policy. Industrial insurance then becomes a matter of bad hours, and great physical strain.

The Metropolitan has a welfare department in which about eighty women, social workers and nurses, are employed.

Actuarial work is a department of life insurance less exploited for women than the sales part, but women are becoming interested. The actuary determines the rate of premiums, makes mortality investigations, gives expert advice on pensions, sick allowances and the like—it is the cold, learned end of the work.

In this country the world war gave women their first real chance in this work. As many women as men took, in 1918, the first examination of the Actuarial Society of America. Six examinations must be passed in order to become a fellow of this society. Four to six years are usually devoted to study for these examinations. The student must work three hours a night during six months of the year, and is busy during the day in an office acquiring the practical side of the profession. Some

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companies provide tutors, usually the younger members of the actuarial staff.

There is still hesitancy about taking women into this branch of insurance work. Their salaries are really more than the beginning actuaries are worth to the companies during the period of training. While with men this is considered a good investment, against women is brought the time-worn charge: "They marry and leave after getting a part of their training." But even so, the field is widening, and if America ever follows Great Britain's lead in the matter of unemployment and sick insurance, the opportunities in actuarial work will be multiplied.

Compensation varies. From thirty-five hundred to six thousand dollars a year is a fair range for members of an actuarial department. Of course the chief actuary is in a very different case, and it is not uncommon that he becomes an officer of the company. Thus he might have a salary of ten thousand a

year in his capacity of chief actuary, and also be a vice-president of the company. Always, as yet, a man. But it is a pleasant spot in the far offing for women to steer toward.

The Women of Wales

(Continued from page 12)

if we might take a place in the League of Nations. The rest is left to the inspiration of a new, deeper friendship; of this new urge toward a crusade.

They came to wise minds and open hearts here. To Mrs. Catt first—who called a meeting to form a committee for receiving the messengers—Miss Ruth Morgan, Mrs. Frank Day Tuttle, Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw—who in turn called in women's organization heads and officers from all over the country, so that eleven million women are officially represented. The women of Wales say they have met a royal welcome. And what more? The old evangelistic question comes appropriately—"Are we ready?"

Correspondence

IT is becoming a very serious state of affairs all over the country, that the women voters are not as active in voting as the men are. From the figures in our last election here in White Plains, 3,500 men voted and only 1,800 women. This is a disgrace and there is no excuse for it. Even if it was an off year, there should be no off year in any election, and it is high time that we got after all the women and made them realize their duty in this respect. Lots of women up this way who come from very fine homes take pride in boasting that they "know they ought to get out and vote, but they just simply do not get around to it," and then end up with a smirking laugh. These same women can find lots of time for bridge and gossiping, and I've just told them so right out to their faces, which makes them very angry, but I feel that if I can make them angry they will probably become aroused enough to get out next year.

Then there is another point the women of this country should be aroused to and it is up to us who worked for the suffrage to do the rousing, and that is, England has elected eight women to Parliament and here in the United States we have just one woman in Congress. What is the matter with the women of the United States? Are we so narrow and jealous and mean and spiteful that we cannot get behind women who are qualified for public office and elect them, or are we just plain dumb? This situation is no one's fault but the women's, and we've been voting long enough now to realize conditions from a practical and common-sense point of view.

I have decided that every time I am asked to make a speech in public, wherever it is, I'm going to tell the women who do not vote what I think of them, and I'll tell it in no uncertain terms. Now, let's get busy in our respective communities and rouse them all up. What do you think about it?

M. LOUISE GROSS.

White Plains, N. Y.

I THINK that wonderful mother of eleven, described by Miss Adams in your Christmas number, states the case exactly. Career plus marriage really depends very much on the man. But we just had a revelation of the state of public sentiment here. A young

married couple submitted their problem to Miss Priscilla Wayne's Department in the *Des Moines Register*, and she put the letters anonymously into the paper and offered prizes three weeks running for discussions. The girl wanted to go on working, the man "loved the girl deeply," but if she worked he sometimes had to make his own bed and might almost as well be boarding.

But all the letters except mine condemned the woman as selfish and made it out her duty to give up. She will probably give up, and being financially dependent, will have to give up every time, which I think is as bad for him as for her.

Would it not be interesting to have revealed some of the "might have beens" in cases where the greater ability has been almost useless to the world because of being forced to run in the rut of domestic life?

H. L. MILLION.

Des Moines, Iowa.

IT seems to me the great cry everywhere is "Girls Wanted". They are wanted to help the homemaker and the mothers. I was told by a prominent club woman that the reason girls would not go into domestic work was that in doing so they were treated "like dirt under your feet." In all the families I know that is not true. They are paid higher wages than any other working women. They have almost no expenses, a comfortable room, good food, plenty of time for amusement and a chance to learn to be efficient and capable in the best profession they can take up—wifehood and motherhood. Some weeks ago I received, with my copy of the *International Suffrage News*, a list of ten questions on the domestic service problem. One question was, "What do you consider the greatest objection to domestic service?" My reply was that I did not think they had as good a chance to select their suitors as girls in other positions. In telling this to my brother, he said the situation had changed, as the chauffeurs who were in the same service had very good pay and were a better class than many of the other workers. If the women all over the country would study the subject of domestic service, surely we could improve the status of this most important profession.

Shields, Pa.

E. W. P.

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII

MARCH 8, 1924

Number 21

News Notes of the Fortnight

Summed up from many sources

The Case of Daugherty

ON March 1 the Senate adopted the Wheeler resolution for an investigation of the Department of Justice under Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty. The vote was 66 to 1, the sole negative vote being that of Senator Davis Elkins, Republican, of West Virginia. Smith W. Brookhart, radical Republican, of Iowa, heads the committee, and the other members are Senator Moses of New Hampshire and Senator Jones of Washington, Administration Republicans, and Senator Wheeling of Montana and Senator Ashurst of Arizona, Democrats. There was considerable struggle over the personnel of the committee, in the course of which it developed that Senator Willis, of Ohio, had talked with Mr. Daugherty himself about it.

The vote on the Wheeler resolution followed days of discussion by the Senate Public Lands investigating committee, of telegrams exchanged between Mr. Edward B. McLean, Mr. Fall's friend, at Palm Beach, and various friends and representatives in Washington, a number of important names being involved. Among them were messages between McLean and E. W. Starling, of the White House Secret Service Staff. One message, unsigned, gave assurance there would be "no rocking of the boat."

These telegrams were interrupted by the installation of a special wire in the Palm Beach house, manned at Washington by E. W. Smithers, chief telegrapher at the White House. Code messages sent over the special wire had not yet been deciphered by army and navy experts when the New York *World* created a sensation by decoding them. They revealed that McLean had been supplied with the Secret Service code book, strictly against the law; that his confidential agent, William O. Duckstein, was represented in the Department of Justice by his wife, Mary, formerly secretary to the Secret Service chief, William J. Burns, and at present on the payroll as a department agent, and that McLean was constantly informed by

Duckstein and his wife of the progress of the investigation.

The Wheeler resolution was put through on the same day these disclosures were made.

Mr. Daugherty, who has left Washington, has arranged for his counsel at the investigation. Before the resolution was passed he definitely refused to follow Secretary Denby's example by resigning. He declared that he would retire only if the President requested him to, or if the proposed investigation should force his resignation (by revealing things he did not know), or if the investigation proved him absolutely guiltless, so that he could retire honorably and not "by the back door."

The investigation begins at once, with William J. Burns and Mrs. Duckstein for principal witnesses.

Very Briefly

DR. HUGH S. CUMMING, Surgeon General of the United States Public Health Service, last month was elected as one of the vice-presidents of the Permanent Health Organization of the League of Nations.

On March 1 the Ways and Means Committee of the House voted to take up the bonus bill at once, and report it out by March 8. There was a growing feeling that no bill with cash bonus can be passed—and that an insurance feature is all that can be passed by the House with any chance of re-enacting it there after the inevitable presidential veto.

And now the Greek Government formed after Venizelos resigned has fallen. It refused to establish a republic before a plebiscite was taken.

Fighting resulting from the failure to elect any one of three candidates for president in Honduras has become serious. Thirty-five American marines have been landed to guard the Consulate and protect American lives and property.

A bill for the abolition of the Caliphate has passed the Turkish National Assembly. This means exile from Turkish soil by March 15 for the Caliph and all his harem.

Russia has now been recognized by Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Norway, Finland, Poland, Esthonia, Turkey, Persia, Lithuania, Latvia, Afghanistan, Mongolia, Bulgaria.

W. P. G. Harding, governor of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston, will be financial controller of Hungary when the loan secured through the League of Nations is made.

The Tax Line-up Changes

THE tax bill situation changed abruptly over night—the night after Mrs. Stokes's letter was turned in. Going on from where she left off, we find the insurgent strength switched back to the Republican side, and a compromise bill passed, February 29, on the final record vote, by 408 to 8. The compromise rates were offered by Representative Nicholas Longworth.

The original Mellon bill, it will be remembered, carried a provision for a maximum surtax of twenty-five per cent, which it was claimed had been carefully calculated to be the figure which would draw back tax-exempt securities into productive employment. The radical Republicans, attacking these rates as discriminatory against the poor man, wanted a forty per cent surtax rate, and the Democrats stood for forty-four. Insurgents and Democrats have for some time been combined against the regulars, and the sudden switch of the Frear-led radicals was sudden and dramatic. The House compromise bill fixes the surtax rate at 37½ per cent, with normal rates two per cent on net incomes not exceeding \$4,000, five per cent on incomes between four and eight, and six per cent above the latter amount. The surtax would start at \$10,000 and rise to 37½ per cent on incomes in excess of \$200,000.

The bill now goes to the Senate, which shows signs of swinging back toward Mellon. Meantime the Treasury predicts that the House bill, if it became law, would mean a \$116,000,000 deficit.

The Labor Government's Course

ARTHUR HENDERSON, Home Minister of the British Cabinet, has recently been elected Member of Parliament in a by-election caused by the death of a Labor member. He won by 7,000 over his Conservative opponent, no Liberal running, and it seems evident that he polled a large Liberal vote. At the last general election Mr. Henderson was beaten, so he was one of several

members of the British Cabinet who didn't conform to the usual rule that a Cabinet member must also be an M. P.

Speculation goes on in the British press over Mr. Henderson's possible effect on the MacDonald policy, especially in view of a speech he made not long ago condemning the Versailles Treaty and demanding its revision, with territorial readjustments. Premier MacDonald practically repudiated this speech, much to the disgust of the left wing of the party, since it was in essence a repetition of a plank in the party's platform in the last two elections.

So far Mr. MacDonald's ministry has been marked by the recognition of Russia, the settlement of a couple of strikes, the release of Gandhi, a halting of the arrangements for a naval base at Singapore, and the establishment of rather surprisingly friendly relations with Premier Poincaré of France.

The latest event in that connection was an exchange of letters of amazing frankness. Mr. MacDonald explicitly set forth the criticism of the Ruhr occupation made by sections of British opinion, dwelling on Great Britain's alarm over the French air construction policy, with its apparent menace to the English shores. Poincaré answered with equal candor, deprecating these British fears and protesting the peaceful intentions of France.

This exchange is seen as the beginning of negotiations that may eventually lead to a world parley on reparations, debts and disarmament.

Change in Belgium

THE Theunis Cabinet in Belgium has fallen, owing to the rejection of the French-Belgian commercial treaty on which the Government asked a vote of confidence. Its rejection was brought about by a coalition of the extreme right and the extreme left in the Belgian Chamber—Flemish Catholic Conservatives and Walloon Socialists—one side wanting closer economic union with France; the other, the opposite. It is more than doubtful whether such a coalition can possibly form a new government. The probability is that the Theunis cabinet will be reorganized, though possibly without M. Theunis.

The Immigration Discussion

THE Senate Immigration Committee has decided against the Johnson House bill on immigration, the discriminations in which against Jews and Italians, in favor of the Nordic races, have aroused protest; and it has besides declined a proposal to ban immigration for five years. It is expected to report out a measure retaining the 1910 census basis but cutting the quota to 2 per cent instead of 3, and dividing the quota into twelve parts, one for each month. It will almost certainly refuse the discrimination against the Japanese, which was

very objectionable to the Japanese Government. This was the provision of the Johnson bill which Secretary Hughes strongly opposed in a letter written to Representative Johnson. Mr. Hughes took the position that the exclusion provision was unnecessary, in view of the "gentlemen's agreement"; that the restrictions were actually in conflict with existing treaties, and that the insult to Japan would undo the work of the arms conference.

Forbes Indicted

COLONEL CHARLES R. FORBES, former chief of the Veterans' Bureau, has been indicted, along with John W. Thompson, millionaire contractor of Chicago and St. Louis. They are accused, the one of taking and the other of giving, a five-thousand-dollar bribe, and of conspiracy to defraud the Government. The special Federal Grand Jury investigating the Bureau says there is much besides in the Bureau requiring further investigation—matters outside its jurisdiction. Mr. Thompson protests his innocence and Colonel Forbes claims that he is the victim of a monstrous frame-up. His trial has been tentatively set for the first of April.

The Coming Report on Germany

THE reports of the committees of experts studying German finance have not yet been completed. But a few findings have come through. Germany, the experts apparently think, can pay much more than was very widely supposed, provided she has a moratorium of suitable length and is relieved from pressures in the Ruhr and Rhineland. There is no domestic debt, and taxes are lower than in Great Britain or France. On the other hand, the imminence of financial chaos in Germany is undeniable, and a loan is needed. There are good crops but not good distribution. Her tax system burdens small incomes too heavily. Exported capital is now about \$2,000,000,000.

How many of these points will appear

Chubby babies and dancing children are immortalized by B. Lillian Link in her bronzes. The piece on our cover is a bronze tablet representing the spirit of play, a memorial to Susan E. Blow, which was given by the Kindergarten Association and placed in the Brooklyn Training School for Teachers.

Miss Link is from New York—a pupil of Mrs. Charles Sprague-Smith, George Grey Barnard, and Herbert Adams on this side of the water, and of Alexander Fisher in London. Her work has received recognition, winning the Society of Women Sculptors and Painters Prize and the Avery Prize awarded in competition by the Architectural League of New York. Perhaps her most noted large pieces are the memorial we show, a marble Sun Dial and Bird Bath, which is now in a garden near Boston, and a marble Baptismal Font placed in the Second Congregational Church in West Newton, Massachusetts.

in the report remains to be seen, but a definite agreement between the experts and the President of the Reichsbank has been reached, to set up a gold bank, as a means of restoring the currency; this bank to be absorbed later by a "bank of issue," located in a neutral country, which the experts committee will recommend to the Reparation Commission. Besides, the German railroads will probably be the basis of the reparation plan, with provisions for Allied control. This will mean the withdrawal of French operation of the roads, and the French will probably be asked also to surrender the customs line between occupied and unoccupied Germany.

The contracts between French and German industrialists for operations in the Ruhr end April 15.

Poincaré Wins

PREMIER POINCARÉ of France was successful in his stiff fight to carry his tax and economy program. It is now ready for the Senate. The measure, if it becomes law, will mean a reorganization of French financial policy. Taxes in France have not been so high since the war as in Great Britain or even in the United States: they will be raised 20 per cent and special protections against tax dodgers will be enforced. There will be for the present no further borrowings for reconstruction. In addition to the failure of German money to cover reconstruction costs there has been a considerable leakage through profiteering—more than necessarily stressed, to be sure, because of the approach of elections. Further work will for the present be supported out of current taxes.

A Boycott in the Philippines

THE House Committee on Insular Affairs has agreed to report out a bill providing for independence for the Philippines. Some of the members who agreed are opposed to granting independence, but want the House to discuss the question. Meantime a boycott has been declared by the Filipinos against American products and American newspapers, in protest against the action of the new Insular Auditor in stopping the payments from the Philippine Independence Fund for propaganda work in America.

The Egyptian Tomb

JUST as every one was ready for the final revelations about Tut-an-khamen, when it was certain that the royal mummy was there, undisturbed, the tomb was closed. A great disagreement between the Public Works Department of the Egyptian government and Howard Carter, in charge of the excavations, was responsible, and the rights and wrongs are well mixed. Just now it is reported that Dr. James Henry Breasted, an American Egyptologist, will act as mediator.

—March 4, 1924.

Inquiries—
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And
Ethical
Puzzles

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

February 28, 1924.



HE only way to get a small sense of perspective upon the present Washington scene is to address this letter to some woman in the Ozark Mountains:

—"Dear Madam: There have been so many charges of graft, indiscretion, misuse of public confidence and lack of the ordinary common sense necessary even to tend cows, that you might think politics of no further use to the country. You might think the Republican party of no further use. You might imagine every public official interested in serving the Government for private gain. You might think the poor of the country struggling with high taxes, low returns for production and lack of appreciation of honest toil, while high officials squander millions without thought. You might even think the President cowed and 'silent' in the face of it all. But the Government, the political parties and the country have been through it all before and survived. The fact that whatever rottenness there is can come to the surface like this is a sign of strength. As you know, measles are only fatal when they don't break out."

The Harding Memorial

It was a poor time to approach the memorial to President Harding in the right spirit. When the two Houses convened yesterday in the larger chamber to listen to Secretary Hughes deliver his excellent eulogy it was obvious throughout the great audience that there was something else in the public mind. No one would have wished that President Harding had lived to struggle with the disgrace upon his carefully chosen Cabinet and personal friends. Mr. Harding could have stood it less well than many another man in high office because of his intense love of harmony and peace in his personal surroundings. Friends of the Attorney General say that he has lost twenty or thirty pounds in the present worry and stress of the demands for his

In Congress

DURING the fortnight the House has adopted the Democratic plan of tax reduction, and the Senate has continued debate on oil and partisan politics, without making much legislative headway. Outstanding bills have been as follows:

Introduced in the Senate

By Senator Robinson, Democratic leader, bill defining certain disqualifications for members of the Interstate Commerce Commission, the Federal Trade Commission and Tariff Commission.

By Senator King, Democrat, resolution for the calling of an international disarmament and economic conference in Washington.

By Senator King, legislation which would change the dates for convening Congress to April 6 and January 2.

By Senator Capper, Republican, legislation giving the President authority to draft material resources and industrial organizations in time of war.

By Senator Owen, Democrat, resolution creating a commission to determine the causes of the world war.

By Senator Edge, Republican, bill carrying out recommendations of the Shipping Board regarding reorganization of the operation of the government merchant marine.

By Senator Copeland, New York, directing the Secretary of the Navy to submit information regarding the deterioration of battleships named.

By Senator Couzens, Republican, legislation providing for an investigation of the Internal Revenue Bureau, in view of the fact that the bureau had failed to settle tax cases for 1917. Report of a special committee would be requested by April 1 in order to be of service for pending tax legislation.

By Senator Edwards, Democrat, resolution directing the Judiciary Committee to investigate the prohibition bureau, following the accidental shooting of Senator Greene during a bootlegging chase.

By Senator Harrell, Republican, resolution appointing a committee to investigate conditions among Oklahoma Indians.

By Senator Wheeler, Democrat, resolution providing for investigation by a Senate committee of the failure of the Attorney General to follow up the oil lease scandals.

Passed by the Senate

Appropriation bill for the Department of the Interior.

Legislation appropriating \$1,000,000 to aid farmers of New Mexico because of severe drought and damage to crops.

Norris resolution requesting the State, War,

resignation. President Harding would have lost more. It was essential to his well-being that a spirit of conciliation should prevail.

"President Harding literally wore himself out in the endeavor to be friendly," said Secretary Hughes in his eulogy. "It was pain to him to refuse a courtesy; personal convenience could never be considered if it was an obstacle to any act of grace. He dealt personally with a vast correspondence, not being content with mere acknowledgments, but writing friendly letters with the touch of a keen human interest. His generous receptivity multiplied the appeals. He sought relaxation in the intimate contacts of old friendships, and this led him even in his diversions often to give himself to an undue exertion instead of rest." Thus Mr. Hughes drew the picture which since its first impress has been followed by the death of Woodrow Wilson and the worse than death disclosures of oil scandals.

"Understudies"

And now Senator Borah wants to impeach the Attorney General; he rode down Sixteenth Street in the White House motor the other day to tell the President in so many words that Mr. Daugherty ought to go. The Attorney General, on the other hand, with his wife convalescent, his daughter seriously ill, and himself on the verge of physical collapse, has made up his mind that he will do nothing of the kind, and has gone to Florida, it is reported. With the heads of Departments of the Government mainly employed in getting out of the way of demands for resignations, or discussing them, the layman well may wonder who does the work.

There are a set of understudies at the capital which government housekeeping no more could do without than could an ordinary family do without the daily cook. They are able, stable men whose names for the most part are unknown. They last, oddly enough, from one administration to another, and are fully ac-

quainted with the work which progresses week to week irrespective of whether the Republican or the Democratic Party happens to be in power, or whether the head of the Department takes a ride, literally to Florida, or figuratively out of office. Who ever hears of Rudolph Foster, who carries on the work of the White House office year after year in this capacity, or of men like Carr, in the State Department, and Parker Gilbert, who has been in the Treasury Department until recently? If it were not for this foundation of hive workers, the country would be sadly off when the heads become involved in congressional investigation.

But to come back to the question of official ethics, which I mentioned in my last letter.* The upshot of all this turmoil over the irregular leasing of the naval oil reserves by Secretaries Fall and Denby gradually is coming down to two questions instead of the original one of the conservation of our natural resources, namely, the definition of how far a public official may retain and exercise his personal interests after, and while, he is a servant of the Government.

A Rule Wanted

Senator Norris, one of the leaders of the insurgent Republicans, has introduced a resolution under which the State, War, Navy, Interior and Treasury Departments would have to advise the Senate of the names of all former Cabinet officers and members of Congress who have appeared before them as counsel in claims against the Government. Upon this report, Senator Norris undoubtedly will base a recommendation for legislation further defining the whole situation, or will join in a movement with that end in view, for it is obvious that the indeterminate situation in which congressmen and public officials find themselves in this regard is proving not only highly embarrassing but unsatisfactory. When a gentlemen's agreement in the Senate, or House, or among Cabinet members, has become so loose that each man goes his own way and considers it sanctioned by public usage, the status is neither damning nor complimentary. No man knows just where he stands.

If Senator Borah and Senator Norris carry through with the ethics question, and congressmen and others are definitely instructed by legislation as to outside interests, then comes the problem of

Navy, Interior and Treasury departments to report regarding former Cabinet officers or members of Congress who had appeared before them as counsel in claims against the Government.

Robinson resolution recommending that the President request the resignation of Secretary Denby of the Navy.

Norris resolution requesting the Attorney General to report to the Senate as to progress in enforcing court decrees against Swift and Company.

Resolution by Senator Lenroot, chairman of the Oil Investigating Committee, providing for a fund of \$125,000 to meet expenses of witnesses and others in connection with the Teapot Dome investigation.

Harrison resolution providing for an investigation of the estimates made by the Treasury Department of the cost of the bonus, in view of the charge by the Alien Property Custodian that the estimates were improperly arrived at.

Resolution by Senator La Follette for an investigation by the Federal Trade Commission of the milling and baking industries with respect to the production, distribution and sale of flour and bread.

Introduced in the House

By Representative La Guardia, New York, resolution calling for an investigation of the operation of the Federal bankruptcy laws.

By Representative Tinkham, Massachusetts, bill requiring tourists and non-resident aliens to register and state their object in coming to this country.

By Representative Berger, Socialist, resolution for an investigation of the strike of railway shopmen and maintenance of way workers.

By Representative King, Republican, providing for an investigation of the Department of Justice and the Treasury in the matter of the handling of government securities.

Passed by the House

Legislation authorizing the inspection of income-tax return blanks by any special congressional committee and by members of the Ways and Means Committee of the House and the Senate Finance Committee; also by properly authorized state officers.

Legislation taxing gasoline.

Democratic plan of tax reduction adopted in place of the Mellon plan through the coalition of Democrats and insurgent Republicans.

Resolution appropriating \$100,000 for the expenses of counsel in the oil cases.

Legislation giving the free use of the mails to Mrs. Woodrow Wilson.

Senate resolution directing the President to begin proceedings to recover the naval oil leases.

Senate bill extending the term of the War Finance Corporation to December 31.

the living wage. It is all very well to tell Mr. Senator that he no longer can continue his lucrative canning industry in the state of Maine, or his law practice in a distant state, and retain his seat; but thereby he is deprived of the income which makes it possible for himself and his family to live in Washington as a senator and his family are accustomed to do, to bring up his daughters according to the requirements of all the motors for calling, and the parties which hostesses who figure in the social news must pay for liberally. Statements made by senators "confessing" to having bought stock or holdings in this com-

pany or the other which had some connection with oil have shown that to run down every individual activity of congressmen and brand it as having had something to do with legislation would be to throw both the House and the Senate out of the window wholesale and begin again. It has been a general practice to carry on personal investments. Certainly the matter needs immediate definition.

Republicans are making all the capital they can out of the admission of William G. McAdoo that his law firm had signed up with Mr. Doheny to work upon Mexican problems for a fee of \$1,000,000, in two instalments, the first, \$100,000, and the second, a contingent fee of \$900,000, as well they might, for Mr. McAdoo came all the way to Washington "voluntarily" to tell about the matter, and thereupon told all about the \$100,000 and nothing more. The additional fee of \$900,000 he admitted by telegraph in response to a wire query from the editors of the New York *World* a few days after his testimony before the Oil Investigating Committee here. A little more of such foolishness, and the capital will well believe that bringing his name into the oil scandal in any connection will have quashed his chances for the Democratic nomination when the time comes.

After he had made an excellent impression at his testimony here, having been spontaneously applauded when he entered the hearing room and when he had concluded his testimony, the capital was correspondingly depressed and not a little surprised at his indulgence in the brand of professional politics which every candidate for the Presidency tries to make the country believe is practiced by everybody else but himself.

Costly Investigations

Both the House and the Senate have propositions before them to appropriate \$125,000 for the expenses of witnesses at the oil hearings, and to cover other incidentals. The country shortly will get some idea of what it costs to carry on such searching inquiries; the total amount will run into hundreds of thousands of dollars before the investigation is concluded. With the oil investigation as an incentive, the Senate and the House have received petitions for special committees of investigation and search into nearly every activity of the Government that could be searched and investigated. The number is mounting to a humorous figure. If Congress carried on all the proposed hearings, nothing else could be done for the next ten years.

There is scarcely a congressman or a senator who has not decided that his pet governmental objection is now in need of an investigation. Mr. La Guardia, of New York, wants all the federal bank-

(Continued on page 30)

* The linking of Senator Johnson's name with Secretary Fall's and others in connection with the oil disclosures at Washington was an error and did him an injustice. I am glad to acknowledge it and to retract the reference to him. Senator Johnson has also given up all connection with his San Francisco law firm.—E. K. P. S.

Room for the Indians!

By John Collier

Executive Secretary of the American Indian Defense Association, Inc.

IT was the organized women of the country who saved the Pueblo Indians last year from irreparable hurt through confiscatory legislation. It was largely the organized women who also defeated the Indian Omnibus Bill, which would have made it easier to deprive of their birthright most of the Indians living under the trusteeship of the United States.

The Pueblo struggle has been resumed; is at its crisis at the present writing (February 21). Again the organized women are the main reliance for the Indians and for the preservation of American honor.

There are bigger questions lying back of the Pueblo one; it is a means of approach to them, and the effort to save the Pueblos is encountering obstacles which have to do with these bigger questions. What are these bigger questions?

There exist Indian properties—tribal lands and individual allotments held under Government trusteeship—which are worth billions of dollars. They contain immense natural resources of oil,



In the homes of the Taos Pueblo, New Mexico

coal, timber, etc. These properties if administered by modern trust principles could make the whole race of Indians far more than self-supporting; could lift the Indian service off the Federal tax budget; and could yield revenue directly or indirectly to the states where the reservations are situated. The Indian estate is not so administered. Belonging as it does either to the Government or to the Indians, and constituting a vast area of the public domain, this estate remains largely unprotected by those laws and policies which conserve the national forests, the Alaskan mineral wealth and the naval oil reserves.

One of the fundamental Indian problems, and a policy of the American Indian Defense Association and of the Indian Welfare Committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, is to devise and compel an application of conservation policies to this vast, inadequately protected public domain. These organ-

izations are meeting with an opposition strong, bitter and unscrupulous, not from within the Government's administrative service, but from outside among the political-financial interests which are determined that conservation principles shall *not* be applied to the huge Indian estate.

There exists a tradition, rooted in the Indian Service and sustained by many outside influences, of hostility toward the native traditions, the religious and art expressions and forms of democratic self-government, of the Indian tribes. The Indian cannot be either saved or usefully assimilated by crushing his soul—by denaturing him, stripping him naked of his parental and racial memories and forcing him to become a premature social half-breed. But it has been our stern policy to thus mangle and outlaw the spiritual and social life of the Indian. The effort to change this traditional policy is meeting with an opposition almost as determined as that directed against the conservation effort applied to Indian lands.

During January and February a delegation of thirteen Pueblo Indians, sent by the All-Pueblo Council of New Mexico, presented the Pueblo Indian case and these larger aspects of the problem to more than fifty audiences in the East. The delegation visited official Washington from President Coolidge down. Their reception was such as to prove that the Indian question has "arrived." It has established itself in the American conscience and in the American political field.

And now briefly to the Pueblo Indian land struggle.

In the last Congress, struggle raged about the Bursum Bill, which, in effect, proposed to confiscate the Pueblo land titles and to offer but a phantasmal compensation. This bill was thoroughly defeated. Near the close of that session of Congress, there was reported a so-called Lenroot Committee Substitute Bill, from the Senate Committee on Public Lands. This bill was announced to Congress as representing the desire of the Indians themselves and of all



Here are three of the Pueblo Indians who have presented their cause to the East. At the right, Sotterro Ortiz, chairman of the All-Pueblo Council; at the left, Santiago Naranjo, Governor of the Santa Clara Pueblo and dean of the Pueblo delegation.

National Popular Government League, Washington, D. C.

interested parties. The Senate passed the bill and it was blocked in the House. While Senator Lenroot and his associates acted in unquestioned good faith, it is a fact that this bill confiscated (in effect) the Indian land titles, without even hinting at compensation to the deprived Indians. The bill was denounced by the Pueblo Indians, by the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and by the American Indian Defense Association.

What are these Pueblo titles? They were granted by Spain in the seventeenth century and subsequently reconfirmed by Spain. They were uncontested during the Mexican régime, which ended in 1848. They were guaranteed in the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo under

whose terms the United States annexed New Mexico. They were subsequently confirmed by statute of Congress, most of the documents bearing President Lincoln's signature. Still later they have been decreed to the Pueblos by the courts. There are few, if any, older vested rights in the United States, and probably none which have been as variously guaranteed by successive sovereignties as these Pueblo vested rights and communal land titles. If the Pueblos cannot sustain their rights, thus guaranteed, there is little hope for the other Indians none of whom possesses so age-bound and technically complete a protection.

When the United States took over the

guardianship for the Pueblo Indians (which it did promptly after 1848) it took over the responsibility of protecting the lands of its wards against white aggressions. It never fulfilled this trust; but instead, permitted seizures to the number of thousands to be carried out—seizures of the farm lands created by the Pueblos from the desert ages ago. The Government guardianship thus served not as a protection to its wards but as a means to the more or less gradual impoverishment and ruin of the wards. This statement can be made regarding most of the guardianship of most of the Indians.

The white voters hold the Pueblo
(Continued on page 26)

Clean Streets—How?

By Caroline Bartlett Crane



HE condition of the street surface is the most obvious thing in the way of outdoor sanitation—just as the condition of the floor is, in your home. Under the street may run an infected water supply and half-choked sewers, and over it may travel tainted foods and a population exposed to many lurking foes of health. These things, however, have to be searched for; but the street floor itself can hardly be overlooked. It is without doubt the first thing which impresses a stranger.

Yet how much do we really care about clean streets? I once sat behind a man on the Chicago elevated who was railing to his companion about the dirty streets and back yards down into which we looked as we sped along. Then casually he dropped his morning paper out of the window and sent a banana skin after it as a chaser. He only thought he wanted clean streets.

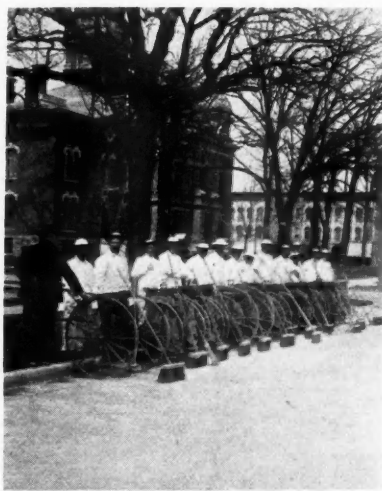
The Will to be Clean

"Well, what do we have our street-cleaning department for?" would probably be the naïve defense of this man, and thousands like him, if taxed with delinquencies of this sort. I recall that when Colonel Waring undertook, in 1895, the terrific task of cleaning up New York City, he paused midway in the campaign to exclaim to New Yorkers in general: "*Nobody can give you a clean city if you want a dirty one!*" Nobody can give you a clean city. It comes, if at all, as a citizens' collaborative achievement. It was by getting this idea over to New Yorkers through the school children that Waring finally accomplished, for his day, that Herculean (or, should I say, Augean?) task.

The matter will be plain if we divide

street dirt into its two natural categories—Avoidable; Unavoidable.

Unavoidable street dirt is that caused by the presence of horses in our streets (a once major item which is rapidly becoming negligible); dirt carried by wheels from adjacent unpaved streets; detritus and dust ground from the pavement itself; oil from motor engines and



White Wings Make White Streets
These happen to be in Kalamazoo

smoke and soot deposited out of the atmosphere.*

Avoidable street dirt is trash swept from stores and office buildings; lawn rakings and shrub-clippings from private premises; spillings of ashes, garbage, swill, coal, manure, sand and gravel from overloaded and leaky wagons; excavator's earth and plasterer's sand insufficiently restrained around building

*And the seasonal "dirt" of leaves and snow which, from lack of space, will not be treated in this article.

operations; the broadcasted debris and dust of the house-wrecker; painted dodgers blown from doorways or thrown down in handfuls by distributors; square rods of pasty paper shredded and thrown down in clearing bill-boards for new displays; paper, excelsior, etc., escaping from the back doors of merchants; even putrescible waste from careless groceries and commission houses, and all sorts of wind-borne contributions from adjacent ill-kept alleys and from vacant lots and dumps which are sure to become a nuisance in any city which isn't particular about itself.

Public Waste Baskets

But probably most noticeable of all kinds of street dirt is the litter occasioned by performances similar to that of the man on the Chicago elevated. Just walk through the ice-cream and moving-picture district of a Sunday morning and see what a Saturday night crowd has accomplished with chocolate-wrappers, peanut hulls, banana skins and the like.

Merchants, builders, teamsters, bill-posters, etc., should be required to take care of their trash and waste products; householders the same. But what to do with the newspaper you no longer want, or the nut hulls and fruit skins of a peripatetic street horde? The answer is, as it were, waste baskets. (I myself have never been able to keep house without a waste basket in every room.) When in 1904, under the auspices of the Women's Civic Improvement League of Kalamazoo, and with permission of the City Council, I undertook a street-cleaning demonstration in the business section of the city, the first thing was to design a trim and shining metal receptacle, labeled "For Waste Paper, Fruit Skins, etc.," install thirty of them at street intersections and midway in the

blocks and write some little songs about them and similar matters. For example, this, to the tune of "Yankee Doodle":

There was a man in our town
And he was wondrous wise:
He threw some paper in the street,
Right front of people's eyes!
And when he saw that paper there,
With all his might and main,
He jumped into the street—he did—
And picked it up again!
He put that paper in the can,
As every man should do, Sir;
He went and joined the Civic League,
And was that wise man You, Sir?

The children sung the songs in school and out, and were so intrigued by the shining street-cans that if they had nothing in hand for deposit they would run half a block to find something! They wrote essays about the clean city, told their parents about it and "went and joined the Civic League," greatly assisting in block surveys and in taking photographs.

I am absolutely convinced that school children and waste-receptacles are the two elements to begin with in any worthwhile clean-city campaign; that is to say, any campaign which has fifty-one more weeks to it than the usual annual one. This is true for five "main and simple reasons": It assures you newspaper publicity for your program. You capitalize the enthusiasm and missionary fervor of the most teachable part of the community. Children (and their parents) thus educated to refrain from littering the streets are sensitized to the performances of others, and thus is created a public sentiment and a demand for enforcement of sanitary regulations. It is the line of least resistance in working with the city management. A street-cleaning department, largely relieved of the task of cleaning up after untidy people, naturally can do far more with the funds at its disposal in ridding the city of dirt classed as "unavoidable."

Having put Prevention first where it rightfully belongs, let us briefly consider methods of street-cleaning—hand-sweeping, machine-sweeping, and flushing either with hose or from tanks.

For business sections which must be swept daily, or even seven times a day, as in some parts of New York, no method has been devised equal to that of the "white wing" patrol with broom, pan and pick-up carts, devised by Colonel Waring nearly thirty years ago and still called by his name.

As to machine sweepers, great improvements have been made in recent years in motor-driven types which sprinkle, sweep, pick up and also operate an auxiliary gutter-brush, all controlled by the driver. The vacuum sweeper type has also been brought to a high state of efficiency. St. Louis attaches a refuse trailer to each vacuum sweeper. Cleveland uses one-man vacuum cleaners, operated much like the household ones, but with an eight-foot swath which

is said to pick up tin cans, wood, paper and fine dust.

The great plague of the machine sweeper or flusher is the *night-parked automobile*. Very great numbers of cars, it is discovered, are parked regularly all night in the same spot. Joplin, Missouri, one of our smaller cities which is determined to be clean, got tired of having its motor sweepers making constant eighty-foot detours around these all-night nuisances. Joplin set the fashion of treating 'em rough, plentifully bespattering them, hitching on and yanking them into the next block and letting the owners hunt for them. Salt Lake City is now successful with an ordinance forbidding all parking on certain streets

Here is a practical article, by an expert, for people who want clean streets in their town. Mrs. Bartlett Crane has made sanitary surveys of sixty-two cities in fourteen states. For ten years she was pastor of the institutional church she founded in Kalamazoo—a church with many civic activities. Later she formed a Women's Civic Improvement League, and reached out into all fields of sanitary investigation—until presently other towns were calling for advice. She knows. As she began, any other determined woman can begin—at home.

Later, an article on garbage disposal.

between midnight and five. Indeed, something like this must be done in any city which wishes to get its money's worth in cleanliness; for nearly all the dirt to be collected is in or close to the gutters.

So much for sweeping methods. I have always felt, however, that water does not play nearly the rôle in street cleaning which it is entitled to. *Dust* is preeminently the significant sanitary factor in the street cleaning problem, germ-laden dust, and this cannot be effectually removed except by *washing the streets*. In the Kalamazoo street-cleaning demonstration already referred to, we supplemented the sweeping in two ways which proved most helpful. First, we provided our "white wings" with long oil-skin coats and hats, handily rolled and strapped to their carts, and required them during a rain-fall to vigorously scrub the pavements and gutters. Second, after removing loose litter, we periodically flushed the pavement, using fire hose, and having men stationed at the sewer inlets to hold back the grosser material. This work we did between midnight and five in the morning when street-cars were not running. We were enthusiastically thanked by the merchants for the unprecedented freedom from dust hitherto so ruinous to their stock and window displays.

Machine flushing is a most important adjunct of cleanliness. New York's fleet of white truck flushers is certainly

impressive as an index of intentions. Power flushers are to be preferred to gravity flushers, in which the pressure is apt to fall below the point of efficiency as the tank gradually empties. But hundreds of small towns with much hard-surfaced pavement, and constantly plagued by dust of passing automobiles, could find easy and relatively cheap relief by hand-flushing. Since this proposal always meets with official opposition, let me say here that old and "condemned" fire hose, not strong enough to bear fire-pressure, will answer for flushing, which should be done at domestic pressure, with a fan-shaped nozzle (or no nozzle at all) and at a very low angle, so as not to injure the pavement. Some other items for amateurs to keep in mind: Not to flush sand-filled brick or block asphalt or broken sheet asphalt; to turn off water at once in case of a fire alarm; to cooperate with the water department when the hydrants need flushing, anyway; to meet the probable objections of the sewer department by screening the catch basins with gunny sacking; though there are excellent machines for cleaning catch basins, and it is much better, anyhow, to clean catch basins often than to have dirty, dusty streets.

In attacking the problem of dirty streets, this, I think, is the best order of procedure for a volunteer civic committee: (1) Get the promise of newspaper support. (2) Provide attractive waste receptacles, for a definite downtown area. Simultaneously, enlist the cooperation of the school children in making people acutely aware of the distinction between "avoidable" and "unavoidable." By these means procure results that compel official notice. (3) Try to get officials to call a conference with representatives of your leading civic organization (if not, call it yourselves) at which someone who has studied the situation is prepared to outline a plan for your city. Any plan, to be highly successful, must somewhat coordinate street cleaning with alley-cleaning, garbage, ash and rubbish collection. (4) Secure a thorough demonstration of the "plan" in the limited downtown area where the waste receptacles are. (5) When the public perceives the desirability and feasibility of clean streets, put on a campaign of publicity for existing state and municipal laws against littering and defiling the streets and procure a routine examination of all police patrolmen upon these sanitary laws which, henceforth, they are expected to enforce. This is the final expression of a city's determination to be clean. Never will we accomplish it while constant and flagrant violation of these laws is considered beneath the notice of our patrolmen, who, in the course of their duties, can so easily observe, instruct, warn, and, if necessary, arrest persistent offenders against the cleanliness, health and self-respect of our city.

Many Chiefs of Many Kinds

By Schuyler C. Wallace

Of Columbia University

THE functions of the chief executive are twofold—political and administrative. Nowhere is his political aspect more openly recognized than under the parliamentary system of government. There, the cabinet officer's retention of power rests entirely upon his ability to maintain a following in the legislative body. And this, to an overwhelming degree, depends upon his ability as a political leader. When a cabinet has lost the confidence of the parliament, two courses are open to it. It may resign, or else dissolve the house and carry the issue to the country. In either case its life is determined almost entirely by the political skill of its constituent members.

Furthermore, practically all legislation passed by a parliamentary body is initiated by the cabinet. (Particularly is this true in England.) Thus full responsibility for public policy is thrown upon the chief executive.

The President's Job

Not so open is our avowal of the political function of our chief magistrates. In fact, the opening sentence of Article II of the Constitution might be interpreted as a denial of such activity. ("The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America.") And the fact that the term of office is definitely fixed at four years only adds color to this interpretation, for it is apparent that a coincidence of astronomical and political phenomena can hardly be expected as a recurring circumstance. Nevertheless, despite the declaration of the separation of powers apparently implied here, and expressly set forth in some of the state constitutions, certain responsibilities of political leadership are very evidently placed upon our chief executives.

That very article of the Federal Constitution which seems to endorse the principle of the separation of powers says concerning the President: "He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may on extraordinary occasions convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of a disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper." *Similar powers are granted to the governors of many of our*

states. A further provision declares that if the President returns a measure to Congress unsigned, only a two-thirds vote of both houses of the national legislature can enact it into law. The grant of this power of veto is likewise found in the majority of the state constitutions.

Through the use of these powers the chief executives, state and nation, have

Which is better—government by Cabinet or by President? By mayor or commission and city manager? This is a good type of article to read in connection with your daily reading about governmental doings in Washington and in Europe, as well as your local news.

Incidentally, Dr. Wallace is now broadcasting the substance of these articles on American Politics from WEA, New York.

played a tremendous part in the determination of our public policy. In the states to a greater extent, perhaps, than in the nation, has the power of calling special sessions been used. The executive message and the veto, however, have been equally developed under all jurisdictions, although the power frequently granted to the governor of vetoing items in appropriation bills has in some measure given him a more effective weapon than the one granted to the President. The vigorous use of the presidential veto since Cleveland, however, has established the President also as a decided force to be reckoned with in law-making.

Equally potent, although non-legal, has been the power of patronage. One of the reasons for the remarkable legislative record that the first Congress under Woodrow Wilson made was, the reader doubtless recalls, the judicious use made by the President of his power of appointment. The distribution of offices is an exceedingly important matter from the point of view of the political machine. It is perfectly possible, therefore, for an executive to build a back fire under a particular legislator who is "otherwise minded" by withholding patronage. Or, worse yet, by strengthening whatever opposition there may be to the man in his locality through the placing of all appointments at the disposal of his rivals. Whether the President or the governors have greater powers in this regard it is difficult to say.

Political leadership, however, does not constitute the sole duty of a chief execu-

tive. The four-year term was devised for the President primarily for administrative reasons, that is, because of the belief that permanence in office should be assured for at least that period of time for the sake of administrative stability. It is primarily for administrative reasons that those who are proposing the reorganization of state governments are advocating a similar term for the governor. At least as much attention must be given to the office of the chief executive from this point of view as from the political. In fact, so important is the task of administration that one is almost inclined to say that it outweighs all other problems of government. Withdraw the parties and possibly some elements of popular control will be lost. Withdraw the legislatures and the solution of some of the pressing problems of policy will be delayed. Withdraw the administration and chaos and confusion would immediately result. The mere removal of the traffic squad from a metropolitan city would be sufficient to throw the city into utter disorder. The withdrawal of the police would throw the city into terror. A cessation of the entire governmental administration would overthrow civilization.

Since such is the case, the problem of the organization of the executive from this point of view is important, indeed. A comparative study of existing chief executives viewed from this angle will therefore be well worth while.

Changing Cabinets

The cabinet, as we have already seen, is designed primarily as an instrument of political leadership. And as the parliamentary system operates in France, where cabinets have a turnover of approximately once a year, there is not much doubt but that the absence of attention to this very important side of the executive's task results in a correspondingly lower tone of administrative efficiency than would otherwise be the case. Nor can any blame be placed upon the individual cabinet members for this, as it is impossible for any one to master the details of administration in the short time allotted to a French cabinet.

As the parliamentary system operates in England and in Canada, however, long terms have been the rule rather than the exception, with the consequence that opportunity has been afforded the executive to study problems of this character.

One thing can be said in favor of the
(Continued on page 24)

Republican Women's Own Club Home



Mattie Edwards Hewitt, N. Y.



PERHAPS there is no better proof of the changed status of women than the spread of the woman's clubhouse. All over the country splendid buildings testify to women's wish to extend the home walls—and to their sound, practical business ability. Now, as Citizen readers know, there are two national party clubhouses for women—the Democratic in Washington, opened in January; the Republican in New York, opened in February. This page gives a glimpse of the Women's National Republican Clubhouse—at the left the front view, brave in flag, window boxes and green paint that the picture can't show; above, one of the two lounges, furnished in old mahogany. Those are old prints on the walls, and there's pewter in the far cabinet. Below is one of the fourteen bedrooms which are tempting Republican women to leave home. The clubhouse was built—two old houses thrown together—and furnished on a scheme of bonds ranging from \$50 to \$1,000, taken within the membership of the club—which is matter for pride.



Mattie Edwards Hewitt, N. Y.

THE new clubhouse went to work at once as a political headquarters. From March 3 to 7 it was the scene of a political Plattsburg—otherwise a training school, with a program of prominent speakers. Mrs. Upton, for one, and Richard Washburn Child, President Butler of Columbia, and many others. And a real examination capped the climax.

Editorially Speaking

Two Causes for Cheer

THE feelings of the American people, flouted by the revelations and the rumors emanating from the Senate oil investigation, seem to have followed so universal a trend that the present state of the public mind, north, south, east and west, Republican and Democratic, is practically in agreement. Six distinct reactions to the daily developments in Washington are merged to compose that state of mind. They are:

A wounded pride in the cleanliness of our national example in self-government.

A definite slump in faith in public officials, not some officials, but all.

A deep suspicion that all sorts of unnamed and undiscovered conspiracies may be stealthily robbing the people "day by day, in every way," while corrupt and already well-filled pockets grow fatter with more "unearned increment."

A martyred sort of feeling that the taxes weighing heavily upon our shoulders might be lighter if public monies were more economically and honestly administered.

A startled conviction that the particular press which gives our daily education on public questions may be controlled by unclean monied interests, and "we the people" may be unconsciously persuaded that the side of an issue those interests find profitable is the right side. (Was there ever a truer aphorism than this? "Tell me the newspapers a man reads and I'll tell you what he thinks.")

An exasperated sense of helplessness such as a man blindfolded might feel if led into the middle of a strange wood and told to find his way out or perish.

In the midst of these dark forebodings, it is difficult to find a peg on which to hang either national pride or optimism, yet two big, conspicuous pegs are in plain sight and awaiting these patriotic emotions. More, keeping our eyes riveted upon them is the surest guarantee for recovery from the present national gloom.

First, did you ever stop to think that although our national life as a republic is drawing toward a milestone of a century and a half, the repute of no president has ever been besmirched by a charge of fortune-hunting at public expense? Parties come and parties go; of presidential candidates there is never a scarcity, yet clean, honest, patriotic men, who have put public service above selfish ambition, have invariably been chosen. How great a cause for national pride lies in this fact is revealed by contrast with other republics in the Western Hemisphere. There so many presidents have retired from their high office with fortunes vastly augmented that it is often taken for granted that this must always be. Change of parties or of candidates has not corrected the evil, and the people in several of them have lost heart and hope in honest government. Let honest pride in this fair record of our United States rebuild our faith.

Second, members of Cabinets before now have been charged with treachery to their trust, but never one has been so accused without a fearless investigation and a punishment when found guilty. The most heartening factor in the present investigation is that Senator Walsh of Montana, Democrat, and Senator Lenroot of Wisconsin, Republican, sit there side by side, day after day, conducting what the newspaper writers call "the most gruelling cross-questioning possible" of each witness, and the most careful reader can detect no aim toward partisan advantage in any question asked. Both have forgotten their party in the higher comradeship of American citizenship. The President, Mr. Coolidge, too, has given his

word that the guilty shall be pursued to the ends meted out by justice, and every American knows, whatever his party, that it will be done. Some partisan taunts and counter taunts have been made, but above and beyond them is a common determination on the part of those now in power and on the part of those who aim to get those places of administration, both within and without the Republican Party, to clean the Augean stables of American politics in the most thoroughgoing fashion and to keep them immaculately clean hereafter.

More, behind those now in power and those who seek power are the people. They are just now a bit benumbed, but eyes are flashing with indignation, hot blood is coursing through veins, brains are thinking hard and jaws are shutting down with determined finality. The people are going to watch parties and platforms, candidates and issues with a caution and a care they never exercised before.

Old-fashioned doctors used to say that a run of fever often left the patient (always providing that he survived) in better health than before. Our Republic will survive and probably it will be a healthier republic than before. Meanwhile, in the whiz and whirl of daily events, whatever you do, do not forget to "watch oil." We are not more than closing the second act of the oil drama. The destiny of nations is bound up in it.—CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.



Law-Crazy

"A HUNDRED and seventy-five thousand pages of decisions in a single year, an average of 12,000 or more statutes each year and an average of 13,000 or more permanently recorded decisions of highest courts each year." Those figures are from Secretary Hughes's summing up of the legal situation in America, recently presented before the American Law Institute. No wonder other nations think we are law-crazy—we are! Mrs. Catt comments in a neighboring column on the complexity of our political system. Add to that our legal complexity, and it looks like a hard job being a citizen here.

Of course, the fact is that only a small proportion of these laws are actually enforced. A remedy that Mr. Hughes advocates for civil law is a "restatement of the law by analysts and teachers, to which judges and lawyers may resort for precise and comprehensive information." And a moral for women interested in legislation is to avoid wholesale demands for laws and to make sure they are asking only for important legislation to meet real needs.



Ask Action on Child Labor

HAVE you written yet to your Senators and Congressmen asking for immediate action on the Child Labor Amendment to the Federal Constitution? The amendment, which is sponsored by the National Child Labor Committee, was introduced by Mr. Israel M. Foster of Ohio and is known as House Joint Resolution No. 184. It reads: "Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age.

"Section 2. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of state laws shall be

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suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress."

The proposed amendment simply gives Congress the constitutional power to legislate on the subject of child labor. It will be remembered that the two bills passed by Congress intended to prevent the exploitation of the labor of children have been declared unconstitutional. The proposed amendment does not take away from any state the power which it now possesses to regulate child labor up to the point which the Federal Government may set as the minimum standard.

The amendment has the support of a vast body of public opinion. It is our business to make that opinion effective. You can help by writing your Senators and Congressmen that you want immediate action on House Joint Resolution 184.



Speaking of "Rights"

MISS GERTRUDE ELY, a director of the National League of Women Voters, tells a story with a moral about "rights." In her home county the women set out a short time ago to find out what town government is and how it works. Two women were selected to attend a meeting of the board of health and learn what subjects came up and how they were handled. They went to the office to which they were directed and sat waiting to see a board of health in session. Presently the head of the board came politely and asked their errand.

"We came to watch the board of health function," they replied."

"But board of health meetings are not open to the public," he declared. "They are executive sessions." Then, according to Miss Ely, an idea obviously struck him. "Wait a bit," he said. "It's a new one on me and I'm going to find out."

He did find out—that sessions of that board of health are by law open to any citizen who has enough interest to attend them. In all the fifteen years he had been a member of the board no citizen had ever exercised the right to attend the meetings.

"There are several things boards of health do that fathers and mothers of families should have special interest in," says Miss Ely. "I feel ours is not the only town in which citizens who talk of their rights don't know that keeping track of board of health doings is one of them."

This is one of those political-human duties that lie right at hand. Nothing difficult about it. Nothing mysterious or intricate. Simple, obvious, easy.



The Postman

HAVE you given a thought to your postman? A measure concerning him has been introduced in Congress which deserves your support. It is the Edge-Kelly bill, providing for a readjustment of the salaries of postal clerks and postmen. Ronald M. Baker, Boston's postmaster, recently made an investigation of the cost of living for a postman with a wife and two children. It showed monthly expenditures amounting to \$203, to maintain a normal, self-respecting existence. But the maximum salary is \$150 a month.

The direct result, of course, is personal hardship. Besides, the service is threatened with deterioration, since it cannot continue to attract as high-grade men as are needed.

We are all sensitive enough to the need for responsible, accurate, dependable men when our own mail is concerned. If we stop to think we realize that, aside from its responsibilities, the postman's lot is not a particularly joyful one—since he must face all sorts of weather and carry a heavy pack all day. Both the carrier and the clerk deserve better of us than they get. The proposed legislation provides a minimum salary of \$2,000 and a maximum of \$2,400. If you want a favorable

report on the bill, write, urging action, to William W. Griest, Thomas Sterling, Nicholas Longworth, Henry Cabot Lodge, Calvin D. Paige, Washington.



"Our Town"

WARM hospitality to the stranger, a justifiable pride in the many civic improvements manifest on every side, a belief that "our town" is the finest and its people the most progressive of any town of its size in the country, a willingness to work hard and make many sacrifices to give "our town" the advantages which could only be expected in a place ten times its size—these are the characteristics of many communities all over the country.

This is a picture of the real "Main Street," and the true "Babbitts" are the men (and women) who with faith in "our town" organize and build a beautiful million-dollar, up-to-date hotel plant which gives the out-of-town visitor all the comforts and luxuries of a metropolitan hotel, which furnishes a fine ballroom or banquet hall for community entertainments and is the proud center of all sorts of big town activities.

The picture in this case happens to be that of Bluefield, West Virginia, but similar communities can be found in nearly every state in the Union, and this is the real strength of the United States, a country which furnishes boundless opportunities, a country of sturdy, optimistic, energetic people with a fine blend of common sense and idealism.



The Indian's Heritage

ELSEWHERE in this issue you will find a clear account by John Collier of the Indian situation as the American Indian Defense Association and the General Federation of Women's Clubs see it. This is exactly the moment for action if anything is to be done to preserve their rights to the Pueblos, who had so narrow an escape last year from the loss threatened by the Bursum bill.

Mr. Collier's reference to the Indians' right to their own individuality reminds one of a story told by Elizabeth Shepley Sergeant some months ago. Miss Sergeant, who has lived among the Pueblos herself, had with her some exquisite examples of the Indian handicraft—pottery, painting, necklaces—beautiful, individual. These are the arts the Indian tradition hands down. But when these Indians go to the schools we provide, instead of being encouraged to develop their native ability they are made to conform to our standards. In one school young Indians with a precious knowledge of lovely colors and forms, got on their blackboard only a frieze of upsidown umbrellas. In music, too—a visitor asked at such a school if the Indians wouldn't sing some of their own songs. The teacher was horrified and had them sing instead, "When Johnny Comes Marching Home."

The economic threat that hangs over these people is immediately serious; but this crushing out of an individual art instinct is, in the long run, just as destructive. It means a loss not only to them but to the world. Creative artistic expression is far too rare, at the best.



A GOOD by-product of the bad oil situation may be an increased watchfulness in protection of our natural resources. President Coolidge has hastened to ask the Senate Public Lands Committee to find out about the 3,900,000 acres of timber land, now in the national reservations, which are claimed by the Northern Pacific Railroad, under grants made by Congress long ago. The question is complex in its legal aspects and obviously for court decision. But the idea of keeping our eye steadily on our lands is a good one. The President's prompt action is appreciated.

What the American Woman Thinks

Protection for Working Women

By Alice Hamilton

Assistant Professor of Industrial Medicine at Harvard

Here is one of the most discussed subjects of the day—shall working women be "protected" or theoretically "equal"? Dr. Hamilton makes a strong case for protection. Are any readers "contrary minded"? Please speak up.

THE sharply opposed attitudes of two groups of women toward the question of special laws regulating the work and the wages of women make it incumbent on all of us who have strong convictions on the subject to make our views public, so far as possible, in the hope that from the multitude of counselors wisdom may emerge. I belong, myself, to those who hold that women need special protection because of their greater helplessness as industrial workers compared to men and because of their physical handicaps, and my opinion is based on a close acquaintance with industry for more than fifteen years. I did not enter on my study of the subject with any preconceived ideas of women's greater need for help and protection; rather the reverse, for I come of a family of suffragists and did not have to be converted to that point of view. Nor did I ever wish for special protection or special favors during my own life as a professional woman. It is contact with cold facts that has forced me into the position I now hold.

In the first place, the problem of women in industry is, in the majority of cases, the problem of the young girl and of the working mother. Here are some statistics from a factory employing 3,336 men and 1,031 women. They are divided into the different age groups as follows:

	Men	Women
Under twenty years	14.3%	36.0%
Under thirty years	53.6	82.0
Between thirty and forty years	22.0	14.0
Over forty years	23.6	6.0

These figures mean that a far larger proportion of women than of men in this typical plant are in the period of life when caution, foresight, self-control, regard for the future are not very great. Youth is foolish, reckless and individualistic. Anyone with any experience knows how much harder it is to organize women than men, and certainly one reason for this is the overabundance of youthful workers among the women;

they are not looking forward to a life of industrial work as the men are; they hope to marry, and although many of them after marriage come back to the factory, that does not enter into their outlook before marriage. The man faces a life of employment in industry, the girl does not, and it is very hard to arouse in her a vital interest in the organization of her trade.

On the other hand, the older women are, as a rule, even harder to organize, for they are mothers of families, widows, deserted, or with sick or incompetent husbands, and it would be hard to find a more rooted individualist than the woman in industry whose children are dependent upon her.

Women, then, are less able to organize and by their own strength bring about the methods of protection which everyone will admit they need. But this is



not all. The fact that they are women means that they require more protection. The prohibition of night work is more important for them than for men. Whatever may be true in the future, it is undeniable at present that women in industry almost always carry a double burden, their work in the factory and their housework and the care of their children. Read the report of the Consumers' League of an investigation in the mills of Rhode Island during the war, and you cannot fail to be convinced of the evils of night work for women. The father of a family, if he works at night, can get his sleep during the day and yet have his meals served him and his children cared for; the mother of a family cannot.

It is more necessary to protect them against trade poisons. I have quoted so often the British statistics on the greater susceptibility of women to lead poisoning that I will not repeat them now, but will confine myself to some recent figures published by the United States Public Health Service and gathered in American potteries. The average length

of exposure to lead of the men who developed lead poisoning was seventeen years, but the average length of exposure for the women was only 9.3 years. "It should also be mentioned that in most plants the length of day for the female worker is from one-half hour to one hour shorter than that of the male worker. It would seem that the female reaches these stages of lead poisoning in about half the time required for the male to reach them." Comparing the men and women who work side by side in the dipping rooms, it was found that there were no cases of lead poisoning among fifty-eight male ware carriers, but sixty-two women doing the same work had a rate of 4.8 per cent. Among seventy-one male dippers' helpers the rate of lead poisoning was 8.4 per cent, but among 149 female dippers' helpers the rate was 14.4 per cent.

Then there is the effect of the mother's work on her children. The fundamental difference between the two sexes is that women bear children and men only beget them. Injury to the father can result in injury to the germ cell; injury to the mother may have not only this result but may also cause continual damage to the child throughout the nine months of intra-uterine life. The figures which prove this in the lead trades have been quoted too often to need repetition. After all, only a minority of women in industry are exposed to lead poisoning. Let me offer instead the statistics which deal with the effect of the non-poisonous trades on the pregnant woman and on the health of her baby. The Children's Bureau has lately published evidence which has a decided bearing on these points. An investigation, made in Baltimore, seems to show that the mother's employment away from home, either preceding confinement or during the baby's first year of life, is harmful to the child's health. The still birth rate among mothers who were employed in industrial pursuits during the year preceding confinement was more than twice as high as that among mothers who were not so employed. Of the live births to mothers employed, 6.2 per cent were premature as compared with 5.7 per cent to mothers not employed. The mortality rate during the first month of life was 77.3 for each thousand among babies of mothers employed, or nearly twice the rate, 39.9, among babies of mothers not employed.

Breast feeding is denied the baby whose mother works away from home, and the mortality rate for the first year among babies included in this study was

one and one-half times the rate among babies of mothers not employed. This does not tell the whole story, for students of infection and immunity have found that the breast-fed baby has a greater resistance to infection than the bottle-fed baby, and that this increased resistance is prolonged beyond the first year of life. The investigators were careful to rule out the factor of poverty in these mortality rates, making their comparisons within the same income groups.

Confirmatory evidence comes from Fall River, Massachusetts. Dr. George Clifford King of that city has made a study of the deaths of babies during the first year of life and finds that the Portuguese, who have but 28.87 per cent of the births, have 45.76 per cent of the deaths; while the Canadians have 15.93 per cent of the births and 14.6 per cent of the infant deaths. About twice as large a proportion of Portuguese mothers are engaged in work outside the home during pregnancy and after childbirth as is true of women of other nationalities.

European countries, whose industrial history is older than ours, face these facts and try to deal with them by laws limiting the hours of work, forbidding night work, forbidding exposure to poisoning, providing for a period of rest before and after child-birth, and for the breast feeding of babies during the moth-

er's employment. At the International Labor Congress, held in Washington in the autumn of 1920, the women of the Latin countries were strongly in favor of laws to require the installation of day nurseries in factories as well as provision of a pause during the working hours for the mother to nurse her baby. The British and the American women opposed this because they did not wish to establish, or perhaps we had better say to recognize officially, the employment of the nursing mother outside of the home. There is much to be said on both sides, but the Anglo-Saxon stand can be defended only if we use every effort to abolish the conditions which we shrink from recognizing.

What I would urge upon the opponents of special legislation for women in industry is that they work for the fundamental reform of industry first, later for the special reform they are now pressing, the equal status of men and women in industry. It is quite true that the dangerous trades should be made safe for both sexes; the eight-hour day, the six-day week, the abolition of night work, are desirable for both men and women, and strong trade organizations are the best safeguards for both. But until we have secured these measures for both sexes let us not take them away from women. The protective legislation we now have for American working women is feeble and scattered; let us not

destroy it till we have something to take its place. If there is a river to be crossed, it is better not to give up the ferry-boat before the bridge is built.

That there are some skilled women workers who suffer from legal regulations of their trades is undoubtedly true, but they are a small minority compared to those who need these laws. For one woman linotypist, there are hundreds of girl press-feeders in unorganized printing shops. For one woman supervisor, there are hundreds of department-store saleswomen. Surely it would be better for these exceptional women to turn their efforts toward the framing of amendments exempting their own class from the operation of a law rather than to oppose all legal control of the hours of work of less capable and fortunate women. "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves."

The argument that the weak will be actually benefited by ignoring their weakness and asserting that they are as strong as men, can take just as good care of themselves and are only hampered and injured by protective legislation, can be answered by pointing to those states which do not protect them, or which for many years did not. Anyone who knows the condition in the textile states before the introduction of laws regulating hours knows that this theory is untenable.

The American Woman's Job

By Elizabeth Tilton

Editor, *Woman's National Committee for Law Enforcement*

ONE hesitates today to use the word Liberalism because it has been tampered with by its enemies, by men who would pick and choose what laws they would obey, by men who would carry personal liberty to the point where it means license to them and injury to the other man.

And yet in its beginning Liberalism was a noble vision and in his book on Liberalism L. T. Hobhouse says:

"We need a fuller cooperation among those of genuine democratic feeling and more agreement in the order of reform. At present progress is blocked by the very competition of many causes for the first place in the advance. . . . (We need) a clearer sense of the necessity of cooperation between all those who profess to call themselves democrats"—that is, true Liberals.

Certainly it is true that progress is blocked because good causes get in each other's way, each trying to secure a front place with the party. What women ought to do is to become a well-nigh solid mass of Race-Survivalists, not forming a third party, but pushing into all parties measures making for the elimination of the great race destroyers—

lawlessness, poverty, drugs, disease, liquor and war.

Probably the first principle is law-observance, for what use is it to educate and legislate if large masses of the people do not feel any compulsion to keep the law? What use is it to substitute law for war, if the moment the shoe pinches law is thrown to the seven winds and private interest is substituted?

But this solid body of Race-Survivalists organized to force the battle against all race destroyers into the front ranks of all parties, national and international, must be a regular *listed* body.

Politicians do not greatly fear the women's vote for the reason that it is not organized. Women favor liberal measures looking toward the conservation of the race, but the trouble is that they hold meetings and pass resolutions concerning these noble measures and there it ends. Instead of organizing the sentiment made at the meeting in a way to crystallize it into votes, they let it blow where it listeth, like the wind.

Trained men take no chances. They secure a platform of measures in black and white. Then they secure long lists of followers sure to vote for officials who favor the platform. Then, a few

days before election, they circularize these long lists, telling them precisely how to vote at the polls. In short, men take the *step that comes after the meeting*—they build up a machine that can be put in motion to deliver the sentiment made at the meeting in the shape of votes.

If women in many states could secure a list of civic-minded women favorable to the measures that make for Race-Survival and could circularize those women twice: (1) before Registration Days, to make sure they were properly registered and ready to go to the Primaries; (2) before Election Day, telling them the candidates favorable to progressive measures and asking them to vote for these candidates, the present lame conditions of women, politically, would come to an abrupt end.

Should the women of each town gather such lists and circularize, the Government would go their way. Should the women of America procure a list of seven million civic-minded voters, to be circularized at the proper moment, both the Democratic and Republican Parties would be at the feet of the women and measures that now linger would race to become laws.

The Woman Voter

(This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.)

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER for
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532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Federal Measures the League Supports

CHIEF among the developments in the Congress in the last fortnight, of particular interest to the National League, is the action, February 18, of the sub-committee of the Senate Judiciary Committee in reporting to the whole Judiciary Committee a child labor resolution, the content of which is approved by all the organizations working for the prohibition of child labor. No action has been taken as yet by the committee as a whole.

Representative Foster, of Ohio, sponsor in the House of the original resolution supported by women's organizations, the Federal Council of Churches, and the American Federation of Labor, introduced another resolution, February 13, similar to the one reported favorably by the Senate Judiciary sub-committee.

The resolution (H. J. Res. 184) is as follows: "Section 1. The Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, and prohibit the labor of persons under eighteen years of age. Section 2. The power of the several states is unimpaired by this article except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress."

Proponents of child labor legislation concluded their hearings before the House Judiciary Committee, February 16. Miss Grace Abbott, chief of United States Children's Bureau; Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, vice-chairman of the Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee, and Miss Mary Stewart, chairman of the child labor sub-committee of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, were the principal speakers. A letter urging congressional approval of a child labor amendment was read from Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Opponents were scheduled to be heard February 27.

The status of other measures is:

S. Res. 36: King resolution, embodying the World Court proposals of President Coolidge and the late President Harding, with reservations by Secretary Hughes. Referred to Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

S. 1337-H. R. 3923: Sterling-Reed bill, creating a Department of Education, with its head a member of the Cabinet, etc. Referred to Education Committees. Proponents of the measure had hearings, beginning February 20, before the House Education Committee. Miss Charl Williams, field secretary of the National Education Association; Dr. George D. Strayer, of Teachers' College, New York City, and Mrs. Frederick P. Bagley, of the National Committee for a

Department of Education, and a former education committee chairman of the National League, were among the speakers.

S. 790-H. R. 685: Curtis-Graham Federal women-prisoners' bill. Passed by Senate. In House Judiciary Committee.

S. J. Res. 15: Jones amendment to the Constitution, providing for suffrage in the District of Columbia. Referred to Senate Judiciary Committee.

S. 1408: Fess amendment to the Smith-Hughes act, to increase appropriations for home economics. Referred to Education and Labor Committee.

In view of the League's support of the Civil Service Re-classification Act last year, it is of interest that Representative Lehlbach introduced a bill, February 12, abolishing the Personnel Classification Board and transferring its duties and functions under the Classification Act of 1923 to the United States Civil Service Commission. Representative Lehlbach took occasion the same day on the floor of the House to attack the Personnel Classification Board's administration of the 1923 Act. He said the classification board was "composed of minor administrative officials" who had cast aside, over the protest of the Civil Service Commission member, every provision of the law, except "the sentence bringing itself into being."

ANNE WILLIAMS.

Co-operation for Good Citizenship

A JOINT statement of co-operation, signed by Emily W. Dean, president of the Illinois Republican Women's Clubs; Catharine Waugh McCulloch, president of the Illinois Women's Democratic Club; Bertha Hale White, assistant national secretary of the Socialist Party; Ruby Huber Ernest, of the women's section of the Farmer-Labor Party of Illinois; Florence Bennett Peterson, chairman of the Department of Efficiency in Government of the Illinois League of Women Voters; Mary F. Morrisson, and Julia Scott Vrooman, has just been issued. It begins with the statement which was sent out some little time ago, signed by Emily Newell Blair, vice-chairman Democratic National Committee; Harriet Taylor Upton, vice-chairman, Executive Committee of the Republican National Committee, and Maud Wood Park, president of the National League, reading:

"The rock upon which this nation was founded is the principle of self-government. Because this is true, loyal American citizens, whatever their political faith may be, should join in the effort to get out the vote at every election in order that decisions which concern the welfare of town, county, state, or nation shall be made, not by a minority of the citizens, but by the majority."

After quoting these words the joint statement continues:

"We hereby affirm our belief in the above statement and urge our members to co-operate heartily in such an effort. Our common interest and purpose is better government. Furthermore, recognizing that we are living in a period of increasing public co-operation in affairs of government, we believe that women will make significant political progress in Illinois only by associated effort in political education and political action. There should be no waste of the woman power of the state.

"To secure a clear understanding regarding the relation of the party groups of women and the League of Women Voters, the League reaffirms its cordial relation to political parties in urging its members to enroll in them and to use their best intelligence to make the party of their choice a more efficient factor for improving government. The party groups of women recognize in the League of Women Voters

a citizen agency that is seeking information from the best-known authentic sources to supply basic facts for creating enlightened public opinion on the business of government, that women may become alert, informed voters.

"We recommend that Illinois women lead in a policy of initiating joint action, wherever practicable, for principles of better government. We recommend immediate state-wide co-operation: To increase the number of efficient voting citizens in Illinois in 1924; to raise the percentage of Illinois women voting in 1924 from approximately 46 per cent of those eligible, to 95 per cent of those eligible; to awaken keen interest and decisive action in all the elections of 1924; to acquire facts regarding the functions of the offices and qualifications required for those offices; to get out a large vote for the April 8 primary election (special attention must be given to the election of party committeemen on April 8); to promote a wider concern in standards, legislation and law enforcement for public welfare in government and international co-operation to prevent war."

Miss Dunshee on "Equal Rights"

ON February 13, Miss Esther Dunshee, of Chicago, chairman of the National League Committee on Uniform Laws Concerning Women, gave a radio talk on the so-called "equal rights" amendment. In part she said:

"Ostensibly this amendment is meant to assure to all women full political equality; make them eligible to all public offices, elective or appointive; give them the right of entry into occupations from which they are now barred; make them, equally with their husbands, the guardians of their children, and in other respects place husbands and wives on a par in their homes. The National League of Women Voters heartily desires these ends, but a little thought will show that passage of the proposed amendment will not only fail to accomplish the objects sought but will carry with it a train of most unfortunate results.

"It should be noted in the first place that its meaning is very uncertain. No standard is set by which the rights referred to may be measured. The amendment does not disclose whether the rights of women shall be automatically made to conform to the rights of men as they now exist, or vice versa. Congress is to be given power to pass 'appropriate legislation to enforce this amendment,' but there is a vast body of legislation over which Congress has no control whatsoever and over which it can have no control because the people of the states, with whom the supreme sovereignty lies, have never granted such powers to Congress. Since there is no power in Congress to force the passage of legislation in the states, the interpretation of this amendment in relation to the state laws which discriminate between men and women must be found, if at all, in the terms of the amendment itself and as pointed out, the amendment sets no standard.

"For example, the common-law right of curtesy still exists in some states. This law gives to a husband, immediately upon the birth of a child, an absolute right in his wife's real estate so long as he shall live, with full control after her death, except as to alienation, the title going to his wife's heirs upon his death. In the same states the wife has a statutory right of dower, a life interest in one-third of her husband's real estate. If the 'equal rights' amendment becomes part of the fundamental law of our land, will a wife then have a right equal to the right of curtesy in her husband's real estate, or will the husband be thereby relegated to the lesser right of dower? Neither you nor I can tell. Only the Supreme Court of the United States has the right to pass upon this subject, and its decision could be based upon no standard set by the amendment itself. In Illinois, this particular question would not arise for the reason that curtesy has been abolished, and husband and wife by statute take an equal interest in each other's real estate.

"Let us suggest a few of the questions which might arise for interpretation if this amendment were passed and ac-

cepted by the states. Will husbands continue to be legally bound to support their wives? How would this amendment affect mothers' pensions? Would the Sheppard-Towner Law for the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy still be valid? Would women be subject to conscription? Would the age-of-consent laws be wiped out? Would women in Illinois remain minors until they reach the age of twenty-one or would the men in this state have the right to claim majority at eighteen? Would fathers be jointly responsible financially with mothers for their illegitimate children?

"These are only a few of the questions which may be raised, with no hope of an adequate answer, and they point to endless years of litigation.

"The few women who are actively engaged in supporting this measure stress certain laws in our states which bar women from some occupations, as, for example, the law in Illinois which provides that women may not work in mines, and the Ohio law which deprives women of the right to act as railroad switchmen. These are isolated laws affecting only the women of those particular states in which the statutes make such discriminatory provisions. They are not matter of nation-wide import. No longer are women barred anywhere in the United States from the professions or from holding office. The discriminations which still exist in this respect are almost wholly administrative and can only be changed by an educated public opinion. As to those specific occupations from which women are barred by statute, surely that is a matter for action by the state whose women are subjected to such special discrimination. Must the whole nation suffer from the difficulties which will necessarily arise from the adoption of the so-called 'equal rights' amendment in order that the women of Illinois may have the right to work in coal mines? A bill passed in our own legislature would furnish a complete remedy if the women of Illinois are so eager to work in mines.

"It is apparent from the arguments used by the members of the Woman's Party, who are the supporters of this resolution, that they interpret the proposed amendment to mean that all rights of women shall equal the rights of men, initially as they now exist, and conform to change, and it is hardly conceivable that any court as now constituted would construe it to mean that the rights of men should conform to the rights of women as they now exist.

"For the past twenty-five years, most of the organized women of America, of all classes, and many far-sighted men, have been working to place upon the statute books of our states and of our nation, protective legislation which recognizes a biological difference between men and women and takes into account the fact that conservation of our womanhood means the preservation of the race at a higher degree of efficiency. It seems to be the consensus of legal opinion of the highest order that such an amendment would wipe out all such protective legislation.

"Warren Olney, Jr., one of the outstanding lawyers of California and a former judge, says: 'One result of the passage of this amendment would be that it would in all probability nullify all legislation designed to protect women in industry.'

"James R. Garfield, of Cleveland, Ohio, says: 'Restrictive laws have not been enacted for the purpose of interfering with the civil and legal rights of women and children, but for the purpose of safeguarding them against hardships, wrongs, and evils which have developed in the industrial world. The proposed amendment would seriously interfere with, if not entirely repeal, such existing legislation. It is quite impossible to determine clearly the far-reaching and disastrous effect of the proposed amendment.'

"Do the women of America wish to have their labor of years nullified? That cannot be. In many jurisdictions, women at the present time suffer practically no disabilities, except possibly beneficial ones. They have nearly all rights belonging to men. Except in the case of their political status,

this has been accomplished by statutes. The same thing can be done in each state with practically the same campaign that would be required to secure the ratification of a Constitutional amendment.

"Commenting on this point, Dean G. Acheson, a prominent attorney of Washington, D. C., has said: 'Surely by this time we have learned that in removing anachronisms from the law we must name them, book and page, and not furnish the courts undefined powers for nullifying legislation.'

"In some states women are still under disability as to contract and property rights. It is within the power of each state to change this condition without affecting the rights of the men and women of this nation outside that state. In some states the relationship of father and mother to their children needs to be adjusted on the basis of equality. This can be done in the same way as it has already been done in the vast majority of states.

"In Illinois and twenty-six other states of the Union, women are not permitted to serve on juries. The legislatures of our own states may be made to respond to the will of the people and place upon the statutes a law making women eligible for jury service if the individual citizens will but make themselves felt as they have the power to do.

"We cannot afford to remain silent. Some amendments, now a part of the Federal Constitution, have produced results entirely unsuspected by the men who framed them and advocated their adoption, and after years of litigation, still are frequently the subject of construction in our courts. Let us not repeat this error."

Second Regional Conference

THE conference of the second region of the National League, held February 12 at the home of the director, Miss Gertrude Ely, in Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, stands out as one of the most inspirational and successful meetings in the history of the region. Every state in the region was represented, more than eighty women from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland journeying to Miss Ely's home for the seven-hour meeting.

Miss Katharine Ludington, national treasurer, the first speaker, outlined the proposed plan for unification of national, state, and local budgets, which will be presented at the Buffalo convention for adoption. It is time, she said, that League members viewed money-raising in national, state, and local terms. Miss Ludington pleaded for the plan, which provides for a unification of money-raising methods, unification of period during which money is to be raised, and decentralization of responsibility and work. A discussion of finance followed, in which Miss Thomas, chairman of the Chester League's finance committee; Mrs. Caspar Whitney, vice-chairman of the New York State League, and Mrs. John O. Miller, president of Pennsylvania State League, participated.

After a luncheon, during which representatives of the various states had a much-desired opportunity for informal discussion of the League's problems, the meeting was resumed. The "equal rights" amendment received first consideration, with Miss Irene R. O'Crawley, chairman of the Newark (New Jersey) League, and Miss Belle Sherwin, national vice-chairman, as speakers. Miss O'Crawley reviewed the effect of the proposed amendment on the women in the home and in industry. Miss Sherwin gave an interesting account of the opponents' hearing before the Senate Judiciary subcommittee in Washington, February 7.

In her discussion of "How Much Shall We Undertake?" Miss Florence L. Harrison, secretary of the second region, especially urged that no legislative program of the League should "go faster" than its educational program. There is too much attention given to program, she said, and "too little" consideration to education. Miss Harrison took this occasion to commend the policy of the League of studying a subject before endorsing it. She denounced vigorously "the

habit of endorsement" so prevalent in many other organizations. Miss Eveline Brainerd, editor of the New York State publications, and Miss Anne Williams, of the National League press department, spoke briefly on publicity.

Organization was the principal topic of the afternoon session. Miss Sherwin, who presided, told the conference that women interested in civics and politics are as necessary to the world today, as the earthworms that came out of the sea and made the earth a place for men and women to live in. In detailing the steps through which the League's program of work is taken, Miss Sherwin said she knows of no other organization whose program goes through as many stages of study before adoption.

"We are undertaking a difficult pioneer task, just as the pioneers of suffrage days did," Miss Sherwin said. "While these brave women lighted the fires, we must keep them alive, and well banked—a constant task requiring untiring devotion and intelligent thinking."

Mrs. H. M. Simmons, president of the New Jersey State League, told the women that it is their true mission to teach the public what are public questions. She said she hoped the day will come when women everywhere will see that citizenship is the expression of the highest form of social service. Mrs. Caspar Whitney, of the New York League, spoke briefly of local organization problems, touching upon the apathy of voters in the important questions of civic government. Miss Anna Shephard, executive secretary of the New York State League, in speaking on membership, urged a drive to bring more young women into the League. Miss Harrison suggested a greater use of "more practical methods" in getting women interested in the League. She urged the adoption of the Pennsylvania plan of sending representatives of the various leagues to the state capital to watch legislative doings. This, she said, has increased interest in governmental affairs.

The British Consultative Committee

THE Consultative Committee of Women's Organizations, which is the British equivalent of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee in Washington, has Mrs. Wintringham, M.P., as vice-president, and at its January meeting voted unanimously to invite her Parliamentary colleague, Miss Margaret Bondfield, to become an additional vice-president.

Resolutions introduced by constituent societies and adopted, included one calling on the Government to announce in its program of work for the session, the inclusion of franchise for women on the same terms as men; equal guardianship of children as between fathers and mothers, and pensions for civilian widows with dependent children. A second resolution called upon the Government to expend the same amount of public money upon providing work or training for unemployed women, in proportion to their numbers, as upon work or training for unemployed men, and a third called upon the Government to introduce next session a bill to legitimize illegitimate children whose parents subsequently marry, "or to give facilities for a private members' bill with a similar object." The legitimacy bill was down for the second place on February 29, as a private members' bill, and seemed, when the committee met, to have a good chance of securing Government time if support was forthcoming.

The resolution as drafted omitted any reference to the contentious proviso inserted in an earlier bill, limiting the power to legitimize by subsequent marriage, to parents who, at the time of the child's birth, were in a position to marry. Though Miss Picton Turbervill, of the Y. W. C. A., stated as an objection to the withdrawal of the proviso, that entail cases might be extremely serious, and that in addition there would be the risk of insecurity for childless wives whose husbands wished to have heirs whom they could subsequently legitimize.

An additional resolution expressed the belief of constituent societies that in spite of the success of official measures for

the treatment of venereal diseases, further action is needed in order to encourage the voluntary attendance of married women and children for treatment. The importance of securing detection of venereal disease in children of school age was emphasized.

League Work and League Women

"WHATEVER one's vote on the proposed (Bok peace plan) winning plan," Mrs. Parker Maddux, president of the San Francisco League, writes, "certainly it has been the most fruitful cause of international discussion yet produced."

The San Francisco League gave a luncheon on January 18, and two prominent attorneys debated the Bok plan before the gathering. On the day before there was a lecture on prenatal care and a cinema illustrating methods, and on the eighteenth, after the luncheon, a joint round table study group occupied itself with school budgeting and school financing, with Mrs. Paul Eliel as director of the table. Mrs. Gertrude Slocum is chairman of the international relations committee study group which discussed the Bok plan on January 21 and January 28. On January 29 the British Consul General, Mr. Gerard Campbell, gave a non-partisan view of governmental changes in Great Britain from the recent imperial conference, to the choice of a Labor prime minister, and Mrs. William Kent gave her impressions of the Sidney Webbs. Mrs. Luther Gulick, of New York, explained the Camp Fire Girls at a joint luncheon meeting of the League and the Girls on January 31, which was also regular monthly membership meeting day, and on Tuesday, February 5, Marcos Garcia-Huidobro, consul of Chile, addressed the League at an afternoon meeting, taking as his subject, "Political Development of Chile and the Monroe Doctrine." Meetings have been well attended, Mrs. Maddux says, and discussion from the floor has been most stimulating.

THE executive board of the Jefferson County (Alabama) League has decided to conduct this year, as last year, an essay competition with "Citizenship" the subject. Last year, members of senior classes of city high schools wrote some exceedingly satisfactory essays, and this year seniors in schools in the country are to be asked to enter the lists. The Peace and Arbitration Committee of the League is planning to conduct a public debate on the Bok peace plan and will arrange a peace celebration for school children on May 18. Mrs. J. M. Hankins, League president, believes that committee work will be expedited and the committee field broadened if each chairman makes her committee consist of twenty-five or more members to assist her and to hold a monthly round table.

THE Tacoma (Washington) League has unanimously re-elected Mrs. Ernest A. Orr president. It was she who brought the first Tacoma League into existence and accepted the presidency after serving two years as secretary-treasurer.

"Might there be any connection between the fact that Tacoma is the lumber capital of the world," asks Viola McEachron, corresponding secretary, "and the fact that our city has furnished the woman timber for the president of the state League, Mrs. Mary Hutchinson; a state legislator, Mrs. Jessie Bullock Kastner; a district director, Mrs. Robert Berry, and a judge, Mrs. Blanche Funk Miller?"

AT the first of three "Know Your Town" luncheon meetings held by the Zanesville (Ohio) League in connection with its membership drive, only thirty-eight persons were present. At the second, the attendance was sixty-nine and the third brought out ninety-two. Many women who have never before taken an active part in any civic work attended the luncheons and displayed the greatest interest, and even after the membership drive was ended, names of new members poured in. One enthusiastic worker brought in twenty new members in a day.

THE twenty-five-dollar prize offered by the Pennsylvania League for the best report of the League's fourth annual convention has been awarded to Mrs. Lewis Schrader, of the New Garden branch of the Chester County League. The February issue of the Pennsylvania League's *Bulletin* contains Mrs. Schrader's story. The January issue of the *Bulletin* contains a discussion by Professor Manley Hudson, of the World Court and the League of Nations, and an editorial by the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Mellon, or rather a letter, which explains several points in the Mellon tax-revision plan.

THE Silver Bow League (Montana) of which Mrs. E. R. Bowersox is president, sent a committee composed of the president, Mrs. Delia Peets, and Mrs. Theodore Simons, to the county commissioners asking for co-operation in the local get-out-the-vote campaign. The commissioners gladly gave the League a room on the first floor of the courthouse with the use of a telephone and anything else the League needed to make the work of stimulating registration successful.

THE Idaho League is planning a pre-Easter bazaar to be held in Boise, March 29. The proceeds will be used to pay the expenses of a delegate to the National League Convention in Buffalo, April 24-29. The Boise League has arranged three study groups in different parts of the city to study the National League's pamphlet "International Problems," and has invited everybody interested in the subject to come to the meetings.

THE Bernalillo (New Mexico) County League is one of the youngest of local Leagues, holding its first regular monthly meeting last month. At the organization meeting in Albuquerque a month earlier, the officers elected were: Republican chairman, Mrs. R. S. Rockwood; Democratic chairman, Mrs. T. J. Mabry; Republican vice-chairman, Mrs. A. Gusdorf; Democratic vice-chairman, Mrs. August Seis; treasurer, Mrs. Ed Swope.

THE showing made in the Connecticut elections when 85 per cent of registered voters of East Lyme went to the polls in November and 95 per cent of the Meriden voters cast their ballots in December is put down by observers to the credit of the women who worked faithfully to get out the vote.

TO the individual who secures the largest numbers of new members, the Knox County (Tennessee) League will present a handsome silver loving cup. The membership drive, which began February 1, is to end when the State League Convention in Knoxville begins, March 18, and the cup will be presented on the second and last day of the convention, March 19.

SEVEN neighborhood groups for study have been formed by the Macon County (Illinois) League in Decatur. The largest of them meets on Friday evening with Miss Grace Bridges, who came forward to help as soon as sixty of the League members expressed their wish to learn more about politics and government.

MISS ELIZABETH REYNOLDS has been awarded the prize offered by the North Kingstown Unit of the United League of Rhode Island for the best paper on the Permanent Court of International Justice.

THE Atlanta (Georgia) League is making League headquarters a social and a recruiting center by inviting all women interested in the League to drop in after shopping hours for a little rest and a cup of tea. A member of the social committee, of which Mrs. E. M. Wollank is chairman, is always present to welcome newcomers and talk of League work.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

More About the Welsh Visitors

IN the February 23 CITIZEN there was a story about the three Welsh women—Mrs. Peter Hughes-Griffiths, Miss Mary Ellis, and Miss Elined Prys—who came as a delegation from the women of Wales to the women of America, bringing a Peace Memorial. Since that story was written the Memorial has been presented to the American women. The presentation took place in New York on February 19 at a big luncheon where several hundred American women representing sixty organizations and sixteen million members were present. In every possible way a Welsh atmosphere was provided. Daffodils, the Welsh national flower, decorated the tables. Welsh songs were sung by a soloist, with the delegation joining in the chorus of the Welsh National Hymn. A group of New York Welsh women were among the guests.

Mrs. Hughes-Griffiths, head of the Welsh delegation, made the speech of presentation, telling that dramatic story of the way in which Welsh women of all classes had united to ask our cooperation in winning world peace. A script copy of the Memorial, beautifully bound in morocco, was presented and then a great oak chest containing 390,296 signatures was opened and the keys and padlocks were turned over.

Mrs. James Lees Laidlaw, chairman, accepted the Memorial, and short speeches were also made by Miss Ruth Morgan, Mrs. Frank Vanderlip, Mrs. Frank Day Tuttle, Miss Evangeline Johnson, Dr. Katherine Bement Davis, and others. It was an impressive occasion to the welcoming Americans, and the attractive personality of the delegation made their mission still more vivid and moving.

On February 20 the Welsh delegation was entertained in Washington at a dinner given by the Sub-committee on the World Court of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee. The dinner was given at the clubhouse of the American Association of University Women, with Mrs. Raymond Morgan presiding.

The next day the delegation was received by President Coolidge at the White House. The specially bound copy of the Memorial had been borrowed back to show to him, along with a picture of the big oak chest. President Coolidge was very gracious and reminded the women that they were in a home atmosphere, since he himself had a Welsh ancestry, and he had two Cabinet members of Welsh extraction.

Both the Memorial and the chest will

probably rest in the Smithsonian Institution.

Looking Toward Congress

THE names of women who have an eye on a seat in the next Congress are now beginning to appear. So far, besides Mrs. Izetta Jewell Brown of West Virginia, of whom we told in the last CITIZEN, we have learned the names of six. They are, according to newspaper reports, Miss Nellie Cline, twice a Kansas legislator on the Democratic ticket; Mrs. Helen L. Grenfell of Denver, also a Democrat; Mrs. Manly Fossen, a Republican from Minnesota whose ambition points to Magnus Johnson's seat in the Senate; Mrs. Benjamin F. Perry of Lexington, Kentucky, who also shows preference for the Senate; Mrs. Winnifred Mason Huck of Chicago, Illinois, who finished out one unexpired term as Representative-at-large, and Miss Julia Landers, a Democrat from Indianapolis.

May we take space here to correct the statement made about Mrs. Brown in the last issue? Mrs. E. S. Romine, not Mrs. Brown, is president of the West Virginia League of Women Voters; Mrs. Brown is vice-president.

A New School

THE National Women's Trade Union League of America has opened a school for women labor leaders in Chicago. It is not to be large—only ten pupils a year—but its influence will be broadly felt. The plan is this: Each year ten scholarships, covering six months' tuition and living expenses, will be granted to young women in the trades who have shown an aptness for leadership. The scholarships will come from labor organizations and persons who approve of the movement. The University of Chicago is cooperating by opening its regular economic classes to students without examination, and the Crane High School is doing the same thing with its English classes.

Worth Copying

SHREVEPORT, Louisiana, has a rather nice idea which may appeal to some of our readers this spring. It is a Plant Exchange Day. In the early season of 1922 and '23 the Shreveport Community Service and the Woman's Department Club got together, obtained the auditorium of the city hall, appointed committees, and for two days presided over an open exchange. Contributed plants, shrubs, slips, bulbs and seeds were arranged on different tables

with from four to six women who knew about flower-growing in charge. All you had to do was walk in, select what you wanted, and walk out again. In 1923 over four thousand plants and cuttings were given out, as well as three thousand packages of seeds. Of course, the object is an exchange, and those having gardens bring slips from their favorite rose bush or shrub, perhaps a fern, or dahlia bulbs left from thinning. All this meant an increase in neighborly spirit, and put flowers into homes where they had never been before.

Cleveland Employs a Woman

FOR a number of years Miss Ruth Stone of Cleveland, Ohio, has been executive secretary of the Community Betterment Council of that city. She served as secretary of the mayor's war board and it was due to her investigations that a Girls' Council was established. So it is not strange that the new city manager of Cleveland, W. S. Hopkins, should appoint her secretary to the director of parks and public buildings. And the particular point of interest is that this is Cleveland's first public recognition of the value of women's service in municipal government.

A Coming Event

WOMEN'S organizations all over the country are invited to send delegates to a convention in Washington, D. C., April 10-11, called by the Woman's National Committee for Law Enforcement (302 Ford Building, Boston) to work for all law enforcement with special emphasis on prohibition. Mrs. Herbert Hoover is chairman of the committee arranging for the convention, and Mrs. Robert Lansing is Honorary Secretary. Prominent men and women will speak.

A French Visitor

MME. CHARLES LEVERRIER, who directs the Lafayette Memorial for French War Orphans at Chavaniac, France, is visiting America. Mme. Le Verrier comes under the auspices of the Lafayette Memorial, Inc., to report on how the money for the orphanage has been used. The Lafayette chateau was purchased in 1918 by Americans for a memorial museum, but the need of the refugee French children was so great that, with the aid of the Fifty-fifth Regiment, then stationed near by, it was hastily converted into an orphanage, and Mme. Le Verrier put in charge. The plan for a museum is now abandoned.

General Federation Notes

By LESSIE STRINGFELLOW READ

IMMEDIATE action on the part of women voters urging the passage of House Bill 3269, which provides that all prohibition enforcement officers shall be placed under the national civil service law from which they are now exempt, is urged by Imogene B. Oakley, chairman of the General Federation division of civil service.

Mrs. Oakley writes: "Prohibition enforcement scandals increase rather than diminish and the first step toward checking them must be the removal of enforcement officers from partisan political control. Such a bill has been introduced in the House and, notwithstanding strong support of the General Federation, the League of Women Voters and the National Civil Service Reform League, it has not been reported out of committee. Introduced by Mr. Tinkham, it was duly referred to the Civil Service Committee, and there it will repose until forced out by public opinion.

"There is as yet no satisfactory bill before the Senate. The bill sponsored by Senator Sterling permits exemption of certain enforcement officials and, therefore, cannot receive the General Federation's endorsement. If, however, we can secure passage of House Bill 3269, we may look forward to favorable action in the Senate."

"WOMEN OF 1924," second annual edition of the Woman's International Year Book, is on the press, and may be had for \$2.00 if reserved now, according to an announcement just made by Ida Clyde Clarke, president of the Woman's News Service, 1125 Amsterdam avenue, New York City. Post-publication price will be \$3.00.

The volume contains up-to-date information about women's organizations, the names of officers, dates, places of meetings, as well as a comprehensive survey of progress in the fields where women are working and a great deal of valuable miscellaneous information concerning women.

AN "Insurance Day" was recently held at the Hotel Astor, New York, by members of the New York City Federation of Women's Clubs, Mrs. Slack, president, being a speaker.

Mrs. Julian Heath, home economics and thrift chairman, was in charge and Alice Lakey, chairman of the committee on insurance for women, represented the General Federation. Life insurance company speakers were also present.

Through her Federation department in insurance, 74 Courtlandt street, New York, Miss Lakey is planning an educational insurance campaign in which the value of insurance for women as a means of saving against old age, safeguarding the home, or establishing a college fund for children, will be stressed.

CLUB women of Missouri are making a concerted effort to place informed and efficient women on every school board, following a resolution unanimously adopted at the state convention that such action be taken. The Fortnightly Study Club of Liberty, Missouri, has already nominated two candidates to succeed men board members.

"Outward Bound"

An Unusual Play

WHILE the Modernists rage and the Fundamentalists imagine a vain thing, and the kings of the earth get themselves down, the common thinking man or woman goes about his business with a huge indifference to theologic dispute, and an unspoiled interest in his fellows. But even if we have renounced Heaven (nobly) and Hell (with alacrity), in our hearts we have a sneaking interest in them, and we lend inquisitive ear to the man who touches these subjects with romantic color and dramatic line.

Something fairly philosophic and questioning underlies the romancing of the playwright of "Outward Bound," which had its New York opening in January, and attracted a good deal of comment and some fervors. Outward bound on an ocean liner are seven passengers who know not where they go nor why. They are a clergyman whose touchstone to life is service, a young man who has no touchstone at all, a woman whose touchstone is social prosperities, a man whose touchstone is material prosperities, two suicide lovers whose touchstone is personal love, and a mother whose touchstone is personal love magnified. Their ship carries no light, no crew, no officers; only a quiet, indifferent steward who knows what they have not yet found out. They are all seven dead. "Quite dead, sir," says the much too cheerful steward. And all but the two suicides are unaware of the piquant fact.



Ira D. Schwarz, N. Y.

Dudley Digges as the "Examiner"

By degrees, to the mind among them most restless, most unsatisfied, least lulled to dubious securities, the truth is apparent, and they learn from the steward what awaits them: The Examiner; and Heaven; or Hell, though "the same place, sir."

In the first act the passengers discover each other. In the second they discover

what obviously feels like a quandary. In the last they—and the audience—discover their several destinations. Meanwhile, neatly sketched characters outline themselves in this circumstance, which is, after all, only a bold working drawing of the somewhat common circumstance of being born upon earth.

It sounds like a theme sure to develop itself in the smart gesture of farce or the flaccid posturings of sentimentality. And for the most part it does neither. There is some symbolism, perhaps, but it is psychological and faint. It is not distracting because its deep coincidence is emotionally true. There is much truth, and no faintest suggestion of dogma, in many of these accented moments of the play.

Once in a while conclusion slips ahead of dramatic premise and the propagandist emerges. As in the last line of all, where—on our night—a sensitive actor's voice rang false, because the line was false—and he knew it.

"There is so much to do," he yearns, "and so little time to do it!" Yes—quite a chore to do in *The World We Live In*: the dovetailing of the fundamental Modernist and the modern Fundamentalist; new jobs for old kings; and the disposition of garbage. But we think the playwright needn't have put that thought-stiffened idea into a moment dramatically quick with young humanity's accomplishment of self-assertion. However, for the most part, the playwright—Sutton Vane—has let his characters dictate their lines. L. L. L.

The Bookshelf



By M. A.

THE Bookshelf feels rather like a reception room this week, so alive are the characters within the covers of its books. May we introduce to you first, Joseph Conrad's friend Peyrol, "*The Rover*," a French Brother of the Coast whom rude folk called a lawless ruffian, and reckless ones a pirate. You will find him a silent, able man, with his big cheeks and his quiet eyes, his love of the sea and his "affectation common to seamen of never being surprised at anything that sea or land can produce." He has just come home to live his last days in peace at a strange farmhouse on the edge of salt water, in the time when the ebbing tide of revolution was leaving strange wreckage behind it. He has a wonderful quiet force, a manner of straightening perplexed matters which seems only the ability to sit still while they unsnarl themselves. You only feel this force at first, then you see it at work with the half-mad farmer, himself a product and a wreck of the revolution, with his hypnotized wife, and with the officer, Real. As events begin to pile up, to gain significance in place of uneasiness, Peyrol looms above them, directing them while seeming their tool, till at last he is the master, the brilliant figure of intentional tragedy, saving his country and his friends without thought of himself.

If May Sinclair's Canon Chamberlain, he who was called by virtue of his office "*A Cure of Souls*," had served under Peyrol he might have lost his life, but his fat soul would have had a chance.

Unluckily he met no one able to force him out of that devastating peace which he loved above everything else. His best curate was uncomfortably energetic; his parish demanded too much work; his best parish worker turned her love for him into a sort of spiritual intoxication which ruined her physical and mental health because he shut his eyes to her malady; the confession of a parishioner was so long it threatened his dinner hour, so he said the obvious thing and broke up her home. He was too lazy to care about anything but his own peace and comfort of body, and mind. One must admire the keen, ruthless scalpel with which Miss Sinclair dissects the Canon. He is a fitting companion to her supreme egotist, Mr. Waddington of Wyck.

It was a passion for money, rather than for peace, which possessed Mr. Earlforward of "*Riceyman Steps*." Arnold Bennett says it was "a grand passion which rendered his career magnificent, and every hour of all his days interesting and beautiful." He did not look the part, being a tall thin man with a slight limp, who gave the appearance of quiet, intelligent, refined and kindly hospitality. Those things you notice when you first meet him outside his old book shop. His physical appearance becomes less and less vivid as his characteristics, and above all his devotion to money, take command. He falls in love with a widow of means, and sells the wedding ring of her first husband in order to buy her another. His wedding gift to her is a safe for

their valuables. His miserliness is incredible, unthinkable, fantastic. He quite overshadows the two women whose lives complement his own, his wife, and Elsie, the benevolent servant. So closely is he akin to the character of Arnold Bennett's earlier meticulous tales that it is as though his author had cast off the frippery cloak of his Lillians and returned to sober, able writing.

Dan Oliphant, too, is possessed by a passion. Booth Tarkington calls him "*The Midlander*," revealing him in the title of the book. He begins as a lovable small boy of a good family, playing with indiscriminate companions, and loyal to everything that is of the town. Harvard makes no changes in him, and he returns to the town to become its most passionate booster. His marriage is a continuous tragedy, yet he goes on building a city, additions, automobiles, businesses, driven by a force he does not stop to understand. He loves that city above everything else, and spends his life to make of it something ugly and bustling, "just blindly building up a bigger confusion and uproar that smashes him."

Something has happened to Booth Tarkington's sureness. He has been by turns merry, ironic, philosophic, tragic in the too-bad-but-it-can't-be-helped manner. This time he is doubtful. He ends on a familiar note of optimism, but it sounds distinctly forced. He is less urbanely serene, and more interesting.

The Rover, Doubleday-Page, 1923. \$2.00.

A Cure of Souls, Macmillan, 1924. \$2.50.

Riceyman Steps, Doran, 1923. \$2.00.

The Midlander, Doubleday-Page, 1924. \$2.00.

Many Chiefs

(Continued from page 12)

cabinet system. The fact that in this form the executive is composed of a number of individuals renders it likely that among them there will be some of administrative ability who will in general bolster up the entire administration. This is in striking contrast to the presidential system, where the tone of the administration stands or falls upon the judgment of one man.

More than once, however, criticisms have been leveled against the system for its sheer waste of administrative ability. Under it, although the Minister of Education may be the ablest educator in the world, although the Minister of Agriculture may be exceedingly efficient, nevertheless, if parliament disagrees with the cabinet upon the question of the sale of the Bahama Islands to Liberia, out they go. The cabinet must stand or fall together.

This fact has often raised the question whether the Swiss system would not be an improvement. Switzerland has a plural executive. Each minister is responsible for the conduct of his own department and stands or falls upon his own record. If the Minister of the Interior is censured for the inefficient handling of scenic railways, the activities of the Admiralty are not affected, nor does any change in personnel occur in other than the affected department. In fact, the defeat of a project advocated by a particular minister does not even mean his resignation, unless he is unable to reconcile himself to the management of the department along the lines insisted on by the legislature.

Against this system, however, it is argued that although such procedure is conducive to the economy of individual administrative efficiency, nevertheless, it does not necessarily produce greater cabinet efficiency. It may, indeed, produce

a lack of harmony in the cabinet which will more than offset anything that has been gained.

In contrast to the European types of executive is the American. Here, all power is concentrated in the hands of the President, checked, it is true, by legislative enactment and the necessity for the ratification of his more important appointments by the Senate. He is assured of four years in office, and custom usually permits four years more. Actually he can choose his official family without any interference on the part of the Senate. He has thus concentrated in him great possibilities for good and for evil. If he is an able man, or if he has the ability to select an able cabinet, his four years in office and his extensive powers of direction and control combine to make possible both a stable and an efficient administration.

The fact that he is constantly under the blaze of pitiless publicity and that

A PROMINENT society woman of Chicago, the wife of an executive in a large department store, had for years been securing her shoes in the shoe department of her husband's store, at wholesale prices.

A short time ago, however, the husband realized she had not asked for new shoes in many months.

"Have you quit wearing shoes?" he asked, laughing.

"No, I'm—" then she hesitated. "Well, I suppose you'll have to know some time, anyway. I might as well tell you now. I'm wearing another kind of shoe, one that your firm doesn't handle."

He looked up in surprise. "Another kind of shoe! Since when have you thought our shoes were not good enough for you?"

"Oh, they were good enough, but they were not the right kind," she replied anxiously.

"Our shoes are stylish, aren't they? And they are made of the finest leathers. You used to say they were unusually nice."

"Yes, your shoes are stylish; they are made well; they are good—as shoes used to be called good. But they are aren't comfortable."

"Aren't comfortable? I'd like to know why? They're as comfortable as any shoes. You can't expect to wear fashionable shoes and have comfortable feet. You ought to know that."

"No, I don't know that, and that is just why I have changed. I can wear stylish shoes and have comfortable feet. I'm doing it right now."

"Huh!" Then he was silent for a time. He had no answer for that statement. He tried another line of attack. "Tell me why these other shoes make your feet comfortable."

"Why, they're made differently. There is an arch bridge that makes them as firm and substantial under the foot as a bare floor when you go without shoes. The arch isn't allowed to sag."

"And you believe that these wonderful shoes of yours actually work that way?"

"No, I don't just believe it. I know it. I've got comfortable feet. I feel like walking. I feel like running—and you know yourself how I used to dread doing anything that required me to be on my feet. I haven't had an ache or a discomfort since I put them on."

"Frankly, I don't believe that arch bridge you talk about is responsible for your feet feeling better. I've heard all about such shoes. I can give you plain, old grandmother shoes, too, if you want them."

"Don't be silly. I'm not wearing plain shoes. Why, you know you never realized I was wearing different shoes until I told you. These shoes I



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"I'd even take in washing"

Little chapters from the story of how the Arch Preserver Shoe changed the ideas of the Nation. No. 2

have on are just as stylish as any shoes I ever wore in my life."

"But you'll come down and let me try to show you, won't you? We really ought to buy everything we can from the firm."

Her face was serious now. "I don't want to try any other shoes now. I've got just what I want. My feet are comfortable, and I just can't bear to think of going back. This is the first time in my life that I've had comfortable feet."

"Nonsense! You just imagine this."

She didn't answer. He noticed that she was about ready to burst into tears, and decided that he'd better put forth a more substantial argument. "Think what it would mean if our customers learned that my own wife couldn't wear the shoes we are selling. I should think you'd be glad to let me try to suit you, just for the principle of the thing, if nothing else."

"Oh, I just can't. I know your shoes won't satisfy me now. What's the use of bothering about it?"

"But I'm sure they will, and even if they won't we can get an artificial support put in. That would give you the same result as you are now getting."

"You don't understand at all. The arch bridge is just one of the features of these Arch Preserver Shoes. They aren't made like other shoes at all. The inside of the sole is flat, so your toes won't be pinched and cramped. That's just as important as the bridge and these

shoes are fitted so that the bridge comes right up against the foot arch exactly right. There's just the right support under every part of the foot. Really, I never before knew that a shoe could be made and fitted this way."

"And you mean to say that you get this support, and have the flat inner sole, and yet the shoes are not stiff and rigid?"

"Not a bit. Just watch this." She got up from her chair, and lifted herself on to her toes several times. "Why, they're just as free and easy as a moccasin. They bend with the feet."

He laughed good-naturedly. "Well, you've convinced me. I give up. I didn't know as much about shoes as I thought. I see I haven't a chance of changing your mind."

"No," she replied, again serious. "I'm always going to wear them. I'd even—take in washing—if I had to, to get the money with which to buy them!"



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there is no escape from the responsibilities thus assumed combine to give him every incentive to put forth honest effort. Should a mediocre man be elected to the position, one too poor a judge of character to select an able cabinet, he could without doubt do considerable harm. The combined action of Congress and the bureaucracy, however, would in all likelihood minimize the damage to an amazing degree. With all its dangers this is the type of administrative organization which has produced results, at least in the American business world.

These, then, are the types of chief executives found among the nations of the earth. We have, however, within the United States certain variations of these types well worth study. The first of these is the state executive. In the average state he is a hybrid between the presidential form of executive and the Swiss, that is, we have a governor who in title and popular esteem occupies a position within the state very similar to that which the President holds within the nation. In a campaign the governor is so much the central figure that very

frequently the other candidates are lost sight of. Furthermore, if anything goes wrong in the course of an administration it is the governor who receives the blame. Thus, in this particular, the office of the governor and that of the President bear a marked similarity.

But although the responsibility is his, the power is not. The existence of several independently elected executive officers alone prevents this. Superficially on its administrative side our state executive resembles the Swiss, but only superficially. It is in truth a plural body, elected, however, not by a legislature jealous of its rights and continually scrutinizing its servants, but by an electorate overburdened with the long ballot and generally apathetic toward politics. The result is that all too frequently exceedingly inferior men reach the minor offices on the state ticket. The mere diffusion of power and responsibility would in itself probably be sufficient to lower the general tone of state administration, but this, combined with the type of men often selected, can have but one result—inefficiency. The fact that the powers of appointment and removal have, unlike the federal administration, not been concentrated in one place, but are scattered among innumerable hands, has likewise contributed to the same end.

In New York, for example, there are approximately sixteen different ways of appointing a man to office and at least seven of removing him. Furthermore, there is no correlation between the power to appoint and the power to remove. All this could spell, and has spelled, but one thing—administrative inefficiency.*

In contrast to the state organization is that of cities. Four general types prevail—the strong mayor, the weak mayor, commission and city manager. The strong mayor type in general resembles the presidential, the requirement of a councilmanic check being usually lacking. Complete power over, and responsibility for, the administration is thus concentrated in the hands of the mayor. Under the weak mayor type, a situation similar to that existing in the states generally prevails. This type, however, has in great measure been going by the board. Two other types have been in part replacing it, the commission and the city manager, although the strong mayor plan has also made considerable inroads upon the position it once occupied.

The commission plan concentrates full administrative power in the hands of a commission of from five to seven men who are also the policy-determining body of the city. Under some variations of the plan each man runs for a specific

office and becomes the head of a particular department. Usually, however, the department an individual heads is determined after the election by the council. In theory the council is responsible for the administration. Actually the tendency is to allow each individual to run his own department as he sees fit. A further development of this scheme has been the city manager type of organization. Here we find a complete abnegation of the administrative function on the part of the popularly elected officials and a delegation on their part of these functions to an appointed manager. Under the manager the lines of authority are direct and responsibility is clear. To what extent interference on the part of the council perverts the directness of those lines is difficult to say. To what extent this attempt to separate the political and administrative aspects of the executive's task has been successful is likewise hard to estimate.

Which of these types of executive is the best the reader must decide for herself. One, however, can unhesitatingly be condemned—the existing state organization. No executive organized on the principle of diffusion of power and confusion of responsibility can hope to be successful.

In the next number Dr. Wallace will discuss ways of "revamping the administration."

Room for the Indians!

(Continued from page 10)

farmlands. The Pueblos hold the titles to the lands. The Bursum Bill, the Lenroot Bill and the now-pending Bursum Bill (S. 726) were and are designed to correct this inconvenience by transferring to the holders of the Indian lands the titles likewise, making impossible the recovery of the farmlands by the Indians. Such recovery would be sought by the Indians through due process of law—through ordinary suits in the Federal courts, and not by legislative mandate.

The practical meaning of these successive "raids" as proposed, would be to doom seven of the twenty Pueblos to slow or rapid extinction, whether by starvation or dispersal, and to leave many other Pueblos without the farmlands required for growth of population. For example, Picuris Pueblo has been deprived of all but some two hundred of its irrigable acres, which were many thousands; Tesuque has been deprived of its water for irrigation; San Ildefonso, of its land and water; Santa Clara, of all but some three hundred and fifty of its two thousand irrigated acres.

Behind the destruction of the Pueblos would be a larger gain for the white voters and interested corporations; for with the desertion of the Pueblo grants by the Indians, or the death of the Indians through gradual starvation, the un-

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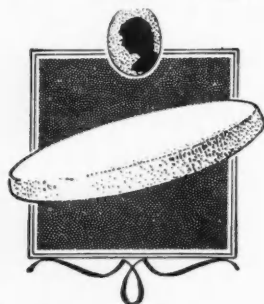
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*The twelve states which have recently reorganized their governments are not included in this description.

irrigated balance of the Pueblo lands, not yet seized, would fall into white possession. This unirrigated balance will some day be irrigated through extensive modern irrigation systems and will have a great value. Such, in few words, is the human or inhuman meaning of these proposed "raids" designed to terminate a long period of betrayal of trust by the United States Government.

The present status is briefly as follows: Through public pressure, through able and faithful legal representation at Washington, and through the shock of Teapot Dome's collapse, the Pueblos have won a provisional victory. Their own bill, and that of the organizations seeking justice and life for them, was introduced by Senator Curtis (S. 2015). There is now in committee an agreed-on substitute for all preceding bills, agreed to by the Indian Bureau, the Eastern and New Mexico Associations on Indian Affairs, and the various other factors which have been advocating the confiscatory schemes. It provides the following chief advantages to the Pueblos and to the white community alike:

The Pueblos are authorized to sue independently for their lands in the Federal courts. Against such suits no limitations statutes now instituted shall run.

The Pueblos are guaranteed compensation for any of their lands lost through Government negligence or through fraud or inadequate compensation, errors of survey, etc. The white claimants likewise are to receive compensation from the Government, in the event that they hold their claims in good faith; the responsibility for the confusions and wrongs being admittedly on the Government.

It is agreed that by separate statute there shall be established a penal penalty against seizures of the Pueblo lands in the future.

This agreed-on draft protects the Indians reasonably though it does not protect the American honor. For the Government, guardian for the Indians, is instructed to refuse to institute suits for the recovery of their lands if these lands have been occupied adversely for more than thirty-four years. The burden of the suits is thrown on the Indian wards who have been impoverished through being thrust off from their farm-lands. But past experience has shown that the Government, the guardian, either will not prosecute these cases, or will prosecute them to the Indians', the ward's, disadvantage, so that cynically the Indians and their friends admit that independent suit is their only practical hope; and this independent suit, unhampered by retroactive confiscatory laws, is specifically authorized by the agreed-on legislation.

How can women citizens help? First, the agreement has not yet been reported by the Senate Committee on Public Lands. When it gets reported it must be passed by both houses of Congress.

Political pressure is obviously needed. This pressure can safely be given for "the Pueblo land legislation in the form approved by the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the American Indian Defense Association and the Council of All the New Mexico Pueblos." Such wording must be used at the present stage because the Committee Substitute is not yet reported; if it be changed adversely to the Indians it must be killed; and the Curtis Bill may yet become the measure to fight for.

Any reader of the WOMAN CITIZEN

can get full data about the Pueblo Indian situation, and the wider Indian question, and information about ways to help, from the American Indian Defense Association, Inc., 33 West Forty-second street, New York. This national Indian defense body invites membership.

Has your League or Club won a \$100 prize yet? If not, why not? See Heart-to-Heart, page 31.



Each Serves Its Community

In Frazer, Colorado, a log cabin of three rooms shelters a telephone exchange that connects with the mountain homes of cowmen, miners, homesteaders and tie-cutters. In the heart of New York City a new building of twenty-nine stories is to become the home of several metropolitan central offices serving some 120,000 telephones. This building will contain, as well, offices for executives and for engineering, commercial, plant and accounting forces, providing space for over 7000 telephone workers.

Each of these buildings helps to render adequate and economical telephone service in its own community. They stand at the extremes in size, equipment and personnel. Yet they both indicate the nation-wide need for adequate housing of the activities of the Bell System; and they illustrate the varied ways in which that need is being met. One of the largest single items of plant investment of the Bell System is real estate, comprising nearly 1700 buildings acquired, with their sites, at a cost of \$180,000,000.

It is continuously the aim of the Bell System to construct and so to situate each new building—whether executive office, central office, storehouse or garage—so that it shall serve its community with the utmost efficiency and economy, and remain a sound investment throughout its period of life.



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The Baby's Daily Program

By Gulielma F. Alsop

College Physician at Barnard

DURING a baby's first two years of life the greatest problem confronting the mother is its growth and the formation of proper bodily habits as the foundation for lifelong health.

To check up on its nutrition every woman should have a pair of scales at home to weigh the baby once a week, or in special cases oftener. This is a necessary nutrition guide, which should be extended to adult life. In order to appreciate the weekly gains and their significance, the mother must have a scientific text book on the care of the child. It will give her the ideal of normal development in the baby and will teach her how to maintain the required normal, steady growth. Dr. Emmet Holt's book has been for years the most widely used on the care of the mother and child.

Out of the mass of data which such a book supplies, the most important facts will be about the baby's nutrition, how big it should be at a certain month, when it should begin to crawl, when its teeth should appear, when it should begin to walk and talk. If each of these expected events takes place at the proper time, then that fact is a check upon the nutrition of the baby, showing whether it is normal, ahead of time, or behind.

The best food for a baby is mother's milk. Upon the quality of the mother's milk depends the successful growth of the baby. This quality can be varied to meet the digestive demands of an in-

fant, either by enriching or diluting the quality of her own diet. Besides making a rich milk thinner, or a thin milk richer, the amount of fresh green vegetables the mother eats determines the vitaminic content of her milk, so supplying the child with more or less vitamins, more or less resistance to disease.

The most dreaded nutritional defect of babyhood is rickets. This is a disease of the bones, which become soft and bend out of shape from the various pressures of the weight of the body. Bow legs only follow when a child walks on rachitic legs, legs in which the calcium deposit has been decreased, making the bones soft, so that they yield to the weight of the body. Though bow legs appear only in a walking baby, a flattening of the hips and a squaring of the head, from the softness of the bones of the skull lying on the pillow, are unmistakable signs of rickets in a young baby.

Rickets does not assail a baby that is breast fed upon the milk of a mother eating fresh green vegetables. Nor does it assail a baby in whom all the laws of personal hygiene are observed, one that sleeps out in the sun and air in the daytime and in a well-ventilated room at night. The too-prolonged feeding of the baby on mother's milk alone is bad. At six months now all babies are given orange juice and some doctors give, at the same time, soups of spinach purée and soon carrot purée and onion juice. All these vegetables are protectors against rickets.

The steady growth of the child, as attested by the weekly weighing, normal

and regular bowel movements, and a sunny disposition are, during the first year of life, the earmarks of a healthy baby.

The habit of taking up a child and rocking it and singing to it has been too much outlawed these recent years. A famous woman physician, the pediatric chief in a large hospital, had an inflexible rule in the babies' ward that each child should be held and rocked in a nurse's arms for two hours a day. The bond between a grown assured human being and a new bit of humanity like a baby, is a strong incentive to all the subconscious qualities of the child that make for health. This rocking should, if possible, come at a regular hour—and not as a response to crying or bad temper on the part of the child.

The question of habit teaching to the child depends entirely upon the real character of the mother. It is in this that "inherited characteristics" are transmitted from the mother to the child. If she follows a regular, placid, undeviating routine of personal care for the baby, the baby will react by the acquirement of regular, easy bodily habits. If in her inmost depths the mother is worried, nervous, irritable, no amount of outward and rigid self-control will infect with the opposite qualities the baby she cares for. Babies are almost purely subconscious beings. They apprehend with a quality of the soul, and they apprehend the truth. So that a woman literally infects her baby with her own temperament and reactions to life.

The transition from breast milk (unless, as in many cases, poverty prevents) is usually made during the ninth month by gradually accustoming the baby to the use of bottles and modified milk. At that age it is not as difficult to find a simple, modified milk formula that will agree with the baby as earlier in its life. This transition should always be undertaken under the doctor's advice and supervision. Very soon, in many cases before the abandonment of breast feeding, comes the addition of cereals, gruels, vegetable purées, raw fruit juices to the diet. The whole tendency is to vary the baby's diet just as soon as its digestive and assimilative forces will permit. This modern varied diet insures a more rugged development, less illness, better teeth, and is an integral part of the "better babies campaign."

Every state now has a Child Hygiene Bureau, which covers the questions of breast feeding, modified milk, vegetables and fruits in the baby's early diet, and can supply the woman in moderate circumstances with the best up-to-date scientific knowledge on the baby's nutrition.

There's more to come on the health of mother and child. After that—first aid at home:—certainly a helpful subject.

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Your Investments What "Inflation" Means

By Eleanor Kerr

IN normal times there is no great temptation to increase the apparent amount of money of a country by increasing the paper currency. In any nation whose financial affairs are well governed the paper currency and smaller metal coins usually pass from hand to hand within the country, and in international trade outside the country, at their theoretical gold value or mint parity. Additional currency is issued as a rule only when justified by additional holdings in gold.

However, when abnormal conditions arise there is apt to be a desire for additional currency with which to meet them; and the first impulse seems to be to issue more paper money. Now since this paper money has no added gold behind it, it generally causes a depreciation in the value of the currency of the country. For example, instead of having one billion paper dollars secured by \$335,000,000 worth of gold, as in normal times, there might be two billion paper dollars outstanding against the same amount of gold. This would mean that the paper dollars represent only about one-half of their former value and, therefore, the rate of exchange with other countries might decline proportionately, while prices within the country would rise.

This plan of action has been followed at various times by many nations; at first through necessity, but later because it was found to be the easy way. The name generally given to it is "currency inflation." Prices do not keep pace as a rule with currency inflation, and so there is likely to be a short period of apparent prosperity when inflation begins.

A day of reckoning comes, of course, somewhat later, when not only the cost of living has risen, but the cost of carrying on international commercial and financial transactions is also greatly increased. A vicious circle results: more money is needed to pay higher prices; this leads to the issuance of additional currency, and, when this is provided, the inflated currency of the country causes higher prices.

The history of the German mark is a perfect example of the evils of such inflation.

When the United States, Great Britain and France found they must float great war loans they deliberately inflated their currency, although the method used in each country was somewhat different. France issued additional paper money; Great Britain did likewise—though she had a larger gold reserve on which to base it—and called in deposits (these were really loans) of foreign bonds held by her citizens, which de-

manded payments of interest in gold; the United States issued Federal Reserve Bank notes against the deposit with the Reserve system of high-grade commercial paper, gold, liberty bonds and other securities. In no case had any great amount of new wealth or gold been created within the country. The United States received great gold shipments which were made the basis of additional Federal Reserve Bank note issues, but these were small in comparison with the amount of currency issued on the basis of commercial paper.

As soon as the war was over Great Britain and the United States took steps to deflate their currency, and in the case of our country this went on rapidly and effectively. The United States, with a very large proportion of the gold of the world, had only the problem of decreasing the amount of currency in proportion to lessening commercial activity. France, however, with large restoration work to do, disappointed in most of her hopes of receiving gold and credit from Germany, has kept on increasing her currency, with the result that the franc has fallen considerably below its wartime exchange value. France is, however, endeavoring to solve her currency problem and to take steps to check infla-

tion, although as yet nothing effective seems to have been more than tentatively suggested.

The neutral nations were affected in much the same way. They felt they had to increase their currency to take care of increased commercial activity and because of the rising prices of commodities, which occurred all over the world. In many of these neutral nations this currency inflation has not had a particularly bad effect on persons whose trade and financial relations are entirely within the country. It is only in international trade and international finance that there are great difficulties. Neutral nations, whose currency is inflated and who must make payments on their external government bonds in London or New York, find that it now requires from one-half to three or four times as much to meet these interest and sinking fund payments as it did before 1918.

There is a Surprise coming in the next number, if all goes well. We can't possibly tell you about it in advance. But watch for it.

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Washington

(Continued from page 8)

ruptcy laws investigated. Mr. Berger, Socialist, wants Congress to undertake a thorough inquiry into the causes and conditions surrounding the strike of the railway shopmen and maintenance of way workers. He wants to know how much money has been spent in an attempt to break the strike, and what is the state of the equipment at present on those lines which still are affected by the tie-up. Senator La Follette has proposed an investigation of wide scope in his resolution for an inquiry into the production, distribution, transportation and sale of flour and bread, and by-products. He desires a report showing costs, prices and profits at each stage of the process, also the methods of price-fixing for the industry, and developments in monopoly and concentration of control in milling and baking. To order an investigation is one of the ways to dispose of an objecting member who has worked himself into fever heat over real or fancied abuses.

The only group in Congress which is making constructive headway is that of the progressive insurgents, who even at this stage of the congressional calendar have considerable to be thankful for. It is sometimes forgotten in the stress of daily developments that it was Senator La Follette's little group who started the oil leasing scandals a year or more ago. He has worked for years to obtain attention to the indiscretions in the disposition and management of natural resources. Therefore, the culmination of his labors in the present revelations is a great satisfaction to the progressives.

Second, the progressive group can be thankful because it succeeded in forcing the Senate into a deadlock over the selection of the chairman of the Interstate Commerce Committee controlling the coming railroad legislation, which is of paramount importance in the eyes of the insurgents. Third, it forced the Republican majority in the House into rules revision. And now, fourth, it has succeeded, in coalition with the House Democrats, in bringing about the adoption of the Democratic-progressive tax reduction plan instead of the administration program as outlined by Secretary Mellon and placed before the country by him. This new tax plan is now before the House for discussion and is being changed daily. When it goes to the Senate the fight will come for the substitution of the original administration program of Secretary Mellon. Despite the warning from Secretary Mellon that the legislative program must be either bonus or tax reduction—in his opinion it cannot be both—there is considerable bonus sentiment in the Senate and in the House, and the Democratic members are about to hold a conference

to see what can be done to promote the bonus there. The Democratic tax plan in substance makes a larger reduction of income taxes down the line until the income begins to mount to fifty-five thousand dollars a year and more, when the Democratic plan puts on the screws and exacts a greater return to the Government than would the Mellon plan. The Democrats and progressives by this theory believe they would relieve the pressure where relief is most needed and make up for it by exacting a larger surtax from those with generous incomes than the Mellon plan would impose. Interesting statistical evidence has been offered by the Democrats in argument of their case, showing that the bulk of the people of the United States were affected in the lower registers and not in the surtax classes, which finally dwindled to twenty-one persons who paid on incomes ranging from one to five million dollars. Here is the table:

Number of Persons Making Returns in 1921

Incomes under \$1,000.....	401,849
Between \$ 1,000 and \$10,000.....	6,087,963
\$10,000 and \$20,000.....	313,244
\$20,000 and \$30,000.....	33,748
\$30,000 and \$40,000.....	12,047
\$40,000 and \$50,000.....	6,051
\$50,000 and \$60,000.....	3,431
\$60,000 and \$70,000.....	2,240
\$70,000 and \$80,000.....	1,423
\$80,000 and \$90,000.....	957
\$ 90,000 and \$100,000.....	666
\$100,000 and \$200,000.....	1,817
\$200,000 and \$500,000.....	451
\$ 500,000 and \$1,000,000.....	63
\$1,000,000 and \$5,000,000.....	21

For the next move in the tax discussion turn back to page 5.

Wayside Gardens

WILL you not urge the planting of wayside gardens for perpetual feeding grounds for birds and bees?

For brilliant effects I believe nothing is better than portulacca, phlox drummondii, petunias, verbenas, etc.

There is need of a systematic effort everywhere to plant mulberry trees, early and late varieties, sunflowers, cosmos and red cedar and other evergreen trees, which provide both food and shelter for birds in winter. There are many ornamental trees, shrubs and plants that feed birds as well as bees—holly, barberry, privet, sweet fern, snowberry, elder, dogwood, roses, etc.

For Florida there are Silver Bell, pepper tree, red cedar, pomegranate, Virginia creeper, and also benne.

Besides food for birds, provision should be made for placing catch basins at every faucet in gardens and lawns for the birds, toads and bees to drink and bathe. In winter animals suffer most for water and need water several times a day in freezing weather. They soon gather at the trysting place at these set times.

A. V. G. THOMAS.

St. Petersburg, Fla.

All those blessings of the domestic worker listed by E. P. W., last issue, do not overcome the stigma of "servant." Calling housework a profession doesn't make it one. Potentially, yes; as practiced, no.

New York.

C. A.

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII

MARCH 22, 1924

Number 22

News Notes of the Fortnight

Summed up from many sources

The League and Memel

THE League of Nations did a big day's work on March 14.

Chief item was a decision about Memel, that harbor of far northeastern Prussia, just over the border from Russia. Memel was shorn away from Germany in the peace settlement and has been disputed ever since. The city of Memel has been German for four hundred years, but the population of the province is Lithuanian peasantry, and the harbor itself is of deep concern to Lithuania, Poland and Russia, as well as Germany. Last year the Lithuanians took possession of the city and were allowed by the Council of Ambassadors to retain it. Finally, a League of Nations Commission was appointed to settle the affair, and an American, Norman H. Davis, was chosen chairman. His plan has just been accepted by the Allies who were responsible for the settlement, on the one hand, and by Lithuania on the other. The plan gives sovereignty over Memel to Lithuania, grants local autonomy to Memel territory and guards international transportation rights in Memel and upon the Niemen River.

On the same day, under the auspices of the League Council, delegates of the Little Entente and of Hungary agreed upon a plan to save Hungary's finances, on the Austrian model; and Germany and Poland accepted League arbitration in the dispute over the treatment of German minorities in Poland—a problem left over from the difficult arrangement in Upper Silesia.

Italy's Feelings Spared

ON the report of the committee of jurists which was asked last summer to settle certain questions of interpretation of the League of Nations Covenant, the going was not so smooth. This committee was created as a result of the Corfu affair, and a principal question was whether such coercive action as Italy's in occupying Corfu without intention of war is permissible. The committee did not make a direct answer but passed the responsibility for decision in each such case back to the Council. It

affirmed the Council's right to decide immediately when such a case was referred to it whether the coercive measures should or should not be withdrawn.

At first representatives of Uruguay and Sweden protested the vagueness of the answer, but Branting, of Sweden, was persuaded by the Uruguayan to accept the report, in response to the plea of Salandra, of Italy. It was the opinion that a refusal might have so hurt Italy's feelings that she would have withdrawn from the League.

Saving the Franc

ASPECTACULAR event of the fortnight is the rescue of the French franc. In spite of the favorable response in the Chamber of Deputies to M. Poincaré's drive for higher taxes, the franc continued very low, so that the condition of French governmental finance was desperate. The suspicion was spread that perhaps the depression of the franc was the result of a German offensive, and the effect, it was predicted, would be to

harden the German heart against the experts' plan for a solution of European financial problems. Then came the huge loan from the American banking firm of Morgan & Co., the prompt rise of the franc, disaster to those who had been selling short, and a general relief in the belief that the American loan had been preceded by assurance that the Reparation Commission would accept the Dawes report, and that reconstruction might really begin. Another ten days, and the report will probably be submitted.

Meantime, the French Senate has passed a third of Premier Poincaré's tax measures.

The Washington Tangle

THE fortnight has included the departure from Washington of Secretary of the Navy Denby, and the choice, in his place, of Curtis D. Wilbur, Chief Justice of the California Supreme Court, after Judge Kenyon, of Iowa, former senator, refused on the ground that he was not fitted for the office. Justice Wilbur was sponsored by Senator Shortridge, and the suggestion of his name first came from lists offered by newspaper men in response to the President's request.

Evidence given in the two principal investigations—the oil inquiry and the investigation of the Department of Justice—has been as confusing as it has been nauseating. The sensational testimony given by Roxie Stinson, divorced wife of Jesse W. Smith, the intimate friend of Mr. Daugherty, who committed suicide in the Attorney General's apartment, and that of Gaston B. Means, formerly connected with the Department of Justice, is not yet concluded.

Mr. Daugherty, apparently not taking this evidence very hard, promises an interesting statement on the influence behind these "malicious and scandalous attacks," which covered a wide range—a million-dollar bribe to Smith in a Japanese aircraft case, to prevent prosecution; deals in oil, rum and fight films.

F. M. Quimby, head of the film cor-

VERY BRIEFLY

GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO, Italian soldier-poet, has been made a prince by the King of Italy, in recognition of his service in holding Fiume after the war. The city has just been annexed with full pomp and ceremony.

It is reported that China and Sweden have joined the list of countries recognizing the Soviet Government.

Two American archbishops—Hayes of New York and Mundelein of Chicago—are about to be made cardinals of the Catholic Church in Rome.

Secretary Hoover recently appeared before the House Merchant Marine Committee to advocate regulation of radio operation throughout the country. He is strongly opposed to radio monopoly.

The Army Appropriation bill provides for another year's maintenance of the regular army at the present strength of 12,000 commissioned officers and 125,000 enlisted men.

President Coolidge, in a letter to Manuel Roxas, chairman of the Philippine Independence Mission, now in Washington, put a damper on the present agitation for immediate independence. He strongly supported General Wood's course in the Islands, and explained to the Filipinos how their association with this country is all for their own good.

poration that took the Carpentier-Dempsey prize fight films, testified that the films were exhibited in twenty-two or more states, in violation of the law against the shipping of such films in interstate commerce, through the cooperation of men in touch with Smith and Daugherty. As this goes to press, later testimony attempts to link Mr. Daugherty directly with the "film conspiracy."

As for the committee investigating the oil scandal, testimony established that Mr. Edward B. McLean, publisher of the *Washington Post*, was an agent of the Department of Justice at \$1.00 a year, and so his use of the secret code referred to in these notes in the last number as against the law was legal, anyhow.

The strain on the investigators has proved serious. Not only has Senator Lenroot, chairman, resigned, but Senator Walsh, the Democratic prosecutor, is now in bed, worn out.

The Oil Suit

THE suit of the Government for recovery of the Teapot Dome oil lands leased to the Harry F. Sinclair interests has been opened. The bill in equity presented by the special counsel appointed by the President, Owen J. Roberts and Atlee Pomerene, claims that the leases granted to the Mammoth Oil Company, of which Mr. Sinclair is president, was for "an inadequate, improper and fraudulent consideration" and "without authority in law." Next came a temporary injunction, issued in the Federal Court for Wyoming, restraining the Mammoth Oil Company from operating under the Teapot Dome lease and the appointment of receivers pending litigation. So this phase of the big trouble is now on its way in the courts.

Election Straws

THE prospect of Mr. Coolidge's nomination as the candidate of his party grows steadily brighter. Witness Kansas, Colorado and Iowa, which have all recently chosen Coolidge-instructed delegates. Witness New Hampshire, whose Senator, George H. Moses, Republican of the Old Guard, was defeated as a delegate to the Republican convention because, though himself a Coolidge man, he wanted to go to the convention uninstructed. A solid Coolidge delegation was chosen.

Senator Oscar Underwood has won his home state of Alabama by a sweeping majority as the Democratic nominee for President. Under the state law the man chosen at the primary has the right to name the delegation to the convention, so there can be no doubt that Underwood will have a delegation bound to support him to the last. McAdoo ran a bad third. Another test of the strength of the two comes in Georgia. The

triumph of Underwood in Alabama is interpreted as indicating that the Klan strength is not so great as was feared, since Underwood is its outspoken enemy.

The date for the Farmer-Labor-Progressive Party's national convention in Minneapolis and St. Paul has been postponed from May 30 to June 17. The platform is that of the Committee of Forty-eight—abolition of special privilege, public ownership of the railroads, control of money credit by the people through government and cooperative banks, public control of natural resources, preservation of civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution and prevention of judicial abuses. The National Bureau of Public Information, connected with the Committee, has been conducting a nation-wide referendum through papers and by mail on presidential choice, and Senator La Follette is leading. The strong probability is that La Follette will head this third-party ticket or will lead a third-party bolt from the Republican Convention.

A Parliament in Egypt

SOMETHING brand-new has happened in the Valley of the Nile—and it has nothing to do with Tutankhamen either. An Egyptian parliament, elected by popular vote, has assembled in Cairo. On March 15 King Fuad opened the session with pomp and splendor, the American Minister figuring in the scene. Both King George and Premier MacDonald telegraphed congratulations, the latter offering negotiations to promote good feeling. As a matter of fact, the independence of Egypt will not be completed until negotiations settle the matter of British Army occupation in Egypt and British responsibility for the protection of foreign interests.

Mr. Hughes on the Japanese

SECRETARY HUGHES, who has opposed several features of the pending immigration measure—the Johnson bill—is now ready to approve a rewording of the amendment applying to Asiatics so as to admit "an alien entitled to

enter the United States under the provisions of an existing treaty." Mr. Hughes's contention is that the present phrasing of the bill, flatly excluding Asiatic immigration, abrogates the gentlemen's agreement with Japan of 1907.

He preferred to have the Japanese included under the two per cent quota on the 1890 census figures, which the bill applies to Europeans. This would mean practically no immigration, but would do away with the offense of a discrimination.

Former Senator Phelan, of California, appearing before the Committee on Immigration, argues against this position that the gentlemen's agreement is not, as a matter of fact, being kept and that it would be far better to give Japan a frank refusal than to run the risk of all the evils which he sees in the mingling of the two races here.

A Fight on Foreign Monopolies

SECRETARY HOOVER has tackled the problem of monopolies outside this country which charge abnormal prices for raw materials sold here. In a letter to Senator Capper of Kansas, who has introduced a bill to cover the subject, he proposes consumers' leagues to control the market in which they buy. The commodities in question are sisal, nitrates, iodine, potash, gutta-percha, crude rubber, quinine, tin, mercury, coffee and quebracho for tanning purposes. The Webb-Pomerene Act permits exporters and manufacturers to undertake joint selling agencies abroad under certain restrictions. Mr. Hoover's proposal is for an extension of this act to allow consumers to form purchasing agencies, to be conducted without profit in themselves.

No Reichstag

FOR several weeks the German Republic will function without a Parliament. President Ebert dissolved the Reichstag last week, and fixed May 4 as the date for the next general election. There was no marked crisis, though the insistence of the Socialists that some of the special emergency powers of the Government be revised precipitated the expected dissolution.

Just before they left, the deputies passed a bill providing for the establishment of a gold discount bank in Germany—the plan proposed by the head of the Reichsbank to the Dawes Committee.

New party alignments are expected, especially coalitions of extreme right parties, and additions to the already large number of parties.

A slight reduction in unemployment in Germany is reported. But great need among the middle classes continues. American observers report 3,500,000 school children in desperate need of food, and appalling prevalence of tuberculosis even among babies.

March 17, 1924.

The quaint city of New Orleans produced our artist for this issue, Cornelia F. Maury, and left the print of its influence in her Negro children studies. However, child life, black or white (see our cover), fascinates Miss Maury. Charcoal, which lends itself so well to the softness of baby outlines, is her favorite medium, touched off with warm pastels. Miss Maury studied at the St. Louis Art School and in Paris. Experimenting in new fields, she has received recognition by the Chicago Society of Etchers and the California Print Makers. Visitors to the Paris Salon and International Expositions are familiar with her drawings. The St. Louis Public Library and Art Museum count her work in their permanent collections.

Her hobbies sound intriguing—trees, best movies, back-yard cats and the race question.

Is Woman Suffrage Failing?

Is woman suffrage a failure?

There are men who say so.

Has the success of the movement, the outcome of nearly three-quarters of a century of tireless, self-sacrificing work of a multitude of women, resulted in nothing but apathy?

There are women who fear so.

Have voting women done nothing but double the votes of men?

Many politicians claim it.

Have women added nothing to the intelligent conduct of public affairs? Have they forgotten the reforms for the sake of which they so earnestly sought the vote?

This charge is made repeatedly.

Are the great organizations of women weak and cowardly in their attitude toward controversial questions?

They have been attacked in print on this ground.

Are women a negligible quantity in local affairs? Is it true that "not a boss has been unseated"? Or a "reactionary committee wrested from the old-time control" through the work of women? Is it true that women have been tried in public office with the result that they are "likely hereafter to be fewer"? That "women will not vote for a woman"? Are women "timid and over-awed in political conventions"? Are "politicians contemptuous of them"?

Is it true that the American woman is not interested in public affairs and cares less to inform herself about them than about anything else under the shining sun? Is it a fact to be faced that American women as a whole "do not care for the

vote, that they are not interested in using it and will not accept its responsibilities"?

Are "twenty million women fiddling feeble tunes while the flames of greed, hatred and war creep upon civilization"?*

All these charges are being hurled at women, and they come from many sources. Some of the accusations answer themselves. Some find obvious answers in back numbers of the Citizen, in story after story of women's political achievements and interest. But we are not answering here, we are asking. For short though the time has been for women's political work, it is not too short to show tendencies. So we are throwing the question wide open.

With a view to discovering how women themselves feel about it, not only the thinking woman, but women in general, we are interviewing women in every walk of life and in every branch of industry, every profession. What does the vote mean to them? Do they use it? Has it made any change that they can see? Would they be willing to give it up? We are asking the same questions of representative men who are willing to speak frankly and whose opinions count. We are asking some of the women who were well-known leaders in the final years of the suffrage fight whether they are disappointed in the results. We are questioning social leaders, working girls, movie stars, miners' wives, famous singers, business women, authors—in every part of the country.

The series is not intended as a defense for what women have done or an excuse for what they have not accomplished in the three and one-half years since they have had the vote, but it is an effort to get at the facts.

Mrs. Douglas Robinson

Mrs. Douglas Robinson, born Corinne Roosevelt, sister of the late President Roosevelt, is a member of the New York State Republican Executive Committee, an ardent worker for her party, and a speaker who has much of T. R.'s directness and force.

"I NOT only believe in the vote as a great education for women, but I see on every side the evidences of its recreation of women's ideas and ideals. Women discuss political matters as never before in my experience. The country's business is replacing the smaller personal outlook and routine in their lives. I do not find this true only of large cities and busy communities where contacts with the best thought on the problems of the hour are easily available; I speak as well for the remote districts. Take, for example, the little village of Jordanville in Herkimer County, New York, which is close to my summer home in the country. I have talked with all my neighbors and discover that the women of the village are profoundly interested in the ballot, and eager to inform themselves in every practical way as to their duties

and rights as citizens. The coming of the vote has enlarged their horizon, has stimulated their concern in political matters.

"I have been astounded at opinions advanced in some of our periodicals, implying woman's waning interest in the ballot, and darkly hinting at our failure as voters. I don't know whom the writers can have interviewed to arrive at such conclusions. A wide study of the question, in the interests of my party and in the interests of the women themselves, convinces me of the opposite. There is no failure of woman suffrage. It is true that there are not many women in office as yet, because we want to show ourselves more competent in office first. It is likewise true that the politicians are apparently still somewhat in doubt of women's influence in the parties; they do not take women yet wholly into their councils, which looks as if they were a little suspicious. But I am not a believer in things that come over night. The leaven has already begun to work. It may not make a great showing in this coming election, but in a few years, possibly at the next Presidential election,

the women's standard of citizenship will make a great change in this country.

"The immediate effect of the vote is not far to seek. My vote means to me the power to make my influence practical. If it were for that alone nothing could make me give it up. It has made a distinct difference in the attitude of men toward me in public life. And while we hear criticisms that all the women eligible for the ballot do not go to the polls on election day, to me one of the great accomplishments in that direction, going on right in New York City, is the remarkable work of the Republican Neighborhood Association, under the leadership of Mrs. James Russell Parsons, in getting out the women's vote in the Fifteenth Assembly District—my own. They have evolved a method which carries education for citizenship right along with it, and is not fugitive but permanent."

* The references quoted are taken from the following articles: Constance Drexel, "Have Women Failed as Citizens?"—*Collier's*, May 13, 1923; Charles Edward Russell, "Is Woman Suffrage a Failure?"—March, 1924, *Century*; George Madden Marten, "American Women and Public Affairs"—February, 1924, *Atlantic Monthly*; Anna Steese Richardson—*Collier's*, October 27, 1923.

Molly Lifshitz

IF you want my opinion, I think it is an insult to women to go around asking what the vote means to them or what they have done with it," Miss Molly Lifshitz, secretary of the White Goods Workers Union, summed up her attitude. (Miss Lifshitz, Russian born, used to be a factory worker, at unskilled labor; by studying in night school she got business training and rose to her present post.)

"What have the men done with theirs? They have had it much longer than we have; and no one goes around trying to find out how they have used it.

"Of course, it makes a difference to women to have the vote. It is a mark of recognition. But it is only right and fair that they should have it. I don't think they should be expected to accomplish any particular thing with it. After all, they are just a part of the great voting public. They may need education; but so do the men. I don't see that there is any difference.

"It is true, I can't see any changes that have been brought through the woman's vote, except that possibly politicians do stand somewhat in awe of the women; and business men may pay more attention to them when organized into groups. Toward individuals their attitude remains unchanged. In the political parties their presence seems to me to find things much the same. I go to the Socialist meetings and can speak only for them. There I think women will find no corruption to uproot. If the party had ever been in power it might be otherwise. Socialists have always paid more attention to women and admitted them on a more equal footing. The fact that they have a vote now has not made any noticeable difference."

Gloria Swanson

IT would be much more surprising if women's interest in the vote didn't wane," declared Gloria Swanson, an absorbed light in those grey eyes which millions of moving-picture fans adore.

"They all concentrated for so many years, worked themselves up to such a pitch of enthusiastic excitement, that when they won the prize a reaction had to come. If they had tried to stay at the top of the peak they'd have fallen over the edge.

"It's a lot like the moving-picture business, which leaped ahead with enormous speed. Everyone was interested, everyone was working tremendously hard. Then they achieved the biggest thing they could think of at the mo-

ment, and there was a slump. Now it's building up again slowly, and much more surely, on a firm foundation. Women's interest in politics will build again in the same way.

"To me, the entire suffrage campaign was a secret and unacknowledged drive for self-expression on the part of women. They had been repressed for so long, be-



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Mrs. Douglas Robinson
Of the New York State Republican Executive Committee

ing good silent partners of men, never doing the thing they wanted to, nor saying the thing they thought. And one after another they got fed up on it. They were bursting with the desire to express themselves, and because they had been unselfish for centuries, that desire took the form of unselfish service for their fellow women. But it also gave them an outlet for all the things society hadn't allowed them to do or say. As other women felt that—and I think it was a matter of feeling, for I'm sure no one admitted it even to herself—they joined the campaign. Gradually it became the fashion, but behind it all was the vast, restless urge. It was irresistible, and it burst the dam of custom and won the vote.

"And then that desire for self-expression flew into a thousand pieces, channels, avenues, whatever you want to call them.

"Women felt a freedom they'd never known, and they set about following their own inborn desires. Some of them went off into business, into various arts, into professions, and some of them

stayed concentrated on political affairs.

"I don't know whether increasing numbers will find their happiest expression in politics or not. I think the urge is born in a person, is a product of hundreds of generations, and we've been political animals such a short time.

"Suffrage hasn't touched me in any tangible way, and yet I think it's the most wonderful thing that ever happened to women. I left Illinois before any intense campaign was under way there, and went to California, where suffrage was a fact and they had stopped talking about it. I was entirely absorbed in making a career for myself, and my twenty-first birthday was like any other. I never thought of voting.

"In the movies the only time we talk much about national affairs is when our income taxes are due. Then we growl a lot, but we don't do anything. We haven't time to find out what ought to be done and, anyhow, we get overwhelmed with the powerlessness of a single individual in an enormous population.

"But in spite of all that, in spite of the fact that I don't use it, suffrage means more to me than I can possibly put into words. It is a symbol of the freedom of women to do the thing that they have the inborn ability to do, instead of being forced to follow outside orders. I wouldn't give it up for anything. And if they tried to take it away from me, I'd fight!"

Edward M. House

UNQUALIFIED faith in the woman voter was expressed by Colonel Edward M. House, who was confidential envoy of the United States Government to European governments during the war.

"I have always endorsed woman's suffrage," Colonel House declared, "and I believe women are making the best possible use of the vote. Perhaps it may not appear that they have accomplished a great deal. But you cannot look for miracles to be worked over night. I feel that women are working in the right direction, though. They are already realizing to the highest degree what I expected of them, and I expected a great deal.

"Throughout the country women are taking a great interest in public affairs. They are studying and discussing these problems. The vote has made a vast difference in this respect. They are preparing themselves.

"And I am one of those who would never fear entrusting women with the control of government."

It has been in the hands of men for a great many years, and they have never made a startling success. I think women might well be given their chance. I believe in them and the progress they are making."

Elisabeth Marbury

Well-known theatrical producer, and National Democratic Committeewoman for the State of New York; appointed by the National Committee on Arrangements and by the National Convention Committee to organize and direct all of the women's activities in connection with the Democratic Convention, to open in New York, June 24. She will select and direct twenty-five sub-committees for the comfort and entertainment of the women delegates, alternates and visitors to the Convention.

"WHEN the vote came to me it was like a new lease of life. It opened up vistas of usefulness more than I ever dreamed I should enjoy. I was engrossed in my business through whose varied contacts I had glimpses of the art and genius of the world, crossing and recrossing the ocean in pursuit of it, but I had little more than an academic knowledge of the processes of government in my own country. With the franchise I found myself suddenly a part of them. I began to do the things I had only read about before. Politics is real to us only when we take active part in it.

"Before, my interest, like that of other women, had been vicarious. Now it became personal. Once any woman has grasped the ballot with understanding, not of the club she holds in her hands, but of the incentive to accomplishment which has been bestowed upon her, it is my belief she could not give it

up. Mind, I said 'with understanding.' "Whether or not women have as yet attained their full political consciousness, the mere fact of the vote has created a cleavage; it has broadened them. Women



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Elisabeth Marbury

Theatrical Producer and Democratic Committeewoman

discuss public affairs much more than they have ever done in my experience. They are less concerned with petty details. This is no empty generalization. It applies to all groups, to all classes of society. The ballot, as the symbol of responsibility, has been already, in the few years we have exercised it, a marvelous education.

"All this talk of women purifying the parties finds little sympathy in me, because I have no patience with the old bromide which regards political parties as sinks of iniquity and the men composing them as on the other side of righteousness. I see no difference between the politician and the captain of industry or giant of finance. Politicians are human beings. They have their standards. Personally, these men want the right women in the party quite as much as the women want the right men. They don't want office-seeking women with no devotion to their party. How inspire confidence if they are always on the lookout for jobs instead of results for their party!

"As a matter of abstract justice, I think women in political office are at present advancing rapidly. We can make no comparison between Britain's eight women in Parliament and our one woman in Congress. Our problems, our national life are different; we mature according to our lights.

"Possibly because my life has been cast along different lines I do not find much to convince me that the enfranchisement of women has brought about appreciable change in the attitude of men toward them in their work. Conceivably, in the mass the ballot might act as a threat in an industrial argument. But in the ordinary business relations it is the thing women do that counts.

"Looking over the country from end to end the greatest concerted work of women since the vote was won is the legislation for women and children in industry, the care of defectives, the protection of the helpless, the dependent, all of which falls well within women's scope. Men have outgrown their panic over the invasion of their political domain and are only too glad to welcome women's views and hear their suggestions in matters where a woman's judgment has the background of experience."

Rose Schneiderman

"I AM just as disappointed in women's suffrage as I am in men's suffrage," declared Rose Schneiderman with an upward tilt of that fighting red head which has guided the New York Women's Trade Union League, whose president she is, through so many battles. "Women have done very little in four years of voting, but men have done tragically little in a hundred and fifty years. Why suddenly demand that



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Rose Schneiderman

Women's Trade Union League Leader

women do the outstanding thing which we've given up expecting from men?

"The women's vote hasn't been of any visible value in the measures which the Women's Trade Union League want. We started twelve years ago to fight for a forty-eight-hour week. We are still fighting for it, and I can't see that it is a bit easier now, that we make any more impression on the Legislature than we did before we could vote.

"Women shirk the responsibility for decisive action on public questions. And it's not surprising. For so many hundreds of years they haven't been held

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Maurice Goldberg

Gloria Swanson
Moving-picture Star

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

March 13, 1924.



CULTURAL leaders are striving hard to make Washington more of a capital. It seems as if politicians were trying to make it less a capital. Certainly no state government in its best moments would want to emulate the nastiness now permeating Washington.

The national church movement focused upon the completion of the great cathedral here is making strides and receiving the support of the country. These pre-spring days rest softly upon the scraggs and towers of the national cathedral up on Massachusetts Heights, with its spires and arches bare against the warming sky. Hundreds of visitors journey there; the tomb of Woodrow Wilson is covered with wreaths. From the cathedral hill one can look down over the city; the Capitol dome is on the horizon, and straight down the white road leading to Massachusetts Avenue from the cathedral close are the White House and the faint blue shaft of the Washington Monument. Churchmen have seen a vision—of Washington as a shrine and center of an influence which shall call men to high purposes.

A National Art Center

Progress is being made on the new national art gallery which, it is hoped, will house the best in national art as it is brought together here, with the new Freer Gallery as an enriching adjunct. Educators, of whom Senator Fess of Ohio, formerly Congressman Fess, one of the leaders in educational work in the House, is prominent, are working to further the national center of education by means of the creation of a Department of Education in the government, and by the enlargement of the old George Washington University which has limped along since the days of its namesake without much marked encouragement from capital or Congress. George Washington University has a new president, William Mather Lewis, an educator of the younger generation, who has waked up the place with plans for a new university which shall be an institution of prestige and scholarship fit to take its place in the cultural center of the nation. A national university here, if ambitiously developed, has the unique advantage of contact with all the government facilities, the magnificent library of Congress, the Smithsonian Institution, the sources of foreign information through the Pan American Union and

In Congress

CONGRESS has made little progress during the fortnight with the routine work of the short session, i.e., the general appropriation measures for the support of the government. The Senate has discussed farm relief, Philippine independence, oil; the House, the charges against its two members brought out by a Chicago Grand Jury, and Muscle Shoals. Noteworthy bills are as follows:

Introduced in the Senate

By Senator Brookhart, liberal, resolution giving authority to the Senate committee investigating Attorney General Daugherty to travel around the country holding hearings.

By Senator Howell, providing government control of radio operation.

By Senator Dill, Democrat, constitutional amendment requiring the President to select justices of the Supreme Court from the inferior courts, members of which would be elected by the people.

By Senator Norris, liberal (by Representative Keller in the House), legislation for conservation of natural resources through government control of Muscle Shoals, Boulder Canyon and the Colorado River in one large project.

By Senator King, Democrat, joint resolution enabling the Philippine Islands to establish an independent republic.

By Senator Couzens, Republican, bill providing for the privilege of the floor of each house on matters pertaining to their departments, for all Cabinet members, chairmen of the Federal Reserve Board, Tariff Commission, Federal Trade Commission, Interstate Commerce Commission and Civil Service Commission, giving them the right to participate in debate.

By Senator Jones, Republican, strengthening the law against the transportation of prize-fight films in interstate commerce.

By Senator Wadsworth, New York, bill to authorize the leasing of the government nitrate plant at Muscle Shoals to the United States Power and Nitrate Corporation of New York.

By Senator Dial, Democrat, legislation creating a fund of \$150,000,000 to finance exportation of farm products to Austria, Germany and Hungary.

By Senator Capper, Republican, bill promoting physical culture by federal cooperation with states.

By Senator Howell, bill abolishing the Railroad Labor Board and substituting compulsory arbitration for railroad disputes. Introduced in the House by Representative Barkley.

By Senator Wheeler, Montana, resolution appropriating \$1,000,000 for farm relief in Montana.

By Senator Spencer, Republican, bill providing pensions for aged, blind and other permanently disabled citizens.

Passed by the Senate

Legislation which would extend the time for the consideration of claims for refunds of 1917 and 1918 taxes by the Treasury Department.

Legislation authorizing the plan for the settlement of the war debt between Finland and the United States.

(Continued on page 24)

other agencies, and the political classroom of the Capitol itself. Men have gone back to the plans of Washington and L'Enfant with the hope that out of the present lack of coordination they can evolve a capital for the country which will be as representative as are Paris, London, and the other European centers of the old days before national balance wheels went out of gear.

But the other side of this picture is non-constructive. We have retrogressed to the undisciplined days of fisticuff politics in the political life of the capital. Senator Heflin looks up at the galleries and talks about men with guns. Graft investigations cross each other until they appear but a network of underlying moral filth. Men excuse men on the ground that they are not criminals, only "boobs," or clever business men whose sense of proportion, desire for success, or imposition of their own wills led them to extravagances. No university would want to send a class in political economy to sit in the Senate these days, nor would any decent master want to take a group over on the House side and listen to that body in the throes of talking about its own members accepting money bribes for influence exerted on behalf of convicted persons. Whether these accusations are true or not, they are not the picture of an American Congress that would be teachable. You can sit there in the galleries, on either side, these days and thank God that there are no more women there—not because they are any better than men but because they would be there learning how, and nobody wants to learn how according to present-day precepts.

Noise in the Senate

Gears seem to be thrown in reverse down here. It has been traditional that the Senate poses before the country as the august and dignified body of men who only by virtue of our democratic principles have given up wearing the toga and breathing purple air. Heaven knows the House, since the old days when the individual desks were removed and the chamber was made a free-for-all with pew-like benches, has been nothing but bedlam, but one would almost say that in spite of this it had become the more dignified assembly of the two. Its noise and confusion are of a healthy sort. But today the Senate is noisy with threats, sinister language, insults and loose statements. Senator Lodge said the other day that the oil debate had lowered the Senate in the eyes of the

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Comedy— In Two Keys, 1840 and 1924



HE tiny Provincetown Theater was all dressed in furbelows for "Fashion, or Life in New York". A new flat curtain presented a billowy lady reclining upon a dubious daisy field and surrounded with garland-bearing doves. At the top of the proscenium arch a fat Cupid foretold love's triumph, and at the bottom a row of tall tin footlights made one's eyes blink in anticipation. Music sounded, the curtain rolled up, and one gazed with a gasp upon the magnificence of Mrs. Tiffany's drawing room. Done in red plush, with palms and a rubber plant, its rear windows looked out upon a hand-painted view of the Battery and New York harbor. It was the highest expression of 1840 interior decorating, and, lest you doubt it, Mr. Tiffany himself in superlative burnsides and a Prince Albert assured his wife in crinoline and a tall silk beaver, "Mrs. Tiffany, your extravagance will ruin me".

The play was written in 1840 by an adventurous lady who was herself an elocutionist. New York acclaimed it a "brilliant satiric comedy", but the gloomy Poe reviewed it cynically, blind to the humor of its coal-black villainies and snow-white virtues. In 1924 it has wrung its audiences to such delighted laughter that the Players are advertising that phrase dear to all managers, "Moving to a larger theater".



White Studio, N. Y.
George Mitchell and Grethe Ruzt Nissen as the *Prince and Princess of Xanadu* in the pantomime scene in "Beggar on Horseback"



Francis Bruguière, N. Y.
Helen Freeman as *Seraphina* in "Fashion"

Some say that "Beggar on Horseback" is the funniest play in New York. We came out of the theater with misty eyes, and voice and feelings in a minor key. Wistful seems a better adjective. The play is the nightmare of a poor musician. He goes through it all, to business, to dance, to dine, to jail, in his bathrobe. He kills four people in rapid succession with an ivory paper knife, and at the trial he asks justice not for himself, but for his music. So the jury and the corpses rise and sing bad hymns in particularly flat voices. He produces his beloved pantomime for them, an exquisite fantasy of a dream prince and princess. The jury's phonograph voices yell it down, and when he appeals for a higher court the judge's chair rises four feet in the air, and that's the highest court there is. Incidents which in themselves are utterly funny beat him down and torture his spirit.

The two plays are at opposite ends of the comedy scale, and their similarity is a paradox. "Fashion" is constructed on a well-worn skeleton, full of tested situations and sure-fire lines. "Beggar on Horseback" is the last word in subtle modern comedy, acting and stagecraft. "Fashion" is a serious melodrama in which the pathos is irresistibly funny. "Beggar on Horseback" is a comic nightmare in which the funniest incidents are so close to tragic reality that one forgets to laugh. Both of them owe their success to their realization that the comic spirit and the tragic are each most brilliant in the light of the other.

H. M.

Revamping the Administration

By Schuyler C. Wallace

Of Columbia University

LIKE an old-fashioned farmhouse, with its main building, its innumerable lean-tos and its outhouses of one kind or another rambling all over the landscape, is the administrative structure of many of our units of government. Particularly is this true of the states and the counties. Just as in the beginning the main building sufficed to meet the needs of the family, so the original administrative organization of the state was designed to meet the exigencies of the period. And just as lean-tos were added to the dwelling when the necessities of the family demanded them, so were the governmental lean-tos added when the crises of politics made them imperative. Unlike the usual homestead, however, the original governmental structure has in many cases been completely overshadowed by the lean-tos. But one consequence of this system of architecture has been possible alike both in the farmhouse and in the administration—that is, *inconvenience*.

It must be admitted in both cases that the lean-tos were better than nothing. But it would be an exceptional farmer who, offered the chance to transform his ramshackle dwelling into a modern home, would refuse to do so. And yet that is exactly what the states and the counties have been doing for many years. Despite the fact that it has been perfectly feasible to remodel state and county administration along modern lines, only twelve states, and one or two counties, have done so.

Too Many Cooks

Perhaps the reader cannot see why the state administration should be compared in this way. Merely to say, however, that in New York there exist one hundred and sixty-eight independent administrative agencies (in striking contrast to the ten departments of the Federal Government) is sufficient to drive the point home. Nor is this an exceptional situation: If the reader stops to analyse the matter, she will in all probability find a situation in her own state almost as bad.

It is, of course, preposterous to believe that the governor, already pressed to the utmost by the burdens of political leadership and the necessity of deciding upon broad questions of public policy, can maintain an adequate supervision over these agencies. In the first place many of them are absolutely independent of him, being neither dependent upon him

for appointment nor subject to his removal. Others, although in theory perhaps subordinate to him, are nevertheless for one reason or another actually independent. One consequence is inevitable—irresponsibility.

The system makes not alone for irresponsibility but for inefficiency as well. The existence of numerous agencies carrying on the same type of work means duplication in many respects and overlapping in others. It makes cooperation improbable and coordination impossible. Furthermore, the benefits of standardization must be forever sacri-

In these days of efficiency methods in business, state and county organizations that have "just grown" show up to bad advantage. How many agencies are there for doing the same thing in your state? Dr. Wallace says only twelve states have changed old ways for new. He describes here some of both ways—a worth-while study for any woman with a taste for organizing.

ficed. Added to this is the loss due to the absence of supervision which is apparently inherent in the system. The grand total can be but one thing—administrative inefficiency and a consequent increase in the cost of government.

One cannot help but wonder what is the exact cost to the people of New York of the maintenance of nineteen different state agencies for the handling of education, of ten for dealing with taxation and finance, of twelve concerned with public works, of eight responsible for naval affairs, of six engaged in mental hygiene activities and five concerned with health work. Nor can one believe that the division of the welfare work of the state of Michigan among thirty independent officials fails to result in slackness.

The situation is not, however, confined to the states. It is present in certain of our cities and in practically all the counties. Milwaukee County is, perhaps, typical. In 1916 there existed independent of each other a board of county supervisors, nineteen in number, a sheriff, a county clerk, a county treasurer, a register of deeds, a county surveyor, a district attorney and the coroner, besides eighteen or nineteen judges of one kind or another. A system of overlapping tenures and crossed lines of authority in appointments and removal further complicated matters.

The cities as a rule are better organized. An exception, however, is the situation in the "weak mayor,"* and council cities. There all the defects of state and county organization exist—intensified many times.

Such a condition is bad not only from the point of view of responsibility and efficiency, but from the point of view of the public as well. This phase of the matter was well expressed by Secretary Hoover when he said in discussing a reorganization of the Federal service—which is in very much better shape than is that of the majority of states:

"The question of government aids to navigation is not by any means one of the principal functions of our government, but it must be a sore trial to the hardy mariner. He must obtain his domestic charts from the Department of Commerce, his foreign charts from the Navy Department, and his nautical almanac from the Naval Observatory—and he will in some circumstances get his sailing directions from the Army. In a fog he may get radio signals from both the Navy and Commerce, and listen to fog horns and look for lights provided him by Commerce; if he sinks his life is saved by the Treasury. He will anchor at the direction of the Army, who rely upon the Treasury to enforce their will. His boilers and lifeboats are inspected by the Department of Commerce; his crew is certified by one bureau in Commerce, signed off in the presence of another, and inspected at sailing by the Treasury, and on arrival by the Department of Labor."

Ways to Reorganize

Upon what basis, then, is it possible to organize an administration so as to produce responsibility, and eliminate inefficiency and confusion? In general, the principles which have been used in the organization of Federal administration have worked very well. Most fundamental of these is the principle of *organization according to function*. Generally speaking, the greatest efficiency will be attained if the units of administration are grouped together according to the kind of work they are doing. By this means cooperation and coordination are made possible. To some extent, at least, overlapping and duplication are avoided, and standardization may be achieved. Furthermore, supervision be-

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* Mayor with limited powers.

The Distaff Side of Cuba

By Mildred Adams



CUBA from the sea in a long green shore, stretching eastward to an infinite blue distance, and west to the gleaming pile that is Havana. Slowly the ship eats up the dyed blue of the sea, individual buildings stand forth from the hillside. There is a sudden break in the smooth shore line, the ship swings inland and the narrow channel of Havana harbor lies clear ahead, conjured out of solid land.

No harbor entrance in the Americas is more beautiful. Morro Castle, grimly compact on its high bluff, guards the channel and the city, and beyond it Cabañas stretches the marvelous rose of its old walls to the top of the slope, and drips its lavish color over the edge. The two old forts are guardian dragons of the past, hinting even in their sprawling sleep of the legendary glories of dead wars. On the other side of the channel Havana flings its creamy walls to the edge of the water. Their brilliance dazzles northern eyes, used to buildings which shroud themselves in modest cloaks of soot. Their tiled roofs and Spanish signs, their passing donkey carts and whiteclad laborers make them foreign, mysterious, alluring.

The ship moved in a whisper toward a pier that paralleled the street. White handkerchiefs fluttered from a group of women. They waved the most enormous plastron of red roses in existence. Suddenly a gleam of yellow appeared beside the red, with black letters of which S U F were visible. Visions of American streets full of yellow banners and marching women blotted out the foreign pier.

The ship docked at last and we were delivered into the hands of our friends. Strange faces smiled everywhere, eager and friendly, striving to overcome the handicap of a difference in languages. Those who spoke words of English flooded Mrs. Catt and Miss Hay with their hospitable greetings. Those who spoke only Spanish burst into rapid language, rushed away and were back with reinforcements before half of what they had said could be translated. Ancient Babel must have sounded like a home



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Morro Castle—guarding the entrance to the beautiful harbor of Havana

for deaf mutes in comparison with those first frantic moments.

But guests and hosts and baggage were straightened out at last, thanks to the good offices of American residents who spoke Spanish, and Cuban women who spoke English. Never had words and combinations of words seemed so overwhelmingly important. The past appeared a vast arid waste, in which one might have been studying languages instead of bandying unimportant nothings like economics and science.

That same evening the Federación Nacional de Asociaciones Femininas de Cuba (National Federation of Women's Clubs) held a reception for Mrs. Catt

This is the story of American women visiting Cuban women. As acting president of a temporary committee on the organization of Pan-American women, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt in February went to Havana to further the Cuban end of the work. She was accompanied by that other famous feminist, Miss Mary Garrett Hay, and by Miss Adams, whose equipment of Spanish made her the link between welcomed and welcomers. In a later issue we hope to publish an article by Mrs. Catt on her observations in Cuba.

and Miss Hay in the Academy of Sciences. They had hung the gorgeous hall with organization banners, a battery of cameras lined the back wall, the audience was impressively Cuban and American, and the platform was completely full of presidents. A hidden band played the American and the Cuban national anthems, there was much of the interpolated music which adds charm to Cuban gatherings, and the president of the Federation made a graceful speech of welcome in the lan-

guage which for gracious courtesy has no equal. Mrs. Catt's call to a "bloodless rebellion" was brilliantly translated by a young Cuban who is surely a diplomat.

And during the entire evening a lady in spangled gown occupied a front seat and waved a glittery fan with the grace and tender subtlety of a reed in the south wind. Centuries of Latin femininity were symbolized in that artful wrist, and it had come at last to a front seat in a suffrage meeting.

The running history of the next ten days is a continuous record of conferences, speeches, tours of inspection, orphanages, interviews and more speeches, and through it all the fine thread of delightful hospitality. From day to day and meeting to meeting personalities grew clear and distinct, organizations and aims stood out in their own characters. One grew aware of a friendliness between Cuban and American women that first was taken for granted and then became wonderful and hopeful.

The largest organization of women in Cuba is the Federación Nacional de Asociaciones Femininas de Cuba, whose able and charming President, Señora Pilar Morlón de Menendez, was personally responsible for so much fine hospitality. It was organized in 1921, under the active leadership of the women of the Club Feminino, which is one of its federated associations. There are eleven groups of women within the Federation and their total membership is over nine thousand. They are working for a closer union among all women, so that they may have the benefit of united action on all matters which touch women, children and the general welfare of the country.

It was the Federation which last year called the first National Congress of Women in Cuba. Thirty-three societies sent representatives from various parts of the Island and an official delegate

represented each of the six provinces. The Congress was such a complete success that they plan to hold one every two years.

Organizations within the Federation have different interests and different aims, but they are all held together by their common belief in the future of women. The Club Feminino, which



Señora Pilar Jorge de Tella
Hon. President of the Club Feminino

took the lead in forming the Federation, is intensely interested in matters of public welfare. Its brilliant President, Señorita Hortensia Lamar, characterized it as "hungry for a better social condition than that which we are enjoying," and that phrase indicates the kind of work the Club has done since its foundation. The Woman's Club of Havana was founded by a group of Cuban and American women. It has been a valuable factor in the mutual friendliness and understanding of the two nationalities and it has done remarkable philanthropic work. Under Mrs. William Field, who is now President, it has established charming club rooms of its own in Havana's loveliest suburb. The Association of Catholic Cuban Women has as President Dr. Guillermina Portela, who is also the very capable head of the Normal School. The National Association of Nurses has a membership of three hundred and fifty nurses in government hospitals. The Band of Mercy and its Auxiliary form a dramatic story of their own which we hope to tell later. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union is young in Cuba, but is making a gallant fight in a country whose customs do not include any leaning toward prohibition.

Five societies within the Federation concentrate their efforts on the care of children—the National Congress of Mothers, which is running an orphanage and crèche under partial government subsidy, the New Havana Crèche, the Lily Hidalgo Crèche and Asylum, the Truffin Asylum and the Mercedes Mora Chapter of the Masons. This last organization cares for dependents of all ages. Mrs. Catt and Miss Hay visited them all, to receive delightful

hospitality from the hands of presidents, head nurses and rosy children. Perhaps the most noticeable thing about these groups of merry youngsters, aside from their abundant health, was the absolute lack of a color line as the North knows it. In its place was a color scale running from the rosy cheeks and blonde hair of an American orphan, through cream and écru, to the darker shades of brown and ruddy chocolate.

The excellent charitable work of the Cuban women is the more remarkable because institutions are a comparatively new thing with them. It seems that according to the old custom each family had its individual retainers to whom it gave either spasmodic sums or regular pensions. Money was left to the family, the church and faithful servants by name, but not to independent charity. The American custom of leaving thousands to benevolent institutions has



Señorita Hortensia Lamar
President of the Club Feminino

barely begun in Cuba and money must be collected in smaller amounts from public benefits or individual gifts. Perhaps for this very reason they spend so wisely what they collect so carefully. They spend it on wide airy rooms and absolute cleanliness, on good food and orphanlike uniforms.

And apropos of uniforms, all the schoolgirls of Havana wear them, from the kindergartners to the sober ones of the Normal School. The regulation dress is a white waist with a full skirt of a clear blue which is best described by the common term for the costume, "seidlitz powders." And when the older girls get restless and start internal rebellions in the manner of schoolgirls the world over, Havana says "Oh, the seidlitz powders are fizzing again!"

There is no "suffrage campaign" in Cuba in the United States meaning of the term, though there are bases of interest which may grow into one. The Partido Sufragista (Suffrage Party) has been in existence for several years, and

claims a large following among the working men and women of the Island. It has no dues, and keeps no strict account of its members, so that it is difficult to estimate the extent of its influence. It has carried on suffrage agitation through the press and in meetings, and its President, Señora Mallen de Ostolaza, plans to start a series of street-corner speeches.

In 1921 the Federación Nacional de Asociaciones Femininas accepted the proposal of the Club Feminino that they work for women's suffrage "not as an end, but as a means to a better country." Up to that time, many of the influential Cuban women had felt that they must educate themselves for the duties of citizenship before asking for the vote. And the reason for their change of plan was the same reason which has affected the women of so many other countries, the worthlessness of political promises. For years the women worked for the passage of social measures through indirect means. They had sought a law regulating hours and wages of working women, another providing maternity insurance; they had asked for a juvenile court law for twelve years, and always succeeded in obtaining nothing but promises. At last they came to the conclusion that the only way to secure the keeping of those promises was by having the vote as a reserve weapon.

The Federation succeeded last year in persuading the First National Congress of Women to accept a resolution for suffrage, and in accordance with that, they petitioned the Cuban Legislature to pass the necessary constitutional amendment. The petition was tabled, and although they have secured the necessary



Señora Pilar Morlón de Menendez
President of the National Federation of Women's Clubs

number of polite senatorial promises, nothing has resulted.

So far, Cuban women have met with no actual opposition in their work for social reform and political freedom. It is the eagerness of their desire rather than the heat of combat which has brought about their present degree of organization. It is difficult for a for-

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What the American Woman Thinks

Policewomen for University Towns

By Ruth Sawyer

Author of "Doctor Danny," and "Gladiola Murphy."

PROBABLY the most significant aspect of modern thinking is its preventive viewpoint. Always there have been two distinctly different ways of considering every phase of human deficiency—the curative and the preventive. For many generations it was enough to face trouble when it overtook us and clapped hands on us; now we are beginning to realize that many troubles may be ambushed along the way.

So—we are getting beforehand legal advice and facing fewer law-suits; we are having more periodic health examinations and fewer deathbed consultations, more diet and less pills. In the police world we are policing to prevent more and punish less. We have probation officers, big brother supervision, juvenile courts where young offenders are brought and tried not as branded criminals but as potential citizens. Society is believing beyond the point of doubt that crime, like disease, is largely preventable if taken in what the physicians call the incipient stage.

Hard Pulling

Unfortunately it is easier to prove theories than to put them into popular usage, especially where politics control. The mills of God grind slowly but the mills of party government grind abominably. Every thinking woman in a community may stand ready to serve and safeguard the youth of that community; she may believe heart and soul in the value of a properly trained policewoman or probation officer and in the need of jurisdiction over the movies and dance halls and a patrolling of the streets between eleven and two-to-four in the night. But for all her conviction she may be years waking up her town officials to a realization of this need—years more to an acknowledgment of it—and still more years to an appropriation from the town budget to meet it. To wit—here is the case of one university town.

There are more than a thousand university towns in this country. Every university stands for an especially large investment of youth at its most acute, adolescent period. A four-years' university course stands in the main for a

long period of intensive effort demanding its balance in relaxation and recreation. Only a very small fraction of this last ever gets under the supervision of the university. Athletics takes care of some of it—fraternities, clubs, the "Y" take care of some; but there still remains the larger part unaccounted for. Usually a university town in itself is a dead place—a few motion-picture houses, dance halls, pool rooms. Around the campus and beyond the town there is generally a recreation ground or amusement park of some sort—a large area, free, attractive, unparoled. A lake shore, a river front, where students can swim, boat and picnic. All this makes for a fine, legitimate recreation if sanely used; if misused it may become everything objectionable. Unfortunately in every community there is a certain percentage which turns freedom into license; and these act as decoys for a much larger percentage who are foolishly brazen, unthinking or weak.

What Happened in One Town

In our university town besides the university there are two large manufacturing plants and a conservatory—each of these representing more youth—more intensity of living—more need of the right sort of relaxation. Some years ago it became known that the town was one of the many "feeders" for the red-light section of the nearby big city. What happened was that the girls started with the students, got marked in town, put out of their homes and were more than glad to slip into a larger whirlpool, where their identity could be soon lost. As invariably happens in such cases among some there was the urge to come back and drag others in with them.

The women of the university faculty and town took it upon themselves to make such trafficking henceforth impossible; and to make the initial step toward it as hard as it could be made. They brought pressure on the mayor, who appointed a woman to serve as probation officer. She was untrained, unable to pass the civil service examinations, was over age limit and physically incapable. The appointment was clearly a sop to these women who were banded together to get protective service for the town, and a wall to shut out any trained and capable person who might prove too investigating.

The so-called probation officer served with all kindness and good intention; but without effect. She served for more years than I like to count, being reap-

pointed every six months because, under the law, she was not eligible save as a special appointee of the mayor's. During this period the women wrote innumerable letters, had innumerable interviews. They were handed about from mayor to council—from council to police department—from police to mayor again. It became a matter of grim hanging on, of keeping one's temper, of tiring the body politic out without aggressive attacks, but with a quiet, eternal persistence.

After many months came a concession in the form of an appointed committee of investigation made up of some of the council and the police commissioner. Two of these walked the streets one evening last summer when the university was closed and returned after an hour to go to bed and report the next morning that the town was in fine shape; and that the women in it were all indulging in some kind of hysteria. Once again the seventy-year old probation officer was reappointed; this time as police-woman.

Following close on the heels of this appointment the federation of women's clubs held an open forum at which New York's leading policewoman talked for over an hour, outlining what policing a town meant today. The statement that finally made the mayor, the council and the police department ready to listen and act was her opening sentence. She said that she had been interested in the town for a long time "because of your girls who get on our records. I would rather help you take care of them here, where they have homes, friends and a cleaner, healthier air to breathe than wait until they get down into the filthiest parts of our city."

The result has been accomplished at last and our town is getting a well-trained policewoman.

The Answer

What are you going to do about yours? Close your eyes and praise God that the number of apprehended prostitutes is no greater? Rejoice that the evil in the community sink like a stone to the bottom instead of rising like oil to noticeably smear the surface? Or are you going out to fight your town officers for a trained woman to patrol your streets and give surveillance to your places of amusement—a woman who understands the physiology of adolescence and what it is that goes to make a boy or girl wayward and for the time irresponsible? Such a woman, with the

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Editorially Speaking

Level Heads Needed Back Home

IN spite of the regret that more women have not been elected to public office, many will echo the sentiment expressed by Mrs. Stokes on page 7, that "You can sit in the galleries these days on either side [of Congress] and thank God there are no more women there."

The hearts of many men in both houses must be sick and heavy, not only because of the evidence of fraud and corruption but even more at the sordidness of the political game as it is being played. The public is becoming numb with the many investigations and hearings, the charges and counter-charges. Rightly or wrongly it is seeing in them the meanness of party politics and the depths to which partisanship can sink.

There is only one woman now in Congress, but there are women back at home in the district of every Congressman, and the responsibility comes back to us. Will we join the chorus of unthinking, backbiting partisanship? Or will we keep a level head; will we inform ourselves carefully, guard against being confused by complicated issues, refuse to support the self-seeking candidate and set high standards of sincerity for our representatives? We cannot escape our share in the responsibility.



Chairs in Congress for the Cabinet

SENATOR COUZENS, of Michigan, has introduced a bill providing seats on the floor of Congress for Cabinet officers. This is a change which has been frequently advocated by students of government, and will undoubtedly win wide support from thinking people. It is often commented on that the legislative and executive branches of the Federal Government are too widely separated to work well together. It seems only good sense that Congress should have at its command correct information from the various departments and constant knowledge of what the executive branches are doing.

In line with this improvement in the machinery of government is the constitutional amendment also before Congress, providing that the new Congress elected in November should be seated the following January, and changing the date of the inauguration of the President to coincide with the new Congress. Sensible and simple as these changes would seem to be, judging from the past, it will take several decades to act on them, unless—and this is quite possible—the public takes a more active and insistent interest than it has in the past in providing a better government for itself.



Small Bonus, Small Benefit

HOW much real value will it be to the men who served in the United States army during the great war to be given \$10, \$25, or \$50 by the United States? How much help in a business undertaking would such a sum be? How far would it go in establishing a young man in a permanent place in the world? Yet this is what the bonus reported favorably by the House Committee carries for the many soldiers who served 110 days or less, and from fifteen to eighteen million dollars is to be distributed.

If there is to be a bonus, should it not carry an adequate expression of gratitude on the part of an appreciative country? A grant of land for a small farm, adequate help in the estab-

lishment of a home would be something really worth talking about. If the United States could insure that for the soldier, every woman would be proud to help and would be glad to make sacrifices for it. The colossal cost of such a plan seems to make it impossible, so we have the proposed makeshift. It is estimated that even this will cost more than \$2,100,000,000 and that for twenty years the taxpayers of the country, including ex-soldiers themselves and their families, will continue to pay heavy taxes to meet the amount required. In view of the small benefit resulting, is it worth while?



The Dance-Hall Problem

INVESTIGATIONS among New York City's public dance halls show a need for immediate work. The Commercial Recreation Committee, under the leadership of Mrs. Henry Moskowitz, claims that of 653 licensed dance halls twenty per cent are immoral. A vicious type of "closed hall" has been found—where no women guests are permitted and the dancing girls, paid by commission, have to dance about seventy times a night to earn \$20 a week. The problem, of course, is one for every great city. The heartening thing is that it can be handled, and by women. Miss Marie Lambin, who supervised the New York investigation, says that women are responsible for the cleaning up of the notorious Barbary Coast in San Francisco. They collected the data, presented it and along with it a plan, which included a woman supervisor, chosen by their own committee, in each hall. Judge Jean Norris, of New York, proposes municipal dance halls—like municipal playgrounds for children. Why shouldn't a city assume responsibility for its young people's leisure?



Wanted, Better Prisons

THE National League of Women Voters is working to bring out a 75 per cent vote of women. It would help powerfully to get out a large vote if more women realized the practical evils that flow from bad politics.

Not long ago the whole country was shocked by the revelations regarding convict labor in Florida, and the killing of young Tabert. Conditions almost as bad among women convicts—some of them women who are wards of the Federal Government—are graphically described by Kate Richards O'Hare in her new book, "In Prison."

Mrs. O'Hare was condemned under the Espionage Act to five years for making a speech that was considered likely to discourage recruiting. She was a Federal prisoner, and it is against the law to confine Federal prisoners in any place where contract labor is carried on. But the United States has no prison of its own for women offenders, so it farms them out to the various state prisons. Those prisons that spend the least upon the women and work them hardest will take them cheapest. Mrs. O'Hare was sent to the state penitentiary at Jefferson City, Missouri.

Here she found herself herded with about a hundred women, black and white, who were there for all sorts of offenses. No attempt was made to separate first offenders from hardened criminals, or healthy women from those with contagious diseases. Mrs. O'Hare and the other women were worked to the limit of human endurance for the profit of a politician contractor. If they failed to turn out the required number of garments per day, they were severely punished.

The woman at the next machine to Mrs. O'Hare's was in an advanced stage of tuberculosis, and covered with open syphilitic sores. She was making baby clothes. As the public dislikes prison-made goods, the women had to sew false labels into the garments, representing them as made by reputable firms in other states.

The huge prison, containing 2,500 men and a hundred women, was under a State Board of Control made up of a country editor, a mule buyer and a livery stable keeper. When Mrs. O'Hare suggested to one of them that better results might be had from the women if the brutal young overseer were replaced by an older man who knew something of psychology and of production efficiency methods, he answered, "I don't reckon we need any of them new-fangled things here. A good hickory club and the hole [dungeon] will fix 'em."

The women were miserably fed and always hungry. No reading matter was provided, and no hospital facilities. The sick were locked in their vermin-infested cells, where rats ran over them.

The prison was a school of crime. No attempt was made to teach the women anything useful, but Mrs. O'Hare says she came away fully instructed as to the latest methods of shop-lifting and administering knock-out drops. The convicts left the prison wrecked in health, and worse in character than when they entered. All this is the direct outcome of bad politics.

Mrs. O'Hare was released after about fourteen months, and has devoted much of her time since to lecturing on prison conditions and urging the abolition of prison contract labor. She would have the United States establish a Federal prison for women, which should be a model for the states.

More men and women come out of prison in this country every year than graduate from all our colleges and universities. It is a matter of vital importance whether they come out better or worse than they went in. And this depends upon what kind of a government we have. As Frances E. Willard truly said, "The Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule are voted up or voted down upon election day." Let every woman register, and be ready to cast her vote!

ALICE STONE BLACKWELL.



Better Buying

DOES it annoy you to go to the ribbon counter, and wait your turn—only to find that the particular kind of ribbon you want is kept "two aisles over"? This type of "over-classification" is one of the "difficulties," from the consumers' point of view, that are to be worked out by the National Retail Dry Goods Association and the General Federation of Women's Clubs. A program planned by the Federation's Department of Applied Education, of which Mrs. John D. Sherman is chairman, provides for a setting up in various communities of the difficulties encountered in buying—for instance, by having a responsible executive from some store conduct conferences with the local women's club. The idea is to secure cooperation of store and club to promote more intelligent buying, and so save time, money, and emotion. The cooperation should be educative on both sides. Mrs. Sherman suggested to the retailers definite efforts to increase public information, especially by providing trained advisers in the stores, by simplification of store practices through reduction of the number of articles almost alike, and by an enlargement of the field of advertising to include more educational matter.

Every woman who has wasted time in shops, partly through her own temperamental weakness and partly through an organization which she does not well understand, should be interested. Anything that increases efficiency in a woman's use of her time makes her at least potentially a better citizen.

Open and Friendly Diplomacy

OPEN diplomacy means something to the new Premier of Great Britain, and the thing he has done in changing the tone of exchanges with France is no small matter. The letter he wrote to Premier Poincaré about two weeks ago is as direct and human as if it weren't an official paper at all. We have always wondered how state papers got that way—the feeling, the emotion they conceal is usually so absurdly out of relation to the stilted, formal phrases. But this letter not only was refreshingly friendly and human in manner, but its substance was a record of the states of mind of the Premier's *people*, more than of the government's attitudes: a candid account of certain British fears about the war equipment of France, certain convictions of a section of British opinion about the purposes of France in the Ruhr, a frank statement of the British vs. the French thought of security—all of them facts to be taken into account by a Premier. Naturally, the MacDonald letter brought a friendly letter back from M. Poincaré. No one has been so bluntly frank with him. No one has got so friendly a response. There may be other influences at work; there doubtless are, but on the face of it open diplomacy looks like a method that pays.



Anti-Signboard Work

"WE urge that all display advertising be confined to commercial locations where it will not injure scenery, civic beauty, or residential values." That is the motto of the National Committee for Restriction of Outdoor Advertising, and a good motto too. If there is any woman within reach of this type who doesn't agree, we should very much like to know why. Advertising that spoils the face of Nature is a highly developed American specialty, over which much language and many moans and *some* effort have been spent; but not enough of the third. Just now, in New York State, this national committee, which cooperates with fifteen state organizations, is fighting to keep the Adirondack Park a park. A bill was introduced to prohibit signboards except those on a man's place of business, or in the limits of an incorporated village, unless the Conservation Commission gives permission for the special sign. The helpful word to senators and assemblymen is asked. And women in other states might cast an eye on any threatened spot in their own vicinity. The Adirondacks, as a matter of fact, concern considerably more than New York.



The Non-Lynching Honor Roll

THIS is the second year in which the Federal Council of Churches has announced a non-lynching roll of honor, and it is a cheering business to find that 1923 shows the lowest number since accurate records have been kept. Even at that, the number—28—is bad enough. The next lowest was 38, in 1917, and the highest was 253, in 1892, with lynching in thirty-three states. In the roll of honor only four states are named that never had a record of a lynching—Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Vermont. The total number of states free of lynching in 1923 is 39.

Though the improvement probably has many causes, chief among them must be the effect of tremendous educational campaigns carried on by groups of women in the Southern states, committed to improve race relations; by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and by the Federal Council of Churches. It is a fine illustration of the power of public opinion. This stain on the American name can be wiped out altogether, if we will it.

The Woman Voter

[This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.]

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532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Fourth Region.....MRS. WILLIAM G. HIBBARD, Winnetka, Ill.
Fifth Region.....MISS MARGUERITE WELLS, Minneapolis, Minn.
Sixth Region.....MRS. CHARLES H. DIETRICH, Hastings, Neb.
Seventh Region.....MRS. W. A. SHOCKLEY, Reno, Nevada

Federal Measures the League Supports

HEARINGS continue to mark the progress of bills which the National League is supporting in the present Congress. Opponents of the proposed child labor amendment have had hearings before the House Judiciary Committee for four days within the last fortnight. James A. Emery, representing manufacturers in the states of Delaware, Iowa, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Missouri, Nebraska, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Wisconsin, and the cities of Boston and Baltimore, was one of the principal speakers. No action has been taken yet by the Senate Judiciary Committee as a whole, but its action on the favorable report of the sub-committee is anticipated within the next week.

S. 1337-H. R. 3923: Sterling-Reed bill, creating a Department of Education with its head a member of the Cabinet, etc. Hearings were resumed March 12 before the House Education Committee.

H. R. 6896: Lehlbach bill, abolishing the Personal Classification Board and transferring its duties to the U. S. Civil Service Commission. Hearings have been conducted for several days by the House Civil Service Committee. The National League believes that the classification board, in failing to set up specifications of duties and qualifications, has made the sex-equality provision of the law unenforceable, because without such specifications there is no means of determining what is equal work.

H. R. 7450: Bacon bill providing aid to states for the physical education of children. Introduced March 1 by Representative Bacon of New York. Referred to Education Committee.

Of the bills commented upon in the last issue of the *Woman Voter*, the status of the following is without change:

S. Res. 36: King resolution, embodying the World Court proposals of President Coolidge and the late President Harding, with reservations by Secretary Hughes.

S. 790-H. R. 685: Curtis-Graham Federal women-prisoners' bill.

S. J. Res. 15: Jones amendment to the Constitution, providing for suffrage in the District of Columbia.

S. 1408: Fess amendment to the Smith-Hughes act, to increase appropriations for home economics.

Of special interest is the bill (H. R. 4121) which would extend the Federal aid provisions of the Sheppard-Towner maternity and infancy act to Hawaii. The House agreed,

March 3, to Senate amendments and the bill is now with the President.
ANNE WILLIAMS.

New League Publications

THE Women in Industry Committee has prepared Numbers 1 and 2 of the Study Leaflet Series. Number 1 is "The Shorter Working Day for Women Workers," and the Committee gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Miss Breckenridge, of the University of Chicago, and Miss Dewson, of the National Consumers' League, in the preparation of it. It is divided under seven heads: reasons for the enactments of short hour laws; reasons supporting constitutionality of such legislation for women; short hour laws in the United States; the enforcement of labor laws; the English Factory Acts; further suggestions for study, and bibliography. Although reduced to the briefest possible limits, the material given is so varied and so full that the leaflet becomes a treatise on the general topic of working hours for women and will prove of the greatest possible value to women interested in this phase of League work.

Number 2 (described, January 26 issue) is "Minimum Wage Legislation," and under eight headings presents the argument for minimum wage legislation for women; the content of the minimum wage laws in the United States; the methods employed by wage commissions; the results of legislation; the constitutionality; history of minimum wage legislation; suggestions for further readings, and suggestions for club papers. The resolutions relating to minimum wage legislation, adopted at the Des Moines convention of the National League, are added. In the preparation of this leaflet, also, the committee is under obligation for the help given by Miss Breckenridge and Miss Dewson. The price of each leaflet is five cents.

The new publications of the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War come in a convenient envelop with the general title, "Know Your Own Foreign Policy," on the outside. The contents of the envelop consist of five pamphlets, each a set of twenty questions, and the subjects dealt with by the several sets are, World Court, League of Nations, Disarmament and Reparations, Monroe Doctrine, and the State Department. Direct answers are given to only a few of the questions, for the pamphlets are not intended to end discussion but rather to make intelligent discussion possible in clubs, high schools, and round table gatherings. The student is told where to find the answer and not what the answer is, so that each pamphlet is in reality a well-considered bibliography on its particular subject. The price of the complete set of pamphlets is fifteen cents.

What the St. Louis League Did

"YOUR vote is power—use it," is the winning sentence in the get-out-the-vote slogan contest recently carried on by the St. Louis League, and Mrs. Harry C. January is the successful author.

The contest was only one of the features of the campaign which the League began with the new year to rouse the interest of the voters in the special election of February 26, at which amendments to the state constitution were submitted. The winning slogan will be used in the work of getting out votes for the presidential election in November, an undertaking for which the recent campaign has provided tried-out methods.

With the first of January the League began publication of a weekly *Bulletin* which carried, each week, explanations of

the amendments to be voted on. The issue of February 25 bore in red letters on the front page these words: "Chance of your life to mind your neighbor's business! See back page," and on the back page, this elucidation: "Your neighbor's business is to vote! So is your husband's; so is your sister's; your cousins' and your aunts'. See that they do it. Above all, do it yourself!!!"

The League did not trust to its *Bulletin* to do all the work. At the beginning of the campaign, a central committee of twenty-eight was formed and its first work was to send a letter to all organizations of the city, both of men and of women, asking their help in informing the voters and suggesting that in every organization program a speaker on the amendments be included. Each pupil in the public school received a copy of the amendments to carry home to his parents. Ministers were asked—and responded heartily—to announce the election to their congregations on pre-election Sunday and to urge upon men and women their responsibilities as citizens.

From the motion picture theatres and the press there was most valuable help. The theatres used slides reminding voters of the election and allowed four-minute speakers to speak to their audiences. The newspapers printed news stories about the campaign and special "block" notices asking all voters who wished information or automobile service to call the office of the League.

"We kept five telephones—three extra ones installed by the telephone company gratis for the occasion—pretty busy telling people where to find their polling places, how to vote, et cetera," Miss V. V. Mayes, executive secretary, says. "One call asked for an automobile to take six voters to vote. I guess the whole family went that time."

On St. Valentine's Day, less than a fortnight before the election, the League gave "Show Me State Efficiency," a play written specially for the League by Miss Edna Warren, and dramatizing successfully the issues concerned in the amendments. It was advertised beforehand on a heart-shaped folder of brightest red, with "Open Your Heart to Missouri and—" on the front cover, and "See 'Show Me State Efficiency'" inside, facing an invitation to a dinner at the City Club after the play and concert which went with it.

Interest in League work is not to be allowed to lapse between the special election and the regular national election in the autumn. Something will be doing constantly and the most recent important something was an institute of government and politics carried on with the co-operation of Washington University, at the New City Club, March 11-13. The list of speakers included Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, Private Peat, Judge Mary Bartelme, Dean Isador Loeb, of the University of Missouri, Senator McCawley, and Mrs. Elmer McKay, of the University of Missouri Department of Political Science.

Recent Headquarters Visitors

MRS. ANN DENNIS BURSCH, chairman of the Connecticut League's Committee on Living Costs, made an afternoon exceedingly interesting to headquarters' staff by her enthusiastic accounts of work in Connecticut. She is especially proud of having on her committee Miss Emma Winslow, of Riverside, who has lately won the second prize of \$800 in a contest carried on by a large advertising concern, for the best theses on how to determine a measure for consumer purchasing power. Miss Winslow, who received her doctor's degree last year from the University of London for her work in economics, has a book ready for the press which is described as a textbook on the measurement of living costs and standards, and Mrs. Bursch believes women interested in living costs will find it of exceptional value.

Mrs. Bursch was a candidate for the legislature in the last election, and Miss Martha Riley, of the Wisconsin Board of Health, who has been in Washington on leave of absence, ran for Congress in the third district of her state. Neither woman was elected and neither was surprised. Neither was discour-

aged. Miss Riley says she is willing to have her name used as many times more as may seem good to her party, believing that it is the duty of qualified women to run for office, even when the chances of election are not great, to encourage the others and to make women candidates more and more familiar figures until their candidacy is taken as a matter of course. Miss Riley has served as chairman of the Dane County League Committee on Social Hygiene and will represent a Wisconsin League at the national convention. Her work with the state Board of Health is the direction of social work.

Mrs. Francis Upton Johnstone, of Woodstock, Connecticut, brought her husband and daughter to headquarters and had much to say of the growth of League interest in her state. She is the former chairman of the Wyndham County League and believes that one of the greatest means of rousing interest that League has ever made use of was its early school of parliamentary usage. When Woodstock women went to town meeting, armed with the knowledge gained at the League school, they rose more than once to a point of order till at length meetings began to be held to the strictest parliamentary usage and personalities in discussion altogether disappeared. Mrs. Johnstone believes firmly that officers should not hold office too long, for the exceedingly valuable training holding office gives should be distributed. The Wyndham County League is proud of the fact that no fewer than one hundred delegates attended its convention last fall.

El Paso's Third Birthday

THE annual luncheon of the El Paso (Texas) League on February 19 marked the third anniversary of the organization and was held in the ballroom of the Hotel Paso Del Norte. Mrs. O. A. Pritchett, retiring president, presided and made a report which showed a most creditable list of League accomplishments. Regular meetings have been held, except in the summer, on first and third Thursdays of each month and a speaker of prominence has been asked to give a talk on a subject of local or national interest at each meeting. July Fourth was celebrated by a special program in Cleveland Square and at the luncheon on Washington's Birthday all candidates for municipal office were special guests, making three-minute speeches. That there should be no difficulty in picking them out, they wore red, white and blue caps.

The El Paso League has done an unusual amount of work in cooperation with other organizations interested in civic betterment. At Christmas time an entertainment was given to the girls in the county clinic and the Federal prison, and a Christmas dinner provided for several boys and prisoners in the city jail. One member of the League, Mrs. A. J. Warren, gave every girl a bungalow apron. The League takes pride in its men's auxiliary council of more than 100 representative citizens and in its life members, Representative Hudspeth, Senator Sheppard, Hon. R. E. Thomason, Mayor Dudley, P. E. Gardner, and Sheriff Seth Orndorff.

The souvenirs of the annual meeting were copies provided by the Chamber of Commerce of two League songs written by Fannie Smith Fennell, a former member, who sent them from Los Angeles for the occasion, and copies of verses written by Miss Evalyn Sherman Logan, the new recording secretary. Each verse described or alluded to a candidate for the Presidency, and as in most of the verses no name was mentioned the luncheon guests entertained themselves with a guessing contest as to the person meant in each clever rhyme.

The new officers of the El Paso League are: Dr. Alice G. Merchant, president; Mrs. John Chenoweth, first vice-president; Mrs. C. H. Lester, second vice-president; Mrs. Julia Behr, treasurer; Miss Logan, recording secretary; Mrs. J. H. Hurxthal, corresponding secretary, and Mrs. Alex Ferguson, auditor.

THE Indiana League plans to hold its annual convention in Michigan City, and May 13-15 is the time tentatively agreed upon.

A New Political Play

MRS. A. J. MCGUIRE, chairman of the Ramsey County (Minnesota) League Committee on International Cooperation to Prevent War, has written a clever little play, "Pipin' Times of Politics," in three parts, which was presented before an enthusiastic audience at the annual luncheon of the Minnesota League in Minneapolis, February 23. It was so successful that other Leagues in the state are using it and Pennsylvania has asked for it. It is designed to show the procedure of the spring caucuses with special reference to the part League women and women of the various parties may take to induce women to participate in every stage of elections.

The second part shows a Republican woman urging another woman of her party to act as delegate from her precinct—Mrs. McGuire used the Republican name because the caucus of that party came first in Minnesota, but her intent to make her arguments apply to women of all parties is clear—and in the third act the object lesson of a caucus in full operation is given. The woman candidate is elected a delegate to the county convention, with the result predicted by the woman who urged her to get into the real work of politics—her husband is delighted.

Mrs. McGuire, who lives in St. Paul, played a leading part in her witty play and associated with her were Glen Waters, F. S. Bissell, Orren Safford, Marjorie Evans, J. C. Litzenberg, and Simeon J. Hardy, who made up a more than competent cast.

With the California League

MRS. GEORGE GELLHORN, of St. Louis, who was the first to hold the office of vice-president of the National League, has been in California assisting in the celebration of the third anniversary of the state League. Miss Marion Delany, president of the state League, and the members of the executive council made Mrs. Gellhorn's visit the occasion for three large luncheons, the first in Oakland on February 25, the second in San Francisco next day, and the third in Los Angeles on February 29. Mrs. Gellhorn's addresses made the opportunities, possibilities, and achievements of the National League so vivid that the northern section of the California League at the two luncheons pledged approximately \$3,000 toward California's quota of \$8,000 of the national budget.

Mrs. Herbert Hoover, wife of the Secretary of Commerce, and Mrs. John Haines, of Los Angeles, have been chosen delegates at large to the fifth annual convention of the National League in Buffalo. Delegates from the northern section of the California League will be: Mrs. Frank H. Boren, president of the northern section; Mrs. Parker Maddux, president of the San Francisco League; Mrs. Jesse Stenhardt, assistant chairman of education; Mrs. H. N. Herrick, president of the Berkeley League; Mrs. Josephine Rand Rogers, of San Jose, and Mrs. Walter McGinn, of Sacramento. The state delegation all told is expected to include more than a dozen women. Miss Marion Delany, state president, is chairman of the convention nominating committee.

The southern section of the California League will be hostess to the state convention which is set for May 24-25 in Los Angeles, Marion Delany and Mrs. Arthur Heineman are the program committee. Mrs. William Palmer Lucas will represent the State Executive Council as a member of the state nominating committee at that time.

Two State Conventions

MISS BELLE SHERWIN, first vice-president, represented the National League at the extremely interesting and successful convention of the North Carolina League at Durham, March 4 and 5, and made an address. Mrs. Elliott Cheatham, director of the third region, was present and from

various parts of the state came such a gathering of distinguished women as a state seldom sees. Mrs. Kate Burr Johnson, head of the North Carolina Department of Public Welfare, explained what women can do for the juvenile court in the state; Miss Louise B. Alexander, former president of the state League, talked on the World Court, and Miss Elizabeth Kelley, president of the North Carolina Education Association and Commissioner of Illiteracy in the state, took the association's educational program for the subject matter of her address.

Mrs. Brogden, president of the Durham Women's Club, made the welcoming address at the first session of the convention, and at the luncheon the club gave the convention several excellent speeches were made. Notable speakers there and at the sessions of the convention were: Miss Mary O. Graham, national Democratic committeewoman; Mrs. Lindsay Patterson, speaking for the Republican party; Miss Harriet Elliott, head of the political science department of the North Carolina State College for Women; Mrs. J. F. Spruill, former state president of the Parent-Teacher Associations; Mrs. Mary O. Cowper, executive secretary of the League; Mrs. Charles W. Tillett, Jr., president of the Mecklenburg County League; Mrs. Josephus Daniels, who presented the legislative program, and the acting state League president, Miss Gertrude Weil, who was elected president.

The Iowa League has called a special convention at the Savery Hotel in Des Moines, March 26-27, to elect officers, amend the constitution and transact other business. The chief change in the constitution will be one in regard to the fiscal year, which now begins with October, while the year of the National League runs from April to April. The present arrangement in Iowa has made it necessary for two state presidents and other officers to carry out the annual program based on the National League's program and Iowa women feel that it will simplify matters and make for greater efficiency if the state League's fiscal year can be made to synchronize with that of the National League. It is expected that hereafter officers will be elected in the spring instead of in the fall.

League Women and League Work

MRS. CHARLES E. DIETRICH, director of the sixth region, motored more than 2,000 miles in the course of a recent journey which finally took her to Albuquerque (New Mexico) and to a meeting of League women from many parts of the state on February 26. Mrs. Herbert Knox Smith, president of the Connecticut League, was her traveling companion and one of the speakers at the meeting. Mrs. Dietrich herself devoted the talk she gave chiefly to the World Court. Mrs. T. J. Mabry, Democratic chairman of the Albuquerque League, introduced the speakers, the list of whom included Mrs. John W. Murphey, of Santa Fé, who described the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Rome last summer, which she attended as an alternate member of the National League delegation.

THE Larchmont (New York) League has had what the *Weekly News* of the New York League calls "its dress rehearsal for getting out the vote." On a recent Friday evening one of the "town fathers" telephoned to the leader of the local League, Mrs. Gridley, to ask her whether the League would take the responsibility of getting property owners out to vote on a bond issue and other questions, the following Monday. Mrs. Gridley accepted the challenge, and early Saturday morning called up five interested women, asked each of them to telephone to five others, and start an endless get-out-the-vote chain. Larchmont is a suburb and though polls are usually kept open till eight in the evening for the convenience of commuters, nobody has paid much attention to elections in Larchmont. Twenty votes have been known to be enough to settle important questions, and the record vote was forty. The work of the League leader and her League helpers resulted in a vote of two hundred when the polls

closed on Monday evening. An increase of five hundred per cent over the highest prior record is an achievement any League may be proud of.

THE Yonkers League made March 7 "Citizenship Day" and held an afternoon and an evening session at the Woman's Institute. Mrs. Jules Hart presided at the afternoon session and after the mayor had greeted the audience in the name of the city, the Westchester County supervisor, Mr. William D. Cameron, of Tuckahoe, spoke on the importance of government through parties; Mrs. Daniel O'Day, Democratic state committeewoman, on primaries; Mr. William J. Wallin, of the County Planning Commission, on "Our New County Government"; Miss Florence Harrison, secretary of the second region, on "The Special Function of the League of Women Voters," and Miss Esther Lape, director of the American Bok Peace Award, on "The Importance of Citizenship Training." Mrs. Caspar Whitney, vice-chairman of the state League, presided at the evening session and the speakers were: Mr. Lamont Lodge, superintendent of the Yonkers schools, whose subject was "Citizenship Training in the Schools," and Mr. J. Henry Scattergood, first chief of the Friends' Reconstruction Service in France, who talked of European conditions and the opportunity of America.

THE living costs conference at the Buffalo convention will be directed by the new chairman of the committee, Mrs. Harris Baldwin, of Washington, D. C. Mrs. Baldwin is a graduate of Teachers' College, Columbia University, New York, and is president of the Women's College Club in Washington. For three years before her marriage in 1922 she traveled through many parts of the country doing organization work for the Department of Agriculture, visiting all of the states but six and coming to know town and country women alike. Mrs. Edward P. Costigan, who has been obliged to resign the chairmanship of the Committee on Living Costs because of illness in her immediate family, has turned her program over to her successor, Mrs. Baldwin, and the officers of the League feel that the League is most fortunate in being able to secure a chairman who can be trusted to keep the committee work up to the exceptionally high standard Mrs. Costigan has set.

THE February meeting of the Reno (Nevada) League was the largest of the winter and was the first at which the new president, Mrs. Wayne T. Wilson, presided. She made a stirring address on the value of League membership, urging women to study issues before the country and to acquire a national rather than a local viewpoint. An interesting event of the meeting was a debate on the Mellon tax plan, Mrs. H. G. Spann speaking for it and Mrs. Frank W. Patrick against it. It is planned to have debates at subsequent meetings. The judges were Mrs. William A. Shockley, director of the seventh region, Mrs. M. Walser, and Mrs. Luther V. Bates. Sentiment of the members present was about equally divided.

IT was on St. Valentine's Day that the United League of Rhode Island ended its fund raising which was carried on after a plan suggested last fall by Miss Katharine Ludington, national treasurer. The United League set out to raise \$1,800 from "smaller subscriptions from many people rather than large subscriptions from just a few." A great chart was prepared, showing forty "blocks" at \$25, fifty at \$10, and sixty at \$5. Members of the League took blocks and raised the money in various ways to fill their quota. As each block was subscribed, a blue star was pasted on it and everybody who visited headquarters had opportunity to watch the progress of the campaign, which moved smoothly under direction of Mrs. James E. Cheesman, president of the League and chairman of the finance committee. The work began early in December and a party on St. Valentine's Day to all those who had taken blocks celebrated the completion of a successful campaign which had no overhead expenses.

MARCH 15 was the date on which voters were "made" in Connecticut. The "to be made" list in West Hartford, or in less technical language, the number of persons eligible for registration, contained more than 4,000 names, and of these names 2,200 belong to women. The League in West Hartford organized a motor corps of nearly fifty women to bring voters in to be "made," sent a notification by postal card to every woman in the list, and on registration day four women sat at telephones in four designated places so that would-be voters who by any chance had not been called for could ask transportation to the town building and place of registration. The plan for the day's work originated with Mrs. Ivor Lundgaard, chairman of the Committee on Legislation.

"THE Outline of Government in the United States," the League's booklet by Raymond Moley and Helen M. Rocca, is rapidly becoming a standard work for the use of women who require a condensed, clear and unbiased study manual. Among the recent purchasers of the booklet in quantity is Mrs. E. H. Harriman, who bought many copies for the use of members of the League of Republican Women of the District of Columbia.

THE guest of honor at the February 21 luncheon of the Pierce County League in Tacoma (Washington) was Mrs. Henry Landes, member of the city council of Seattle, who was introduced by Mrs. Paul A. Tilmont, president of the League. Mrs. Landes gave an eminently worth hearing talk on her own special problems and the general problem of public office.

IN co-operation with Western Reserve University, the Cleveland League held a school of politics and government in Florence Harkness Chapel, College for Women, March 14 and 15.

The Department of Political Science of the university furnished several speakers and a distinguished guest who addressed the evening session was Major General Henry T. Allen, chairman of the American Committee for the Relief of German Children.

ON Thursday, March 6, the Saratoga (New York) League and Skidmore College held a school of citizenship. Miss Gertrude Ely, director of the second region, discussed the work of the National League and Miss Kathryn Starbuck the legislative program. The president of Skidmore College, Dr. Robert Dexter, was one of the principal speakers. The evening session was a dinner at the Worden Hotel. The mayor of Saratoga Springs presided and Mr. J. Henry Scattergood gave an address, "The European Deadlock and America's Opportunity."

IN Los Angeles League women have adopted a sticker stamp which bears the words "Register and Vote," and they attach it to checks, letters sent out, and to anything else on which it may properly find place.

MRS. GERTRUDE D. BUNKER, president of the Hawaii League, has resigned because she and her family are returning to the United States to live. Until the annual meeting in May, Mrs. J. Placidus Morgan is acting president.

THE Wayne County (Michigan) League is campaigning for 10,000 members, and Miss Julie Russell is chairman of the membership committee. Miss Russell has appointed a central committee to go out into the various districts of the city and form sub-committees so that every woman in every precinct may be reached. Miss Elizabeth Cleveland has been made head of a committee to reach the teachers of Detroit and Miss Ann Sprague has charge of the work of interesting foreign-born women.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

New Candidates

THE names of women candidates keep coming in. In Nebraska Dr. Jennie Callfas is the first woman to have her name printed on the ballot for National Committeewoman. While Dr. Callfas served as committeewoman at the Democratic National Convention in San Francisco in 1920, she was elected by her state delegation and her name did not appear on the ballot. If Dr. Callfas is victorious at the election on April 8, it will be the first time in Nebraska that the rule of fifty-fifty representation is applied.

From New Orleans, Louisiana, comes the news that Mrs. Genevieve Clark Thomson has qualified as a candidate to succeed the late Congressman Garland Dupré. Mrs. Thomson is a daughter of the late Champ Clark, Democratic leader, so long Speaker of the House, and has the backing of his followers. She is opposed by Miss Florence Huberwald, who is backed by the independent organization.

Mrs. Florence Fifer Bohrer, of Bloomington, Illinois, is looking for nomination on the Republican ticket for the state senate. The women's organizations of her district are backing her.

In Cedar Rapids, Iowa, Miss Effie Cherry is standing as candidate for mayor. Miss Cherry is one of the famous Cherry Sisters vaudeville trio. Her platform includes strict law enforcement.

On the Isle of Guernsey

THE Channel island of Guernsey has its own government independent of Great Britain. Thirty-six members of the fifty-four in its governing body are either life members or members elected indirectly for each sitting of Parliament; only eighteen are directly chosen by the people. Therefore, the recent election of Miss M. L. Randall as one of the eight members representing the town of St. Peter Port is to be heralded as a real victory for women. Besides being the first woman to hold office, Miss Randall secured second place on the roll.

Judge Allen's Suggestion

AT the recent annual convention of the Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association, Judge Florence E. Allen, who is well known to CITIZEN readers and the first woman elected to a supreme court bench, urged a systematic education for world peace in every public school.

Judge Allen believes that scientific study of the cause and effect of war, and daily textbook reading on the methods of prevention would outlaw war in one generation.

Happenings in Nebraska

FROM Nebraska comes interesting news about Mary Peterson, who was elected mayor of Red Cloud in 1921. When Miss Peterson took office the city was \$45,000 in debt, and had an additional \$3,000 back interest to pay. Now the entire amount has been settled, and the city records are clear.

The state has also made a forward step by its effort to elect a woman regent of the State University. Mrs. Fred M. Dewese, who formerly taught at the University, has filed for the regency.

The press is recognizing women, too. Mrs. Marie Weeks, of Norfolk, is the first woman to head the Nebraska Press Association. The secretary is Miss Naomi Buck, of Harvard.

For Policewomen

A TRAINING course for policewomen executives is being offered by the New York School of Social Work, in cooperation with the American Social Hygiene Association. The course opens March 24; it gives the general equipment necessary for protective and other social work with the delinquent classes, furnishes special information and training on the organization and function of the police, on the place of the policewoman in the organization, and on the field and technique of her work. A limited number of scholarships are available. Further information can be obtained by writing the New York School of Social Work, 105 East Twenty-second street, New York City.

Another interesting event in the police force of New York is the appointment of Mary E. Hamilton as director of the city's policewomen, about one hundred in all.

A Union Woman

HERE'S another union which has opened its doors to women. Mrs. Clara Fargo Thomas, a New York mural painter, now holds a card in the scene painters' union. She is another "first."

The New Joan of Arc

MISS WINIFRED LENIHAN, who takes the part of Joan in Bernard Shaw's "St. Joan" now playing in New York, has been presented with

the Gold Medal of Joan of Arc by the Joan of Arc Statue Committee. The Honorable Gaston Liebert, Minister Plenipotentiary of France, presented the medal, which had been blessed by Archbishop Hayes. Pope Pius XI, Marshal Joffre, Marshal Foch, Premier Poincaré, Rene Viviani, General Henri Gouraud, Military Commandant of Paris, Admiral de Bon and M. A. Croizeau, Mayor of the City of Blois, have received the medal in the past.

Australia's Council

A COUNCIL of Jewish Women has been established in the city of Kogarah, New South Wales, Australia. For two years Australian women have been receiving literature from the National Council of Jewish Women, and they have formed their council along the lines of the American organization.

Mrs. Nolan's Second "First"

MRS. MAE E. NOLAN, Republican Congresswoman from California, has another pioneer achievement to add to her list. She is the first woman to be elected chairman of a congressional committee, serving as head of the committee on postoffice expenditures. Mrs. Nolan's nomination was confirmed by a unanimous vote.

In Tribute

THE death, on February 16, of M. Eleanor Brackenridge, one of the pioneer suffrage workers, will be mourned by many. During her long life—she was over eighty—Miss Brackenridge took an active interest in education, and in women's and children's welfare. She organized the Women's Club of San Antonio; founded the San Antonio de Bexar Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution; was honorary president of the Texas Mothers' Congress; one time state president of the Texas League of Women Voters; worked for prohibition. She established several scholarships at the College of Industrial Arts, and was constantly helping girls who wanted a higher education. Texas paid tribute to Miss Brackenridge by lowering the flag to half-mast above the Capitol.

Margaret Slattery

MARGARET SLATTERY, who has done so much writing and lecturing for young people and is known as the "greatest friend of girls", is sailing for Glasgow early in June, to speak at the World's Religious Education Convention, July 18-26.

For Law Enforcement

IN the last CITIZEN we mentioned the National Law Enforcement Convention to be held in Washington, D. C., April 10-11, under the auspices of the Women's National Committee for Law Enforcement, 302 Ford Building, Boston, Massachusetts. Every woman's organization—state and local—is urged to send delegates. The committee suggests that the expense can be offset by its special offer for "Save America," its 25-cent booklet.

The committee is working hard to secure votes in the presidential primaries—in states that have them—for "dry delegates" to the national party conventions, in order to make sure of a "dry" plank and a "dry" President. It has been making a drive for a letter campaign asking Congressmen to vote for various prohibition measures, such as appropriations to increase the Coast Guard to fight rum-running, and the placing of prohibition agents under Civil Service; and against the readmission of wine and beer. Another feature of this campaign is to secure, before the regular primaries, a statement from every candidate of his stand on prohibition.

A Suggestion

HOW about an evening with the WOMAN CITIZEN? Mrs. Anna Vaupel Erricson put before the members of the Twentieth Century Club of Forest City, Iowa, a program which proved so interesting that the meeting lasted an hour past the regular time of adjournment. Briefly, the program was something like this: The meeting opened with a song. Then an article was read from an issue of the CITIZEN and discussed by the members. Another article was read, and discussed, and so on. Aside from being flattered, the hopeful sign we see in it is that the extra hour was taken up in a discussion of the World Court and the League of Nations.

Recognition

FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS is the annual recognition which the Pictorial Review, through Ida Clyde Clarke's page, offers to the American woman who makes the most distinctive achievement, through individual effort during the preceding year, in the field of art, industry, literature, music, the drama, education, science, or sociology. Organizations or individuals may make recommendations, which must be in the hands of the Pictorial Review Achievement Award Committee by September 1 of each year. The object of the award is to bring the creative work of women active today to the attention of the country, to relieve the too frequent financial strain, and to present to the public the intimate, human stories of women who achieve.

Washington

(Continued from page 10)

country. He defended the President with tears in his throat against Senators who would try to involve him in the present oil investigation and besmirch his high office. He held the Presidency before the upper house as something which no man ought to impugn, a sacred trust. And yet a man in the gallery with only a short, cursory memory cringed from his inconsistency, remembering the bitter, cruel and unconscionable things said day after day for months during the political defeat of Woodrow Wilson and his foreign policy, an attack there on the Senate floor which passed far out of the realm of pure politics into a personal slander coupled with sneers, innuendo and wild accusations.

Are we reaping the result of the unrestrained and lack of control indulged in at that time?

Whatever the reason, Washington is all out of step. The imperturbable President sent a short and pointed message to Congress asking immediate action on the tax legislation even if it necessitated the laying aside of all other business. It was received with coolness and prompted an answer this morning that his request probably would not be granted.

When the Republican legislative program first included the tax reduction plan, the response from the country was so hearty that it was evident that the more immediate the reduction the better. Liberals and others began to talk about some retroactive clause in the bill which would refund some of this year's income tax about to be paid. The development from this was a definite proposition to reduce this year's income taxes by twenty-five per cent. This has been before Congress, but, alas, the course of the oil and all the other graft investigations has made it impossible, so leaders now state, for the Congress to pass the necessary legislation before the fifteenth of March.

Secretary Mellon has just gone to the Capitol to appear before the Finance Committee of the Senate to protest against provisions in the tax bill as it was passed by the House and is now in the Senate. It was a compromise bill, it will be remembered, with which Mr. Longworth succeeded in a masterful way in obtaining the support of the liberal faction which had been siding with the Democratic opposition. Secretary Mellon's viewpoint is that of the housekeeper who has to provide enough money to pay the household bills for the coming year; therefore, any bill which does not assure that much revenue for his fundamental demands raises his ire. He is depending upon the Senate to bring out a tax bill more in conformity with his original recommendations. It

must be voted upon in the Senate, then go to conference in which members of both houses will participate. Important legislation always has a long road to travel—and then may be vetoed in the end by the President, which some say President Coolidge will do in this instance if the bill does not meet his ideas of what it should be.

The state of *cordiale* between Congress and the White House just now is none too good. However, Congress is more or less hysterical—and the President is still cool. He has become more and more sure-footed. His conferences with correspondents show that he has a firmer grasp of his problems. He speaks without vagueness and directly to the point, as if the work in hand were clear and definite in his mind.

The President has not been complimented down here over the developments of the Denby situation, resulting in the departure of the Secretary of the Navy this week for his former home. Secretary Denby was unusually popular with the Navy. Whether he was so genial and placid that the technicalities of the Navy bothered him not at all and were wisely left to the old experienced Navy staff who knew better anyway, and that made him desirable in their eyes, there is little means of finally judging; but the emotion and demonstration for him when he resigned were more than generous. The Navy gave him a great send-off and for the first time in many political seasons the high-ranking officers of the Navy speak mournfully of the departed.

It was considered that President Coolidge did not stick by his guns. Hardly a fortnight before Secretary Denby handed in his resignation the President had said that he would listen to no resignation as a result of the oil disclosures before investigation of the accusations that had been made. Secretary Denby sent in his resignation and the President promptly accepted it. The tender of the post to former Senator William S. Kenyon, of Iowa, was particularly favorably received. Judge Kenyon finally told the President that he felt he was not entirely fitted for the Navy post and would have to decline. It was a disappointment to his friends, but they are now wondering whether he will not make a better Attorney General than Secretary of the Navy. As a matter of fact, former Senator Kenyon is the type of man the Attorney Generalship would seem exactly to fit. The President has named a Californian, Judge Curtis Dwight Wilbur, as the new Navy Secretary and has received his acceptance. The Secretary was Chief Justice of California and was graduated from Annapolis.

Last week the President received his instruction from Congress to the effect that he might tell the Secretary of the Treasury in turn to instruct the Internal

Revenue Commissioner to let committees of Congress or authorized members of Congress inspect the income-tax returns of individuals under investigation, which would apply to the income-tax blanks of former Secretary Fall, Edward L. Daugherty, H. F. Sinclair, Attorney General Daugherty and others whose affairs are under Congressional scrutiny. The President sent Congress its come-uppance in reply by stating that in the opinion of the Attorney General this could not be done, but that the President would confer with the Secretary of the Treasury to see what change could be made in the regulations so that if income-tax blanks had to be examined, the rules would permit. In other words, the President would not be stampeded into a course of action which would lay the government open to a complex of difficulties along this line.

The investigation of Attorney General Daugherty and the administration of his office has begun, in accordance with the resolution of Senator Wheeler, with Senator Brookhart, the radical, occupying the chair and the old stand-patter, Senator Moses, of New Hampshire, sitting next to him like the cloud before the storm. Another example of the reverse gear. The resolution offered by Senator Wheeler, of Montana, one of the liberal group, specified the personnel of the committee, and Senator Lodge, majority leader, was powerless to defeat the precedent-setting provision. He was in high feather over the effrontery of the Senator from Montana in naming the members of the committee in the original resolution. But the Montana Senator was as insistent that this investigation should not be whitewashed by a committee not disposed to search to the bottom of the Attorney General's affairs. Therefore Senator Brookhart, the new man, whose experience in the upper house has been limited to a few months and whose elevation to this important chairmanship gives the whole radical bloc satisfaction.

The first strike of the investigating committee was to hear the divorced wife of Jesse Smith, Mr. Daugherty's bosom friend, who committed suicide. Mrs. Smith recounted a tale of stocks dealt in by her former husband and Mr. Daugherty, stocks which she intimated were not paid for but were some form of graft, which keyed the investigating room to such a confused state that few knew what was the whole purport of the testimony, particularly when the lady stated that her former husband before he died told her what to tell and what documents to reveal, what documents to destroy and so on, expecting such exposure.

The details of present investigations are so petty, so sordid and significant of the big outstanding fact of the unfitness of some men for public trust, that one

(Continued from page 10)

Wheeler resolution for an investigation of the Attorney General and his office.

Introduced in the House

By Representative Kvale, Minnesota, bill requiring persons possessing liquor to report same to the Internal Revenue Commissioner, and for levying taxes on private stocks.

Legislation in several bills authorizing light wine and beer, with the provision that possession, sale, manufacture and transportation be confined to the states which so authorize by legislation.

By Representative Garrett, Democratic leader, proposition for an investigation of the statement by a Chicago Grand Jury that "two members of Congress had improperly accepted money in connection with securing paroles and pardons of persons convicted of crimes."

By Representative Snyder, chairman of the Indian Committee, bill placing Indians under the jurisdiction of civil and criminal laws.

Passed by the House

Resolution instructing the Department of Justice to proceed with an investigation of the charges made by a Chicago Grand Jury against two members of the House.

Bill for the acceptance of the offer of Henry Ford to purchase and develop the government's nitrate plant at Muscle Shoals, Alabama.

Resolution for an extensive investigation of the United States Shipping Board by a special committee.

need only wait for some decision which will start a new political cycle. Why fill your nose with smells?

The main activity of the members of the Cabinet now consists of testimony before investigating and other Senate committees, or of long detailed reports in answer to peremptory requests in congressional resolutions. The Federal Trade Commission, worn out by these inquiries and demands for reports, has advised Congress that it has no more time nor money to pursue them further. Secretary Mellon, overburdened with the stress of his office, has to spend a great deal of time before one committee or the other at the hill. Congress has just passed a resolution for another wide-open investigation of the United States Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation. If other legislation goes through, the office of the Commissioner of Internal Revenue will go under the investigating hammer.

Senator Couzens, of Michigan, has introduced a bill under which Cabinet members could sit on the floor of the Senate and the House and be ready to answer inquiries, or defend their policies, somewhat according to the English parliamentary system. This, of course, would be a radical change in our form of government. Europeans say that it does not solve the problem of the conflict between the legislative and the administrative branches of government. Some members of Congress undoubtedly believe it would help the present situation, which is that of almost open antagonism between the two.

As I write, the House has passed the Garrett resolution which calls for an investigation by the House itself into the evidence found by the Chicago Grand Jury implying that two members of the House, whose names were not given, had been guilty of receiving bribes from persons whose cases were before the Department of Justice. This was a sudden reversal, for the House for some days has been inclined to leave the matter in the hands of the Attorney General to develop. In the meantime, the House is getting ready to bring out a soldier bonus bill, and the regular appropriation measures are lagging.

The Senate oil investigation has proceeded, but without developments of importance, with the exception of the furore made by any reference to or inclusion of the name or office of President Coolidge in the affair. President Coolidge is in the mean position of having inherited the trouble from a Republican administration. It was handed to him tagged as his own official business whether he wanted it or not. He is bound to take notice of it; it relates to his own official family. On the other hand, if he does take notice, if one telegram goes from his office to any of those concerned, he is likely to be charged with conspiracy. He can only grow more and more silent. He has no other recourse.

The investigating committee may get something of importance from the testimony of Leonard Wood, Jr., who upset things by stating that oil interests tried to influence General Wood's candidacy at the last presidential convention. But for the most part the committee has been skimming a lot of irrelevant matter and hearing a well-frightened witness, Edward B. McLean, the owner of the *Washington Post*, who came from Florida and testified that he had previously told the committee that he loaned the mysterious \$100,000 to Albert B. Fall because his old friend, Mr. Fall, had asked him to say so. How he regretted telling the lie! He said he felt more sorry for himself than he did for the committee. Senator Lenroot, the chairman, has broken down in health due to the strain and resigned from the committee. His place has been taken by Senator Ladd, of North Dakota—another victory for the radical bloc.

A woman at the hearing turned to her neighbor the other morning filled with indignation at some of the evasive answers of witnesses, and thinking she would stir up a little corroboration of her wrath.

"Every one of them is lying," she stated with finality. "And, see that man there, the one testifying now, he is the worst liar of them all."

The man on the stand was her neighbor's spouse. However, that is about the way you feel about it in the investigating room.

Cantilever Stores

Cut this out for reference

Akron—11 Orpheum Arcade (Main & Market)
 Albany—Hewitt's Silk Shop, 15 N. Pearl St.
 Allentown—H. Mayer, 907 Hamilton St.
 Altoona—Bendheim's, 1302 Eleventh Ave.
 Asheville—Pollock's
 Atlanta—126 Peachtree Arcade
 Atlantic City—2019 Boardwalk (near Shelbourne)
 Baltimore—325 North Charles St., (2nd floor)
 Bangor—John Connors Shoe Co.
 Berkeley—The Booterie
 Binghamton—Parlow City Shoe Co.
 Birmingham—215 North 19th St.
 Boston—109 Newbury St. Cor. Clarendon St.
 Bridgeport—1025 Main St. (2nd floor)
 Brooklyn—316 Fulton St. (Primrose Bldg.)
 Buffalo—641 Main St. (above Chippewa St.)
 Butte—Hubert Shoe Co.
 Canton, O.—H. M. Horton Co.
 Cedar Rapids—The Killian Co.
 Charleston, S. C.—J. F. Condon & Sons
 Charleston, W. Va.—John Lee Shoe Co.
 Charlotte—226 North Tryon St.
 Chicago—10 E. Randolph St. (Room 502)
 Chicago—1850 Leland (near Broadway)
 Chicago—835 E. 61st St., Cor. Drexel Ave.
 Cincinnati—The McAlpin Co.
 Cleveland—1785 Euclid Ave.
 Colorado Springs—Wulff Shoe Co.
 Columbus, O.—104 E. Broad St. (at 3rd)
 Dallas—Volk Bros. Co.
 Dayton—The Rike-Kumler Co.
 Denver—224 Foster Bldg.
 Des Moines—W. L. White Shoe Co.
 Detroit—41 E. Adams Ave.
 Duluth—107 W. First St. (near 1st Ave. W.)
 Elizabeth—288 North Broad St.
 Elmira—C. W. O'Shea
 Erie—Weschler Co., 910 State St.
 Evansville—North Shore Bootery
 Evansville—310 So. 3rd St. (near Main)
 Fall River—D. F. Sullivan
 Fargo—Hall-Allen Shoe Co.
 Fort Wayne—Marthias App's Sons
 Fort Worth—Washer Bros.
 Grand Rapids—Herscheidt Shoe Co.
 Greenville—Pollock's
 Hagerstown—Bikle's Shoe Shop
 Harrisburg—26 No. 3rd St. (Second floor)
 Hartford—Trumbull & Church Sts.
 Haverhill—McGregor's, 21 Washington Sq.
 Holyoke—Thos. S. Childs, 275 High St.
 Houston—265 Foster-Bank Commerce Bldg.
 Huntington, W. Va.—McMahon-Diehl
 Indianapolis—L. S. S.
 Ithaca—Rothschild Bros.
 Jacksonville—Golden's Bootery
 Jersey City—Bennett's, 411 Central Ave.
 Kalamazoo—The Bell Shoe House
 Kansas City, Mo.—300 Altman Bldg.
 Kingston—E. T. Smith & Son
 Knoxville—Spence Shoe Co.
 Lancaster, Pa.—Boyd's, S. E. King St.
 Lawrence, Mass.—C. H. Meers & Sons
 Lewiston—Lamey-Welchman, 119 Lisbon St.
 Lexington, Ky.—Denton, Ross, Todd Co.
 Lincoln—Noyes Bros. Co.
 Long Beach, Calif.—Farmers' Bank Bldg.
 Los Angeles—305 New Pantages Bldg.
 Louisville—Bentley Shoe Co.
 Lowell—The Bon Marche
 Lynchburg—Isbell-Bowman Co.
 Madison—Family Shoe Store
 Mansfield—Brownell Shoe Co.
 Memphis—28 No. Second St.
 Milwaukee—Brommer Bros. Co.
 Minneapolis—25 Eighth St. South
 Mr. Vernon, N. Y.—A. J. Rice & Co.
 Nashville—J. A. Meers & Sons
 Newark—297 Broad St. (2nd floor)
 New Bedford—Olympia Shoe Shop
 Newburgh—C. A. Van Buren
 New Haven—153 Court St. (2nd floor)
 New Orleans—109 Baronne St. (Room 200)
 Newport, R. I.—Sullivan's, 226 Thames St.
 New Rochelle—Ware's
 New York—14 W. 46th St. (opp. Public Library)
 Norfolk—Ames & Son
 Oakland—516-15th St. (opp. City Hall)
 Oklahoma City—The Foot Shop
 Omaha—1786 Howard St.
 Pasadena—375 E. Colorado St.
 Paterson—10 Park Ave. (at Erie Depot)
 Peoria—Lehmann Bros., Room 203
 Philadelphia—1300 Walnut St. (2nd floor)
 Pittsburgh—The Rosenbaum Co.
 Pittsfield—Wm. Fahey, 234 North St.
 Plainfield—M. C. Van
 Portland, Me.—Palmer Shoe Co.
 Portland, Ore.—353 Alder St.
 Poughkeepsie—Louis Schenberger
 Providence—The Boston Store
 Reading—Sig. S. Schweriner
 Richmond, Va.—Seymour Sytle
 Roanoke—J. Bachrach Shoe Co.
 Rochester—257 Main St. E. (3rd floor)
 Rockford—D. J. Stewart & Co.
 St. Joseph, Mo.—216 N. 7th (Arcade Bldg.)
 St. Louis—316 Arcade Bldg. (opp. F. O.)
 St. Paul—41 E. 5th St. (Frederic Hotel)
 St. Petersburg—W. L. Tillingshast
 Sacramento—208 Ochsner Bldg., K near 7th
 Saginaw—Gouchel-Kulper Co.
 Salt Lake City—Walker Bros. Co.
 San Diego—The Marston Co.
 San Francisco—Phelan Bldg. (Arcade)
 Santa Barbara—Smith's Bootery
 Savannah—Globe Shoe Co.
 Schenectady—445 State St.
 Scranton—Lewis & Reilly
 Seattle—Baxter & Baxter
 Shreveport—Phelps Shoe Co.
 Sioux City—The Pelletier Co.
 Sioux Falls—The Bee Hive
 South Bend—Ellsworth Store
 Spokane—The Crescent
 Springfield, Mass.—Forbes & Wallace
 Stamford—L. Spelke & Son
 Syracuse—121 West Jefferson St.
 Tacoma—255 So. 11th St. (Fidelity Trust Bldg.)
 Toledo—LaSalle & Koch Co.
 Topeka—The Pelletier Store
 Trenton—H. M. Voorhees & Bro.
 Troy—35 Third St. (2nd floor)
 Tulsa—Lyon's Shoe Store
 Utica—28 & 30 Blandina St., Cor. Union
 Washington—1119 F. Street (2nd floor)
 Wheeling—Geo. R. Taylor Co.
 Wichita—Rorabaugh's
 Williamsport—John B. Irvin
 Wilmington, Del.—Kennard-Pyle
 Worcester—J. C. MacInnes Co.
 Yonkers—22 Main St.
 Youngstown—B. McManus Co.

Agencies in 425 other cities



The Cantilever Shoe and your Pocketbook

Prices Are Reduced So That Many More People Can Enjoy Cantilever Comfort

AMERICAN women have responded with enthusiasm to the idea of comfort and flexibility in a good looking shoe. They have helped us to make the Cantilever Shoe an outstanding success. Year after year the sales of the Cantilever Shoe have been increasing in volume. To merit a still larger sales increase this year and to make the healthful benefits of these comfortable shoes available to an even greater number of people, we have substantially reduced the prices of all Cantilever Shoes.

Although Cantilever Shoes are now being sold at a new low price level, there has been no change in their quality. The same fine leathers, excellent workmanship and remarkable service will continue to be distinguishing features of Cantilever Shoes. We have not lowered the quality. We have not reduced wages. We have simply lowered prices to such a degree that we believe Cantilevers have been made the most economically priced high grade shoes on the market. It is our conviction that most women will appreciate economies in footwear, and that increased demand will justify our lower prices.



Growth of Cantilever Shoes

Cantilever Shoes have become successful because busy women really need a shoe that will help them. The growth of the Cantilever idea has been most gratifying during the past four years. In 1920 Cantilevers were sold by sixty scattered stores. Today stores in five hundred and sixty-five cities are selling the Cantilever Shoe in ever increasing quantities.

Happiness and better health are awaiting you if you have never worn the Cantilever Shoe. The flexible arch of the shoe liberates the muscles of the foot and permits them to strengthen through exercise. (It is upon the foot muscles that the strength of the arch depends.) The natural lines, the well placed heels and the pleasingly rounded toes all contribute to the wonderful comfort of the Cantilever. And there is gentle, restful support for a weak foot, too. The snug, flexible arch of the shoe holds the bones of the arch up without restricting the foot muscles like metal arch supports.

Cantilever Shoes are made in attractive models. There are pretty pumps in one-strap, two-strap and twin-strap effects, trim oxfords and swagger sport shoes. Moderate heels in several styles add to the comfort as well as the good looks of Cantilevers.

Men's Cantilever Shoes also are reduced in price.

If none of the dealers at the left is near you, write the manufacturers, Morse & Burt Co., 8 Carlton Ave., Brooklyn, N. Y., for the address of a Cantilever dealer who is more conveniently located.



Cantilever Shoe

for Men and Women

The Bookshelf



By
M. A.

MORE exciting than any novel are four books which lie demurely on the shelf, holding within their sober covers more wealth and thrilling treasure than the pirates ever hid. You can't take it into your hands, and watch it spill through your fingers, but you can take it into your mind, turn it over and over, blink at its lights and its possibilities, and gasp at the miles, millions, and centuries which it opens before you.

The first is James Harvey Robinson's *"Humanizing of Knowledge."* He wrote it under the stimulus of fundamentalist debates, and laws which denied evolution. He considers the vast body of scientific knowledge of all sorts, all the things which scientific workers have learned about the world we live in, and the way we act in it. And he says that we haven't kept up with our own discoveries, and that each of us "suddenly finds himself a bewildered actor in a new drama where he must learn his part all over again on pain of disastrous failure in his appointed rôle." Mr. Robinson's plan is no less a thing than the introducing of laymen to modern knowledge and modern knowledge to laymen.

That means two things, persuading the scientist to give up some of his vast stores to the common light of day, and encouraging writers and teachers to be interesting enough to catch and hold an amount of attention proportionate to the value of the special treasure of knowledge they are imparting. The book is small, stimulating, and thought provoking, and forms an excellent footnote to his larger *"Mind in the Making."*

Almost as though it were written under the stimulus of those suggestions is George Humphrey's *"Story of Man's Mind."* The author is a professor at Wesleyan University, and the book makes one want to go and listen in on

his classes. He starts with the most elemental bit of life, a jelly-like amoeba, and analyses the powers it hasn't, and how it gets along without them. Then he tells of more and more complex creatures, until he reaches the brand-new baby with his heritage of instincts and abilities suddenly loosed in the astonishing environment of the nursery. From there he tells the story of unfolding minds, with all their adjustments, their mistakes, and their successes. A chapter on mental testing gives one simple form of that fascinating measuring stick, and explains why the results of the army tests aren't as devastating as they sound. The book is written simply and clearly, with enough comparisons and genuine humor to keep a lay reader from feeling awkward in the vast realms of psychology, and enough genuine scholarship to make him sure he is not reading that bane of all young sciences, "fake stuff."

There is some fascination about intelligence testing, finding out what really lies in peoples' minds, that has always pursued us. If you are interested in it, you will want to read Rudolf Pintner's book which he calls *"Intelligence Testing."* He gives a comprehensive survey of the whole movement in education, and tells of tests for school children and college students, and the beginnings of those divining wands for job fitness, the vocational tests. His last chapter, on the inheritance of intelligence, ends with these measured words, revolutionary for education and society if their meaning were realized.

"A child's abilities are determined by his ancestors, and all that environment can do is to give opportunity for the development of his potentialities. It cannot create new powers or additional abilities. This, then, is the main function of education, to measure the inherited capacities of the child, and to so arrange the environment as to give full opportunity for all those capacities to develop to the uttermost."

Do you know the fun of chasing a word, finding out where it came from, what people first used it, how they came to make it up, and why it has lived? Then you will enjoy Otto Jespersen's *"Growth and Structure of the English Language."* He is a professor in the University of Copenhagen, and first wrote the book in Danish, translating it later into English. He is so ardent an admirer of the language which we use that his enthusiasm for such an everyday affair is strange and interesting. First analysing the character of English as it exists today, he then starts as far back as philologists can and traces it from its parent Aryan, showing what conquerors did to it, and what it sometimes did to them. An excellent index refers back to individual words whose history he gives. The book is another of those chests of knowledge, whose treasure is illumined by the enthusiasm and vision of the author.

Revamping

(Continued from page 12)

comes feasible. Such grouping has, moreover, the added advantage of relieving the pressure upon the chief executive and to a considerable degree it makes responsibility something more than a name.

Nevertheless *function* is not the only factor which must be taken into consideration. All other things being equal it should, perhaps, be the determining one. However, the efficient use of *equipment* should receive attention. The relation of the postal savings bank to the post office affords an excellent example of a situation in which organization by function would have been disastrous. Although no common purpose is served by these two units of administration, nevertheless the existence of post offices everywhere which could with little or no trouble add a postal-savings window made it expedient to abandon the principle of organization by function and follow the dictates of equipment. Thus the postal-savings banks became an adjunct to the post office, and properly so. This is possibly the most striking example of organization according to this principle; nevertheless, this factor must always be taken into consideration in any plan of organization. And where the saving effected through organization upon this basis more than offsets the losses caused by the abandoning of the first principle, needless to say this latter principle should be followed.

Not so important, nevertheless well worth mentioning, is the possibility of

The Humanizing of Knowledge, Doran, 1923, \$1.50.

The Story of Man's Mind, Small, Maynard, 1923, \$3.00.

Intelligence Testing, Holt, 1923, \$2.50.
Growth and Structure of the English Language, Appleton, 1923, \$2.00.

PRIZE CONTEST

The *Woman Citizen* will give the following cash prizes for the best essays on *Is Woman Suffrage a Success or Failure in Your Town—Why?* written by girl students in any High School or Private School of same standing:

First Prize, \$50.00

Second Prize, \$25.00

Third Prize, \$10.00

The essays must be from 600 to 1,000 words in length.

The writer must not sign her essay, but her name and address and the name of the principal of the school must be placed in a sealed envelope accompanying the manuscript.

Essays must reach the office of the *Woman Citizen* by June 15, 1924.

Judges will be announced later.

During this contest special class room rates of 5 cents per copy will be given for ten copies or more of the *Woman Citizen* sent to one address.

Address Prize Contest, the *Woman Citizen*, 171 Madison Ave., New York

organization according to service. When numerous contacts are to be had with the public, it is sometimes desirable to avoid confusion by creating a special "contact office" which may handle within it many unrelated functions.

But, says the reader, if the Federal Government has been organized along these principles, why has there been all this talk about reorganizing the Federal service? The reason is that in part these principles have been departed from, and that in part what was organization upon a sound basis at the beginning has been made unsound by changing circumstances. For example, the public health service of the United States developed in the Department of the Treasury for a very sane reason. The customs officials were the first to board incoming ships and they were therefore the first to discover cases of contagious disease. What was more reasonable in the early days of the health service when its chief duty was quarantine than to place it in close contact with the treasury officials so that they might turn over to it all cases of contagious disease which they discovered? As the service has developed, however, and as it has gone into other lines of activity, some question has arisen as to whether its place in the Treasury Department is most conducive to efficiency. The growth of other welfare activities on the part of the Federal Government has furthermore intensified the question. The result is that a separate Department of Education and Welfare is now being urged.

Cutting Out Waste

Administrators are likewise beginning to question the efficiency of a plan of organization that includes in the Treasury Department such obviously non-fiscal services as the Coast Guard, the Supervising Architect's office and the Bureau of War Risk Insurance. They wonder whether the maintenance as independent institutions of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Lakes Survey and the Navy Hydrographic Office—all engaged in making marine surveys—does not mean a duplication of work and equipment to some extent, and needless overhead expense.

The difficulty of maintaining the hierarchical organization, desirable though it may be, is seen in the recent development in the Federal service of independent boards and commissions. They vary in size and importance from the Interstate Commerce Commission to the Commission for the Standardization of Screw Threads. Some of them are justified in their status no doubt; others are not. They are due in great measure to the fact that the Federal Government is but now entering upon new fields of activity.

It is impossible, however, to eliminate all duplication and all overlapping by any system of organization. Every de-

partment, however organized, must purchase supplies; many must liquidate stocks; all must occupy office space, and many must use motor transportation. Hence an overlapping of functions is bound to occur. To minimize waste in this regard the Federal Government has recently inaugurated a system of liaison officers and coordinating boards which may very well be exemplified by the states. At present these agencies are eight in number.

A Good Federal Example

The first is the Federal Purchasing Board, which is made up of the chief purchasing officer of each department and a chief coordinator appointed by the President as Chairman. Its functions are to prevent competition between the different departments and, wherever possible, to effect the economies of large-scale purchasing. The Federal Liquidation Board has been organized upon the same principles for the sake of coordinating the sales of the large surplus stocks the departments have accumulated. It is no longer the practice of any department to dispose of its stock without reference to the needs of others. The custom of doing so resulted at the close of the war in the purchase of goods from one department by speculators who sold them to other departments at enormous profits. Supplementing these boards are the *corps area coordinators*, who locate and inspect surplus stocks, and supervise the purchase functions of the several departments and establishments in their respective geographic areas.

The surveyor general in his turn determines in what manner and to what extent the premises of the Government of the United States outside the District of Columbia shall be occupied and used by the various departments and bureaus. He may assign and reassign room in such a manner as seems to him conducive to the utmost efficiency.

A Federal Motor Transport Agent has been created for the purpose of introducing flexibility into the assignment of motor vehicles to the departments. It was discovered that the rule of *absolute fixed assignments* was working a hardship upon the Government. The motor transport of a department might well be overtaxed when there were motor vehicles standing idle in another department. Civilian trucks were frequently being hired when a department was confronted by an emergency when the same service could have been performed within the limits of the Government service itself. Thus a saving in this respect is looked for. The overlapping of service and duplication of effort are nowhere more apparent, however, than in the conduct of traffic. Through the Federal Traffic Board's efforts, a considerable saving in the Government's \$200,000,000 traffic bill is anticipated.

Finally a Specification Board has been established. The duty of this board is to compile and adopt standard specifications for materials and services, and to bring specifications into harmony with the best commercial practice wherever conditions permit.

These coordinating agencies have been found exceedingly useful in the Federal Government and the states and counties would do well to follow the example there set.

But what has all this to do with me? asks a reader. If you are so fortunate as to live in a city, and a county, and a state which have been reorganized along modern lines—nothing, except that perhaps you might lend your support to such Federal reorganization as seems necessary. If you do not live under the jurisdiction of units properly organized one of the chief tasks that confronts you as a citizen is to see to it that your government is so organized. For only by such a reorganization can responsibility be expected, and economy and efficiency achieved.

The next—and final—article will tell how the Government gets its employees.

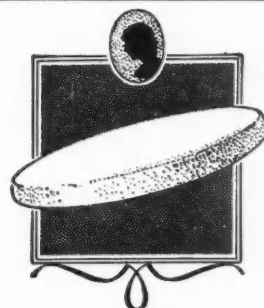
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The Pre-School Child

By Gulielma F. Alsop

PHYSICIAN AT BARNARD COLLEGE

IN a recent survey of the twenty-three million school children of America, the appalling finding of nineteen million suffering from malnutrition ought to shock the public into realizing the necessity for health-teaching and health-training. Malnutrition means not only that a child is thin, but that all the tissues of its body have been partly starved, resulting in preventable defects and avoidable infectious diseases.

When the child reaches school age, it is put through a regular physical examination by the school doctor and nurse, but until then in many families it exists uncharted and unsupervised. When it reaches the doctor, flat feet, knock knees, spinal curvature, running ears are the kind of defects he usually finds—all preventable, all avoidable by scientific feeding.

The hiatus between the baby clinic and milk station and the school physical examinations covers four of the most important years of a child's life. In this time it is in its mother's sole care, and this is the period when undernourishment is most characteristic.

But the children of the wealthy as well as the children of the poor suffer during these years. The cause is not poverty but ignorance and neglect and sloth. The sheer physical fact of motherhood endows no woman with the knowledge of how to bring up her child, any more than the sheer physical fact of hunger bestows an instantaneous skill in cooking a course dinner. Both professions have to be learned. In no other walk of life except the home does a

woman get and keep a job without some definite technical preparation.

The dangers of the pre-school child are twofold—disordered growth, and infection. The body changes that result in rickets and its deformities and the stunting of the whole skeleton, are direct nutritional defects from wrong and insufficient food. The susceptibility to infectious diseases in early childhood depends upon the child's nutritional resistance. These infectious diseases—measles, mumps, whooping cough, scarlet fever, diphtheria, infantile paralysis—are far more fatal in early childhood than later. A child should be most carefully kept away from infection until it has strength enough to overcome an attack of the disease, that is, until it is at least eight years old.

The duty of the mother, then, to her child, is to see that it grows adequately. To do this she must have some standard to judge by. She must know the proper height and weight for a child of a given age and sex. She can't just guess that Mary is all right; she must know. This means she must have read and studied; she must have at least one or two reference books on the health of the child; and after she has her standard, she must be content with nothing short of filling it. She will, of course, discover that what the child needs is fruit, fresh vegetables, and raw milk in great abundance; meat, eggs and cereals in moderation.

Many a mother knows these facts but is unwilling to put them in operation partly on account of expense, and partly on account of the time and trouble it often takes to make children like the

proper food. In *Hygeia* for March (a magazine of community and personal health published by the American Medical Association) there is a very interesting article on devices that have been used to make children like the right food. It was found that by utilizing the instinct to excel with a definite stated goal ahead, as a given weight, a thin child can easily become interested in seeing how soon it can gain; how many glasses of milk a day it can drink. Also by utilizing the instinct for hero-worship Little Johnny can become avid for his spinach, which has made the football captain so strong.

Nutrition depends not only upon what is eaten but upon how the body assimilates what is eaten. Even with the most scientifically trained taste, a child may yet be stunted in growth and deficient in vitality because the food eaten is not assimilated.

The assimilation normally depends upon the amount of exercise and fresh air, the amount of sunshine, and the amount of sleep the child takes. A pre-school child should sleep ten hours a night. It should have a regular bedtime hour, and be put to bed at that hour. It should lie down from half an hour to an hour in the middle of the day. The rest of its time should be devoted to playing out of doors. Muscular training is the only education which the pre-school child needs.

In order to avoid infections until its resistance is increased, children should be kept out of all crowded places, as street cars, subways, movies, church socials, etc. This comparative isolation and quarantine of the pre-school child will be a great factor in the decrease of children's deaths.

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Policewomen

(Continued from page 15)

help of the police department, the juvenile court, the community recreational service leagues and the cooperation of every intelligent citizen can safeguard the boys and girls as far as it is humanly possible; she can make the slipping down hill as hard as it can be made, and accomplish the pull-back to self-respect, and some understanding of moral responsibility as certainly as it can be accomplished.

You can't get boys and girls to act as wholesome, self-respecting individuals until you can get them to think as such; and it takes a woman of training, tact, sympathy, unlimited understanding and experience to get into the minds and hearts of young people and build there the right and strong ideas about life and their own responsibility toward it.

A Line on the Movies

By Beth O'Brien

AMERICA, produced under the personal direction of D. W. Griffith, from the story by Robert W. Chambers, is a stirring depiction of the Revolutionary period. The episodes have been chosen with the idea of showing the sacrifices made by the people and the hardships they endured, rather than as a chronological record of this war. There are some very pathetic incidents, and others that rouse your patriotism, the ride of *Paul Revere* inspiring perhaps the most enthusiasm. Lionel Barrymore is a truly villainous *Walter Butler*. Don't let the children miss it—they will love it.

WILD ORANGES—released by Goldwyn, directed by King Vidor, from the story by Joseph Hergesheimer. This is the psychological study of a young girl who has inherited a morbid fear. She has grown up in an isolated section of the South with her grandfather as her only companion. The captain of a sloop which has been cruising in nearby waters rescues her from her latest cause of fear, a half-witted giant, who bullies her. An unusual feature of the picture is that there are only five actors in the cast. This allows the story to be told in a simple way.

DAUGHTERS OF TODAY—distributed by Selznick. Here is the story of two girls at college in a big city; one leaving her simple, hard-working parents on the farm for the lure of jazz and parties, the other a city girl whose father showers her with money so that she will leave him free to pursue his own pleasures. The little country girl is caught in the whirl of modern life, but after an unpleasant experience decides to return to the country and her rural swain. As entertaining to see as jazz is to hear.

THE SONG OF LOVE—released by First National, directed by C. Franklin and F. Marion. This is adapted from Margaret Peterson's novel, "Dust of Desire." It is a fiery drama of the desert sands of Africa, with Norma Talmadge as an Arab dancing girl and Rudolph Schildkraut as a French spy in the guise of a chieftain. The pulsing atmosphere of the desert is vividly reproduced.

Cuba

(Continued from page 14)

eigner to guess what the future may hold for them, but the fact that they are already better united than the women of most of the South American republics holds much promise.

It would be pleasant to tell of luncheons in old Cuban houses, of drives through the Vedado, which is the most beautiful of city suburbs, of the quantities of outdoor roses which greeted us everywhere, and most of all, of each of the women who were such delightful

hostesses. But black words on white paper are lifeless things, and it is better to wish that you, too, may go to Havana, and meet the able women in whose slender hands lies the future destiny of Cuba.

Is Suffrage Failing?

(Continued from page 9)

responsible for anything outside their own households. Naturally, it is hard to get them to accept responsibility for something which will affect a state, or the entire nation.

"And that is true right straight through the whole social organization. Women prominent in public affairs, holding party positions, accepted as leaders, will say, 'Oh, yes; I believe in this measure of yours. I think it's fine in principle, and that it will be practical in application. But my party doesn't agree with me. And I can't do anything about it for you. I must abide by the rulings of my party'.

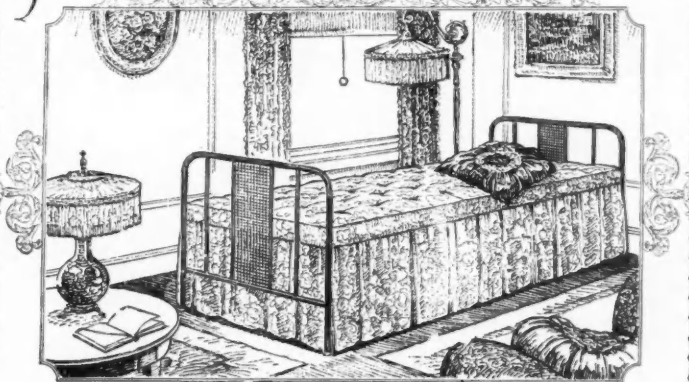
"We need rebels within the parties, women who won't 'follow the leader', who are independent thinkers, and are not afraid to follow up their thoughts with their actions. And the parties need those rebels within their ranks if they are going to save their own flickering lives.

"At the other end from the leaders are the masses of working women, and the wives of working men, who stand, not by their party, but by their customs. They don't vote, they don't know anything about political affairs, and no one has shown them any reason why they should learn.

"The only thing that can touch the huge, unleavened mass of tenement women is some system of block education, such as was carried on in the suffrage fight. Then we went from house to house, we climbed those long flights of stairs, and brought the women into temporary contact with the campaign. But suffrage was won, and the tenement women dropped back into their own neighborhood life. Their feeling in regard to politics is always typified for me by the answer of a woman who had stood in Union Square watching a suffrage parade. Stooped with work and weariness, she leaned on the handle of the baby carriage while two children scarcely old enough to be out of it clung to her skirts. I asked her if she was interested in suffrage. She shook her head. 'No. I haven't any time to go into society'.

"There's one very important thing that should be done immediately. We ought to send the right kind of women to the Legislature. I wish a non-parti-

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san committee could be formed to name six women to be elected next year. They should be capable, independent, of known ability, able to form a woman's bloc, or to lead action on individual measures. And I would have all the organizations concentrate on the election of these women, and keep close in touch with them during their terms. It would be valuable to see what they could do, and perhaps more interesting to see what they couldn't do, and why. They would get

enough publicity to reach a lot of apathetic women voters, and they would have a salutary effect on the legislators. They would be trail blazers for the right kind of women in political life.

"Would I give up the vote? Never. Absolutely not. No matter how poorly the mass of women use it, we are all better off with it than we were without it, and if what I suggest were done, untold benefits would come to all through woman's vote."

The interviews presented in this symposium were secured by Mildred Adams, Emma H. de Zouche and Frances Drexley McMullen.

In the next few numbers the symposium will be continued, with such names as Vira Whitehouse, Richard Washburn Child, Zona Gale, Rose Pastor Stokes, Dr. Charles H. Parkhurst, etc., etc. And in the very next number Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt will answer the article by Mr. Russell in the March Century, "Is Woman Suffrage a Failure?"

Our Readers Say—

Look back at Mrs. Schoonmaker's article, "Can We Get What We Want?" in the February 9 CITIZEN before reading this.

THE matter of how we can get into the World Court has been much in my mind and I had come to just the opposite conclusion from Mrs. Schoonmaker's.

This is how I had figured it: Let the Bok peace plan and everything else educational go ahead full steam, but without reference to the campaign, unless people who are positively on the inside in both parties know that planks can be asserted in both platforms.

When someone is safely in for four years and the sound and fury is passed, bring all the pressure of opinion to bear on a Congress which is not committed either way and so is open to argument.

As Mrs. Schoonmaker has clearly shown, this is not a partisan question, nor even a highly controversial one—just a little advance in the development of international law. No reason why the Western farmer should be greatly stirred up over it either one way or the other! Mrs. Schoonmaker is stirred up. So am I. But I am not sure that the best way to get it is to make it seem so tremendous.

In the suffrage campaign days I early found it the most telling line to show what an easy, natural next step we were asking. Can't we get the country to slip into an acquiescent mood on this thing?

(MRS.) FRANKIE G. MERSON.

Keuka Park, N. Y.

One of many who comment on this subject:

I NOTICE in the WOMAN CITIZEN of December 29 an editorial entitled "The Pitiful Cost of Furs". The question is asked: What will women do about it? My idea is: Reform the youth through education and the adult by legislation.

Very soon I shall present our Representative of West Virginia a bill providing for humane education in the schools. (There are twenty or more states having humane education as part of the school curriculum). Since there is appropriate literature for such training, in my opinion much good can be done.

Inasmuch as Mr. Edison suggests to the Gas Division of the War Department to make an experiment by attaching a bag of poison gas to the trap, we might write letters to the gas division as individuals or organizations urging this trial.

I hope the WOMAN CITIZEN will continue to give much publicity to the subject.

V. M. W.

Bluefield, W. Va.

Letters agreeing and disagreeing with James M. Wood's "Challenge" article are coming in. Here's a disagree-er.

DOCTOR WOOD insists, in the February 23 WOMAN CITIZEN, that no "educational institution is attempting, even remotely, to serve the needs of woman or promote her welfare." Translated into traditional masculine discontent, this probably means that no college is training its women to be cooks and nurses! Perhaps no college is actually conducting a nursery, a meat kitchen or department store in connection with its academic curriculum. We are ready to admit that no girl can learn to tend a baby unless she actually tends a baby! nor can a girl prepare a meal unless she actually prepares many meals. But what mother would send her daughter to college to diaper babies and scrape pans? Besides, would such courses graduate expert cooks and nurses? I am inclined to suspect that such courses would eliminate all natural desire ever to become a wife and mother.

Doctor Wood claims that woman's superiority or contribution to history are essentially emotional, spiritual values, and that colleges, as man-made institutions, do not develop such attributes. What will? Lecture courses in domestic science or home economics will greatly aid an intelligent and normal girl when she has become a wife and mother. They may even qualify her spiritual values. The instinct of wife and motherhood buds in every girl. But these spiritual values can only be developed completely through experience. And what these experiences are going to create is dependent in no small degree upon the broad and liberal intellectual opportunities permitted woman in college. Educate the whole woman—if a desirable wife and mother are to be the consummation.

(MRS.) CLOVER HARTZ SEELIG.

St. Louis, Mo.

Any Other Remarks?

THE article in your February 23d issue on "Birth Control," by Margaret Sanger, is a wonderful and irrefutable exposition, full of meat, commonsense and truth.

CHARLES H. V. LEWIS.

California Senate.

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII

APRIL 5, 1924

Number 23

News Notes of the Fortnight

Summed up from many sources

More Election Straws

GEORGIA, North Dakota and South Dakota have joined the lists of states from which delegates to the national conventions have been chosen. In Georgia Mr. McAdoo won a victory to balance Mr. Underwood's in Alabama, each man carrying his native state as candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. In North Dakota and South Dakota presidential preference primaries, interest centered in the Republican contest. Hiram Johnson fell behind President Coolidge in North Dakota; more than that, he fell below Senator LaFollette, even though LaFollette's name was not regularly entered and had to be affixed to the ballot by stickers. In South Dakota Mr. Johnson won a few more delegates than the President; he has been making considerable stir over the lavish expenditure of money which he charges characterized the Coolidge campaign.

During April the selection of delegates will go forward briskly—in some states by presidential primaries, in some by other means. Here is the calendar of primaries:

New York and Wisconsin....April 1
MichiganApril 7
Illinois and Nebraska.....April 8
New Jersey and Pennsylvania..April 22
Ohio and Massachusetts.....April 29

Don't fail to vote in your primaries, if you have any.

Meantime, the probable leader of the third party movement is ill with pneumonia. One statement has been made by Senator LaFollette from his sickbed—that if Republican party and platform at Cleveland are deeply conservative he will bolt. His strength, and the strength of the third party protest, is such that political prophets say he could probably carry six states—and throw the election into the House of Representatives.

Exit Mr. Daugherty

AT last Harry M. Daugherty has resigned as Attorney General of the United States, on the request of the

Very Briefly

Poland is greatly dissatisfied with the plan for settlement of the Memel controversy decided on by the League of Nations Committee of which Norman H. Davis was chairman, and may reject it. The claim is that Lithuania, which seized Memel last year, gets too much advantage.

W. P. G. Harding, who was expected to become the Financial Governor of Hungary under the League of Nations loan arrangement, has declined the office.

The United States Government has prohibited the exportation of arms to Honduras, where civil war is in progress.

Senator Borah has again (March 27) offered a joint resolution in the Senate requesting the President to call a combined economic and disarmament conference. It specially calls for limitation of aircraft, submarines and war craft of less than 10,000 tons.

Ireland has recently broken out again—which seems a great pity. The immediate trouble was a machine-gun attack on English soldiers by men in Free State officers' uniforms, in which two were killed and about twenty wounded. The Free State Government denounced the outrage and attempted to find the murderers. Back of this lies a mutiny in the national army, some of whose leaders seem to be really DeValera men.

President. The decisive action followed a request by the investigating committee for certain Department of Justice files. Mr. Daugherty meant to refuse, and Mr. Coolidge made the point that the Attorney General's official functions were affected by his personal interest in the matter, causing "embarrassment."

In a return letter, Mr. Daugherty challenged the grounds given by Mr. Coolidge, and defended his course in having stuck to his post under fire. More and more scandalous testimony had preceded this final action, all tending to show the bad grade of the Attorney General's associates. The most recent story, offered by Captain S. L. Scaife, former agent of the bureau of investigation, was one that involved Daugherty's office in a plot to block prosecution of alleged war frauds in connection with aircraft.

Who next? is the natural question. Secretary Mellon, if Senator McKellar of Tennessee has his way, with his pro-

posal to see whether the Secretary of the Treasury holds office legally, in view of the fact that he has an interest in commercial enterprises. But the Democratic reception to this proposal is not at all cordial, and it will probably drop.

Oil

PROMINENT among the fortnight's events in the oil investigating committee room was the appearance of Harry F. Sinclair, and his refusal to testify because his case was already in the courts. He was cited by the Senate for action by a grand jury on a charge of contempt. Mr. Will Hays, who was chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1920, also appeared, to answer the report that Mr. Sinclair had paid \$75,000 to the 1920 campaign fund in oil stock. He admitted the \$75,000 was paid, but in money, not stock! Clarence C. Chase, Fall's son-in-law, and Collector of Customs at El Paso, refused to testify and may be impeached.

Poincare—Out and In

COMMENT on the motives and the effect of Premier Poincaré's resignation last week is varied; but no one, at any rate, thought for a moment it meant his retirement. As in England, the Government is expected to resign if it is defeated on a measure it has made a vote of confidence, especially if the bill is important. The measure on which M. Poincaré's defeat came was a rather unimportant and technical matter; but he resigned at once. There was no question of calling any one else to head the Government, and he consented promptly to form a new Cabinet.

In it only two of the former Ministers are retained, and the rest are carefully chosen to balance oppositions. On the whole, it is considered a shrewd political move, calculated to increase the Premier's strength, as the double crisis of elections and the presentation of the Dawes report approaches. But it has apparently had the effect of lessening the Premier's popularity.

Formal announcement has been made that there will be no change in policy.

The Dawes report may come almost at once, or there is a chance that it may be delayed until after the elections in Germany. There are rumblings from Germany that the terms are too difficult to be acceptable, and corresponding rejoicing in France. It is pretty well understood that the Morgan loan, which had strings attached, was made on the condition of French acceptance of the Dawes report, as well as the condition that France must pay higher taxes and balance her budget.

Immigration Changes

WHAT, if anything, is to happen about immigration? The House Immigration Committee has reintroduced the Johnson bill into the House, only slightly changed. The only concession to the Japanese agitation against the provision excluding all who are ineligible for citizenship is that a clause now permits them to come in and remain indefinitely on special business missions.

But this bill, which makes the quota two per cent on the census of 1890, in order to limit immigration from South-eastern Europe, may perhaps be displaced in the House by the immigration bill of Senator Reed (Republican, of Pennsylvania), which has been reported to the Senate. It makes the quota two per cent based, as now, on the census of 1910, and it is said to have Administration backing. It does not contain the Japanese exclusion clause.

The Reed measure prescribes a new method of consular visa checks intended to prevent recurrence of overfilled quotas and deportations. The annual quota would be divided into twelve monthly parts.

Greece—A Republic

ANOTHER king definitely off his throne. The Greek National Assembly has dethroned King George, already in temporary exile, and proclaimed a republic. A national plebiscite to determine what form of government shall rule Greece is due to follow, but no one supposes there is any chance that the ill-fated Glücksburg dynasty will be recalled. Since the disaster in Anatolia a military oligarchy has practically controlled Greece, and since the return of Venizelos the republicans have insisted on the overthrow of the Glücksburg dynasty first, plebiscite afterward. Though it had a parliamentary majority, the Kafandaris Constitutionalist Government, which succeeded that of Venizelos, was overthrown on this issue. Kafandaris refused to hold a conference with a group representing the army on the ground that a political discussion could not be held with army officers.

The Child Labor Bill in Action

COMMITTEES of both the House and the Senate have just reported favorably upon a proposed child labor amendment to the Constitution, the Senate following the wording of the Foster House bill, which makes eighteen years the age limit for Federal control. The prospects for the bill are considered brighter in the House than in the Senate. It is expected to come up promptly in the House and a canvass indicates the probability of a few more than the required two-thirds majority. Delay is predicted in the Senate.

A recent report of the Children's Bureau, on 1923 statistics, shows twenty-nine out of thirty-four cities with increases in the number of children under sixteen who entered employment for the first time. In nineteen cities there was an increase of twenty per cent, while in nine the increase was fifty per cent or more. Here is the direct, concentrated answer to the opponents of the measure.

Now is the time to write your representatives.

The Bok Prize Vote

FINAL results of the Bok Peace Prize referendum have been announced. Only 610,558 ballots were voted. Of these, 534,177 were for the winning plan and 76,381 against it—a percentage of 87½ for and 12½ per cent against. Every state was represented in the vote, as well as the Virgin Islands, Hawaii, Alaska, Porto Rico and the Philippines. The vote was smaller than had been hoped and expected; but of course the vote does not represent the activities of discussion and debate that spread from the prize offer. The best results are not measurable.

Twenty of the plans are being published in book form. Among the authors are Dr. Charles W. Eliot, David Starr Jordan, Manley O. Hudson, Bishop Charles H. Brent, Gutzon Borglum,

Cleo Damianakes, whose blithe Impromptu on our cover is one of a series of etchings of musical moods, is a slip of a girl whose slim youth might be the model for her own graceful dancers. Graduated from the University of California, in 1918, she won the Taussig scholarship in art, which gave her a year of study in New York. On her return to California she was commissioned to decorate the auditorium of the Berkeley High School. From mural work she turned to etching, and so sure was her touch that the first four etchings she printed were accepted for exhibit in 1921 by the California Society of Etchers. The next year she won the Logan medal of the Chicago Society of Etchers. The National Academy has accepted her work for exhibition ever since she started to etch. She has a particular facility for grace and beauty of line which should stand her in good stead in the color work she plans to do.

Simeon Strunsky, and Dr. M. Carey Thomas.

The Bonus

THE House of Representatives passed the bonus bill by a vote of 355 to 54 in forty minutes. How much sincere conviction is represented in the vote and how much lack of courage, it would be idle to guess. The estimates of the cost of the bonus made by actuaries of the Treasury and by actuaries of the American Legion differ widely; but in any case the cost is likely to be two billion or more, and it promises a burden passed down through generations. The present measure includes an insurance feature rather than a cash bonus for those who served more than 110 days.

The problem is now up to the Senate, and it is expected to have attention ahead of tax legislation.

A Labor Party Problem

ONE of the hardest problems so far for the British Labor Government has been the Singapore Naval Base. This base was decided on by a preceding administration as a defense against Japan—or that, at any rate, was considered to be its reason for existence. It was heartily defended by the Admiralty against the opposition which arose at once. The Labor Party, committed to disarmament policies and friendly foreign relations, disapproved the plan, but the Conservative opposition was so strong that Mr. MacDonald dared not risk defying it and had to restrain the more radical wing of the party. When the navy appropriation bill was recently introduced in the House of Commons, however, announcement was made that the Government would not proceed with the naval base program, believing it would have a bad effect on foreign policy. "We stand for a foreign policy of international cooperation through a strengthening and enlarged League of Nations," said Mr. MacDonald, "which will make possible a comprehensive agreement on elimination of armaments. The task can be achieved only by allaying the international suspicions and anxieties which exist today."

The Tax Seesaw

NO answer yet to the question, Will the taxpayer get relief any time soon, or not? After the House suddenly and unexpectedly passed the Longworth compromise measure, the Senate Finance Committee switched back to the Mellon plan. It is just finishing the work of revising schedules—restoring rates to offset the deficit which Mr. Mellon assured it the Longworth bill would produce. Meantime, early returns from the income-tax payments indicate a greater source of revenue there than had been estimated.

April 1, 1924.

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Study

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

March 27, 1924.

DNCE in a while down here, figuratively, some window opens through which there is a startling view of American politics. Interspersed with the fortnight's political round, your correspondent has been reading General Allen's "My Rhineland Journal." Now it could not be supposed that every one interested in national politics would want to wade through these six hundred pages of diary transcript, relating in great part to the technicalities of the Rhine occupation by allied troops—although it will be fascinating to some. Nevertheless, there is one of the political lessons of the ages bound up in its intimate personal reactions.

Here was one of our finest soldier-statesmen, a hardened, tactical, firm, matter-of-fact old soldier placed in a position where he was obliged to be diplomat par excellence in what was virtually an enemy country. He was far away from the United States in a valley where the isolation of Washington ought to have been obvious, if anywhere. But every day's journal in an unselfconscious way reflected the effect of the slightest turn in American politics upon that part of Europe and its affairs, not upon its theoretical affairs but its humanities, its money, its food, its government, the health and welfare of its families, the children, men and women.

Our Foreign "Observers"

This may sound remote from the record of Congress today. Your correspondent feels it closely at hand. Foreign embassies and legations are sending "unofficial observers" to these hearings and political melodramas at the Capitol. They sit near the front with set faces. Whatever are they thinking of the scene? What can they report to their chiefs? Of what they report, what kind of official letter is sent back to Europe

as indicative of the trend of American politics? And what is the net impression upon Europe of our present doings?

Let us try to look at ourselves as part of the whole. Little is said here these days about the labor government in England. We are too wound up with what Mr. Sinclair and his millions will do next. At dinner tables, one hears that America forgets in her carelessness that although Mr. MacDonald represents the laboring people of Great Britain he is not "rough." His wife, these Britishers constantly remind us, was one of the Gladstones, and above and beyond that distinguished birth, a woman of the greatest ability and extraordinary charm, to whom the whole country pays homage and respect, having erected a monument to her memory and placed her upon a pedestal of esteem. They may add that in their belief the labor government will not last beyond next August—that is a matter of political conjecture, but don't make mistakes about the MacDonald family, even to the present young hostess, who, Washington thinks, is attending to her work very fitly indeed.

Conservatives in both the old parties here are not happy in dwelling upon the labor success in England, for it is too keenly allied to what may happen in this country at the next election. It is idle to depreciate the gains made by our own liberal and radical factions. Liberals have not had such an inning in American politics in the history of the country. The cartoonists and jokesters who have been feeding upon Senator LaFollette and his bushy hair for the past ten years, and upon Debs and Gompers and the rest, have run to cover, for the point of their jibes is a little too real to serve cartoon purposes. About the only results that Congress has been able to put upon the record have been brought about by the liberal groups. The Senate Interstate Commerce Committee reports in favor of the reduction of freight rates this week—

another leg in the progressive program. Senator Johnson makes gains in the South Dakota Republican presidential primary. Senator Norris's resolution for a constitutional amendment changing the date of the convening of Congress and the inauguration of a President gains support. The liberals are running the most important hearings that are being conducted today, having secured the chairmanships of the investigating committees.

Liberal Wave Coming?

A little more rottenness in the old parties emerging on the surface, and liberals will only have to call "all good men to come to the aid of their country" to effect a new alignment. It would be following the present world cycle that the United States should join other countries in a wave of liberalism after a period which went to the other extreme in an attempt at isolation and retention of an old status in a new world. Only a little more momentum in Congress and throughout the country for the liberal program and it will carry itself, for the psychology of "Nothing succeeds like success" is more true in national politics than in any other branch of American life. The Republican reaction to the Wilsonian doctrine at Versailles was so profound and extensive a success that it ran itself into extravagances, just as a liberal program would do if there were nothing added to human experience and wisdom in the meantime.

But at this stage, there is an invaluable opportunity for women. Factions and sects are nebulous. There are many lines of demarcation in the progressive groups; a few want a near-soviet; some a powerful central government Socialist control; others the enactment of a liberal program and a renaissance within the old parties which will make over our political foundation into a more constructive and forward-looking machine; some an out-and-out labor party or labor

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Is Woman Suffrage Failing?

Of course it is too soon to answer the question. We admit it. Only those who fought for suffrage on the theory that it would bring the millennium need be on the defensive. We didn't. Yet it is a worth-while question to ask, we think. Attacks are being made on women's use of their votes, gloomy doubts expressed; many friends of suffrage even are uneasy. With so much smoke, it may be well to hunt around for a bit of fire. Besides (we uncover our motive) nothing can be better for women in political activities than a challenge. This is one reason why the Citizen is collecting the opinions of a wide variety of people to present in successive numbers. In this issue you have a former suffrage leader, a university president, a prominent Socialist, a caretaker, a political worker with distinguished connections, and a young actress. We are seeking out farmers, working girls, policemen, preachers, miners' wives, senators, for later numbers. And short letters of comment from our readers will be welcome.

Vira B. Whitehouse

"One thing disappoints me—the lack of women leaders."

Mrs. Whitehouse, society and business woman, was the leader of the New York State suffrage campaign which made the Federal victory possible.

"AM I disappointed in the results of Woman Suffrage? It is said that a large proportion of women do not vote—a larger proportion than of men. I do not know if it is true or not. I am not interested and I am not surprised. I was not one of those who worked for woman suffrage because they felt that women were better and wiser than men, and would, ballot in hand, at once make a better and wiser world.

"I think those who expected such results missed something of the enormous significance of the achievement. It is the future effect that appeals to me—the effect on our daughters and granddaughters, on women on into the centuries.

"We all know women who feel their inferiority to men. The acceptance of such inferiority has paralyzed the ambitions of women, it has barred us from interest in political, financial and other questions that men have considered their own. It is no wonder that women, who have grown up and have grown old accepting exclusion on such grounds, should not have interest in voting now. I believe that woman suffrage will do as much as any combination of other opportunities to free the women of the future from this paralyzing sex inferiority complex, and will give the world a self-

respecting, intelligent, free womanhood.

"There is little danger that the women of the future, growing up in an atmosphere of equality, will not avail themselves of their right to vote, as men do now.

"But there is one thing in the aftermath of the suffrage agitation that does disappoint me. It is the lack of women leaders. The suffragists, in the long struggle for the vote, built up a trained and cohesive organization. With suffrage won, it was plainly a waste to abandon this organization of politically experienced women.

"So some of us (I was not one) saw the opportunity to stand together and

work for the things they all believed in.

"But what has been made of it? It is true that the political education of women, child welfare and social legislation—indisputably fine and necessary things—have been endorsed and worked for. But has not the opportunity to lead in the thought of our day been missed by the great independent, trained women's organizations? When great controversial questions have come up, like the League of Nations, for instance, has there been a conscientious effort to discover the real attitude of the women of the organizations? It seems to me that such questions have been side-stepped as gracefully as possible. With

no axes to grind, the organizations have had an eye to prestige, just as if they were men politicians in a presidential year.

"In our suffrage campaigning days we all knew women of an older generation who had had the courage to break from convention and go to college, who after that one courageous act had stood pat all the rest of their lives and, in our day, were anti-suffragists. Is it possible that some of our suffragists, after having defied convention and become suffragists when it needed courage, are going to stand pat now, all the rest of their lives and take no chance with other forward steps? Must we look to the younger women for the courage of leadership—or will some of the experienced women open their eyes once more and lead us courageously on into the future? With the exception of a few great ones, they have not done so yet, and it is time that they should."



Mrs. Norman deR. Whitehouse
Former Suffrage Leader

Winifred Lenihan

The star in Bernard Shaw's "Saint Joan" sees no millennium through suffrage, but considerable individual advantage.

WINIFRED LENIHAN slipped off the robe of *Saint Joan* and came to earth with a plunge, as she delved into the intricacies of the woman-voter question while removing makeup in the star dressing-room.

"Woman's suffrage is not a cause of anything and should not be looked upon that way," Miss Lenihan declared, as she rubbed and rubbed. "It is an effect, the outcome of the great change in women's status that has altered her attitude toward men, toward work, toward life. It is evidence of how far woman-kind has progressed.

"In the days of the fight I was much



Winifred Lenihan
Actress

excited over woman's suffrage, waved the yellow flag and all that. But about the time we got the vote I went into the theater, and have been going lickety-split ever since. I did take time out this year, though, to join the National Woman's Party. All along I have never felt we could accomplish any great thing as women. It was the right and the principle that mattered. It seemed so ridiculous that only half of our population should be citizens. But as for women effecting any sweeping changes as voters—that's all bunk. They are much the same as men in that respect.

"Still, now at least women are able to accomplish their own ends directly. They don't have to work in and out, through the men, as they used to. They can go on their own. I was reading the other day how Florence Nightingale, that wonderful woman of genius, could

approach the committees of the House of Commons only through some man as representative. Fancy such a thing today!

"Possession of the vote has certainly changed the attitude of politicians toward women. Now we have a power that stands for something. To many women this makes a vital difference. I am thinking of my mother, who is a widow. Some years ago she had a little house that meant a great deal to her; but it was taken over her head. The lease was only verbal. Because she was a woman they took full advantage of their legal right. Today her situation is quite different. With five women's votes in the house and the landlord a rising politician, she gets every consideration.

"Women take far more interest in what is going on in the world. I am particularly impressed by the fact that some of the very women who work hardest at politics now are the ones who howled most against suffrage. They were the conservative women who declared that the vote would weaken their position, double the ignorant vote, and all that. But when they got it, they considered it their duty to pitch in and work. Their attitude, of course, is consistent; but it is striking in view of the fact that many of the most arduous suffrage workers have lapsed into inactivity."

Some of the "interviews" have come in by letter, in response to a list of questions. Here are the answers of Dr. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard, whose ninetieth birthday has just been celebrated by the whole country. His "main fact" about the woman vote is that there isn't much of it.

"I ANSWER the questions contained in your letter to me dated March 1, 1924, as follows:

"What difference has the woman's vote made to you? None.

"Do you know of any (sure) evidence that the vote has—or hasn't—made any difference among the people you know? No.

"In the country at large? No.

"Are the political parties any better since women entered them? Not to speak of.

"Do women discuss public affairs? Yes. Among themselves, as formerly.

"Do they vote independently of their husbands? Impossible to tell.

"Is there any evidence that the men politicians are afraid of women's influence? Only on prohibition matters.

"The main fact about the woman vote seems to be that only a small proportion of the women vote in most American communities."

Charles W. Eliot

Mrs. R. F. DeCallies

Housekeeper and caretaker of a city apartment house gives us an answer of valiant simplicity and directness.

"I HAVE never voted and probably never will, but that is because I have not studied public questions. A woman who does not study should not vote, nor should a man who does not study. But the vote has been a wonderful thing for women in general, and it has made some women think. And it has given every woman a better frontage. I mean she turns a better front to the world, and she is more on her own feet."

Rose Pastor Stokes

"The real issues are class, not sex, issues."

A prominent Socialist, Mrs. Stokes presents a Socialist point of view in answering the same questions as Dr. Eliot.

"I CAN only think of the value of the vote in its relation to the women of the farms and of the working class. Though its value in arousing consciousness is undoubted, I have no illusions as to its ultimate value at the ballot-box. I am convinced that when



Rose Pastor Stokes
Social Worker

the masses demand fundamental change under the increasing pressure of unbearable living conditions, the propertied interests, through their fascist organizations, will meet that demand with violence. The ballot, in other words, will be knocked from their hands by the club or the butt of a gun.

"Conditions among the farmers are worse than they've been in decades. The working masses in the cities are exploited more bitterly than before the war. The ballot can help them today only if they are powerfully organized and demand through their organizations a workers' and farmers' government.

"Political parties are expressions of class interests, not of struggle between sexes. The old parties, which are the

parties of property, may incline men to use more polite language at party meetings, now that women have entered them, but this does not alter the class character of their programs.

"In public discussion more women today participate, but I find they line up according to class interest exactly as men do.

"Where it is a question of the two old parties, such differences as exist between husband and wife cannot be serious. Usually the two have a common class outlook. It is only in those extremely rare cases where the two are divided in class outlook and class interest that truly independent voting can be said to take place.

"Men politicians are not afraid of women's influence because they happen to be women. Where women are radi-

cal, politicians are worried. But they equally fear radicalism in men. In other words, the real issues are class, not sex, issues."

Mrs. Walter Damrosch

Being the daughter of James G. Blaine, the wife of the famous conductor was brought up on Republican politics. She is a leader of the insurgents who are carrying on a spirited fight in New York's "silk stocking district."

THE vote has meant more to women than the woman voter has as yet meant to politics, in the opinion of Mrs. Walter Damrosch. But the very development that suffrage is working in women must eventually be of great benefit to the community, she declared, as our conversation in the inviting library of the great conductor's home came to a close.

"I think already women in politics have exercised a wonderful influence over men. When I first came to New York nothing impressed me so much as the lack of interest men took in politics. I was horrified to find that election days were looked upon as general holidays. The first thing a man tried to do was to get out of town for the day. I was accustomed to looking upon voting as something for which one would cross half the country. I recalled my brother traveling all the way from Minneapolis to Maine just to cast his vote.

"When women entered politics, even those who resented having the vote thrust upon them took much more interest. By simply observing them, the men were awakened to appreciation of what the vote means.

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Spoils or Civil Service?

By Schuyler C. Wallace

Of Columbia University

APROXIMATELY three and one half million people constitute the civil service of the United States, Federal, state, and local. Through their hands pass yearly some nine billion dollars, constituting, so it was estimated in 1921, one eighth of the total income of the country. Their salaries alone reach almost four billion dollars.

These facts may perhaps give some conception of the size of the Government's employment problem, which in itself warrants serious attention. And that this is not an abnormal situation caused by the war a study of pre-war statistics indicates. In fact, these statistics show that we can expect the problem to be accentuated in point of size through the expansion of the state and municipal activities which were curbed by the war.

It is not the size of the problem alone, however, that calls it to our attention. The strategic location of Government officials in relation to our entire social life in itself makes the matter of utmost importance. Illustrations of this might be drawn from almost any branch of the service.

A City's Dependence

The lives of millions of tenants in our cities depend upon the capacity and honesty of the building inspectors not only with respect to fire, but also with respect to the construction of the buildings themselves. To a greater degree, perhaps, is the public dependent upon the health service in its varied phases. Carelessness in connection with the water

supply may at any time result in an epidemic. Dishonesty in food inspection may have equally dire results. It was the maladministration of the San Francisco Board of Health that was to thank for the entrance of bubonic plague into this hemisphere. For at the time of the San Francisco Exposition they refrained from taking active steps in stamping out a local epidemic for fear the news of the local infection might injure the success of the project.

High-Grade Men Needed

Illustrations might be multiplied but sufficient have already been cited to indicate the catastrophic consequences of inefficiency and dishonesty in the government service. Mention should also be made of the gains that have accrued to society when high-grade men have filled the posts. Perhaps the most outstanding example of this was the discovery of the cause of yellow fever by an army physician. The gains which have already accrued to humanity through this discovery can never be calculated.

It is imperative, therefore, that these governmental positions be filled with the highest grade of men obtainable.

How can it be done?

In general, two ways have existed. One is popularly known as the "spoils system"; the other is the "merit system." The former is the traditional and still exceedingly widespread method. It is still in use in thirty-eight of the states, most of the smaller cities and practically all of the counties. The chief argument in its favor is the argument of *executive responsibility*. Complete harmony is necessary between the chief executive

and his subordinates if efficient administration is to be secured. And it is maintained that this can only be secured when all offices, from top to bottom, are filled by members of the same party.

Superficially the contention seems to be sound. A moment's reflection, however, reveals the fact that the chief tasks of administration are not partisan. There is, after all, no Democratic way of mixing concrete; nor is there a Republican way of causing chemical reactions.

A Bogy

But, it is declared, subordinates of opposite political faith may sabotage in order to destroy the public's faith in the administrative ability of the party in power. Should such a situation arise one course only is possible and that is the removal of the undesirables. It would then be removal for inefficiency, however, and not for political convictions. That such a condition would ever arise is very doubtful, for under the administration of an enemy the natural inclination of those of the opposite political faith would be to perform their functions in such a way that the charge of inefficiency could not be made nor removal follow.

Beneath these rationalizations lies the real driving force that has made for the maintenance of the system—partisan appetites. For a frank statement of the parties point of view we must again turn to the philosophizings of George Washington Plunkett,* the old-time Tammany leader who was quoted in an earlier article.

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* Riordan, Plunkett of Tammany Hall.

Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker

By Frances Drewry McMullen

"MRS. PERCY V. PENNYBACKER needs no introduction to you—she belongs to the clubwomen of America."—The presiding officer at the huge women's meeting I was attending made a graceful gesture, a slight bow, and withdrew.

A perceptible stir ran through the audience. All who had not heard or met Mrs. Pennybacker at least knew her by name. Many of them saw her for the first time. A tiny little woman in a dark dress with a bit of real lace at the throat, her silver gray hair waved back from a sweet and gentle countenance, advanced to the front of the rostrum.

All eyes were fixed intently upon her. As she spoke, all listened with keen attention. Her liquid, clear Southern tones, ringing through the hall, held and swayed that body of women as did no other speaker on the long and varied program.

Likewise, women the length and breadth of this country, in England, Ireland, Cuba and Canada have thrilled to the voice of Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker. Men, too, have listened and been moved. Throughout the English-speaking world have gone her messages of simple wisdom and emotional appeal. Always greeted with honor and respect, she stands for something more than the ordinary lecturer and clubwoman. She is that combination of home body and public figure that represents the aspiration of thousands of American women today.

What Mrs. Pennybacker is and stands for, most clubwomen know. The making of this woman is a story familiar to few. It began when ambition sprang up in the heart of a pinafored little girl, one of eight brothers and sisters, plus several adopted members, the family of a minister.

"Even back in those days I longed to be 'somebody,'" Mrs. Pennybacker recalled as we sat chatting in a New York hotel. "Great wealth never appealed to me. But I yearned to take some part in the work of the world. I remember often thinking to myself, 'Suppose I should die tonight, no one would even



"She is that combination of home body and public figure that represents the aspiration of thousands of American women today"

know that I had lived.' I cannot tell you how that thought worried me.

"My mother often mourned over my lack of executive ability: Nothing but study seemed worth while. But think how far afield I have since been flung into the world of executive work! That I had any bent in that direction was revealed to me only in later years, when, as a teacher, I found discipline not at all a problem. My pupils worked with me as partners in the same corporation."

Circumstances led the child from her birthplace in Virginia to North Carolina, to West Virginia and later to Kansas, before the final move to Texas. Circumstances also thwarted her ambition to attend the University of Michigan or Vassar College. Upon its opening, she entered, instead, the first normal college

Everybody supposes everybody knows all about prominent women whose names are familiar. And very often it isn't so. We know what they are and not how they came to be so. The CITIZEN hopes to publish a number of "personalities" that will tell how these well-known women got started, and what bent the twig. For one, here is a leader among clubwomen.

in the State of Texas. There she met Percy V. Pennybacker, whom, after four years of teaching, she married.

"We had ten wonderful years teaching and doing educational work together," she went on in the simple, straightforward account of her career. "I had no thought of giving up my profession when I married. I had always had the feeling that unless I pursued some definite work of my own I would lose all contact with the world. That was a thought I could not bear. Had I known then—as I have since found out—what a wide scope of public activity is open to women at home, perhaps it might have been otherwise.

"As things were, we made every plan for me to go on with my teaching, which I did until just before the birth of our second boy. Then I threw myself, my interests and what time I could spare from my home into women's club work."

Several years before this, the longing for intellectual companionship in the town of Tyler, Texas, led Mrs. Pennybacker to organize the first woman's club in that section. In the next town to which her husband's work of developing public-school systems took the little family, her suggestion turned the existing woman's club from futile pursuits to an intensive study of Bryce's "American Commonwealth" and Draper's "International Development of Europe." When settled in Austin and free from school duties, she became more and more engrossed in the work of the Texas Federation of Women's Clubs until she became its president.

During her term of office Mrs. Pennybacker first came into the national limelight. This happened at a biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, held in Los Angeles in 1902.

"That convention was one of the most thrilling things I have ever experienced. I was so much interested in the program that I became very much out of patience with the women who talked and talked to no purpose. Innocently I arose time and again to move the previous question. I had no thought of publicity. One of the reporters asked for my photograph.

but I had none with me and told him I had no time to have one taken. But one morning one of the newspapers came out with a photograph from the morgue and verses to 'Mrs. Previous Question Pennybacker.' Not long after that I was elected treasurer of the General Federation, my first national office."

Mrs. Pennybacker was chosen to a second national office, auditor and chairman of program, at the following election in 1906 and afterward was appointed to raise the Federation's \$100,000 endowment fund. She was elected president of the General Federation in 1912, which office she held until 1916.

"That my life has been what it has is due largely to my husband," Mrs. Pennybacker declared. "I don't see how any woman could combine home and public life without the co-operation of her husband. Mine was my greatest inspiration. My children, too, have always helped.

"Though of Virginian stock, living at a time when few men endorsed the suffrage movement, Mr. Pennybacker was a born suffragist. So far from holding me back, he always urged me on. Fair and broadminded in all things, he encouraged me whenever I shrank back.

"He was in entire sympathy with my continuing to teach after we were married. He urged me to get the best nurse-

It was Mr. Pennybacker who first pointed out to her her peculiar gift for moving people and urged her to speak more in public. Afterward, when accompanying him to educational conventions, she took an increasingly active part in the programs until she became well-known as a public speaker.

"Had my husband lived—he died in 1899"—she continued, "it is doubtful whether I could have carried on my work in just the way I did. I could hardly have been so much away from home; but I could have directed my activities into other channels. As it was, with the assistance of excellent Swedish servants and with application of the same system and organization that club work requires, I managed without difficulty.

"In my husband's lifetime our babies never stopped us. When we went away in the summer to study, we always bundled up the family and took them along. We studied in Chicago, New York, Chautauqua, London, Paris, Berlin and Munich. After his death, when the children were still small, I was seldom absent from home more than a few days at once. I always had some trusted, gentle woman to come then and stay with them. In their vacations from school I took them with me.

"When, as president of the General Federation, I was called upon to travel

following year she accepted chairmanship of the Citizenship committee of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

"I hardly know how my days go by—they are so full"—she remarked at the end of one that had been crowded with conferences and appointments since early morning. "Anyone who wants to do public work need never fear the lack of opportunity. If you have anything to give and the willingness to work, the rest will take care of itself. Your life will be as full as you care to make it."

A few weeks ago Mrs. Pennybacker accepted a position as chairman of the Citizenship Department of the National Council of Women, a branch of the International Council of Women. At that time she was invited to attend the executive council of the body, convening in Denmark in May.

She is busy every spring and fall on the lecture platform, disseminating her philosophy and ideals among the womanhood of America. Every summer more than two thousand women from all sections of the country come within her influence. They form the Women's Club of Chautauqua, New York. Programs are arranged by Mrs. Pennybacker that bring this mass of womanhood into close contact with the greatest thinkers and workers of the nation. Every afternoon, for six weeks, the assembly is addressed by some authority on citizenship, politics or international relations. Every outstanding question of the day is presented and discussed. Among the speakers introduced by Mrs. Pennybacker are many of Chautauqua's most distinguished visitors. At the close of the Club's final session these hundreds of



The library in Mrs. Pennybacker's home in Austin, Texas.

maid, the best cook and the best man servant that could be had, so that I would be free from worry about things at home."

Mrs. Pennybacker tells a story of how her husband was responsible for her first large-scale literary venture. She already had contributed to several educational journals, when one day a visiting school official, declaring that an adequate history of the state was the outstanding need of the Texas public-school system, suggested that she write the book. Mrs. Pennybacker laughed at the idea until she mentioned it to her husband. He insisted the official was right. With his encouragement and assistance she produced her history of Texas, used for twenty-five years in the state schools.

Where her summers are spent—at The Women's Club of Chautauqua.

all over the country, my sons and my daughters were away at school or college. Now they have scattered for work of their own."

Since the expiration of her term as president of the General Federation, Mrs. Pennybacker's interests and activities have subsided not in the least. She plunged first into numerous war activities. In 1920 she was appointed chairman of the Child Welfare Committee of the League of Women Voters. The

women return to their cities, towns and villages to spread the ideas there inspired.

Besides all this, Mrs. Pennybacker is chairman of the national committee of women for the restoration of the library of Louvain, and—her latest honor—one of the three women who are the first to be appointed members of the board of trustees of the Near East Relief. "As full as you care to make it," in Mrs. Pennybacker's case is very full.



Making Garbage Respectable

By Caroline Bartlett Crane

NOTHING in the line of our municipal housekeeping is so sketchily done—when not entirely disowned as a municipal function—as the collection and ultimate disposal of kitchen waste. The day of the private well in built-up districts is past. Whether the householder will connect with the sewer is seldom any longer an optional matter. Yet, in many of our medium-sized cities, and most of those of thirty thousand and under, garbage is scarcely recognized as a health menace or the clean home as a civic asset worth paying for. Consequently, we have little but feeble and haphazard “regulation” of private garbage contractors who collect at so much per month from the residences of the well-to-do, and serve a large majority of the people not at all.

Indeed, in the matter of garbage disposal our larger cities prove themselves erratic and temperamental to a degree, abruptly scrapping expensive systems in favor of something “different” and appointing endless commissions to determine what is best to do with the ever-increasing mass and menace of garbage.

“Something to Do”

This article is written with the purpose of holding up this unsolved civic-domestic problem to the eye of public-spirited women looking over their town for “something to do.” I shall limit myself to collection and sanitary disposal of kitchen, table and market waste in other than rural and village communities, where garbage is quite properly fed fresh to chickens and pigs or buried in the back yard.

The problem includes: the temporary care of garbage upon the home premises; the removal of this material at intervals; its ultimate conversion into non-putrescible substance; all these processes to be accomplished in conformity to the principles of sanitation, and with the minimum of private and public inconvenience.

To begin at the home-end of the problem: There is a method so simple and combining so many advantages of sanitation and convenience that it should be prescribed by ordinance in all cities where it will not interfere with the method of ultimate disposal.

All wet garbage, as it occurs in the process of handling food, is drained of free moisture, usually in a colander standing in the kitchen sink. It is then wrapped securely in paper or put in the

household cartons and tins that have been emptied of food, and placed in the water-tight, covered metal receptacle of standard size which every city ought

This is the second article by Mrs. Bartlett Crane in a series of three on Cooperation toward a Clean City. First came clean streets; here is the garbage problem; and an article on smoke abatement follows. A well-known expert in sanitary problems, Mrs. Bartlett Crane offers practical help to women who want to do something municipally useful. With this article in hand and mind, they should be prepared to make garbage respectable. Mrs. Bartlett Crane has herself made sanitary surveys of sixty-two cities in fourteen states.

either to furnish or to require of the owner of the property for each household. This can, when emptied of its parcels by the collector, usually shows no soil whatever—“clean enough to keep pies in,” declared a former health commissioner of Minneapolis who inaugurated the method several years ago. (However, a precautionary weekly scalding is recommended.) By the wrapped garbage method one may keep the same clean, surely sterilized, shapely, new-looking can on the premises. Moreover, the wrapping of garbage materially retards putrefaction and prevents access of flies. Indeed, this simple method lifts garbage out of a complex of repulsive and menacing associations into the status of a perfectly respectable by-product of the culinary art.

The advantages of draining and wrapping garbage incline me strongly toward some method of disposal which fits in with it. Under this head will be considered: (a) burial in trenches or plowing under; (b) the sanitary fill; (c) incineration. Following which I will consider (d) feeding to swine and (e) “reduction”—methods which do not admit of home-wrapping of garbage. Dumping of uncovered masses of garbage to putrefy in the open air can have no place in a discussion of permissible methods. Disposal by deposit in the ocean will be omitted, as feasible for very few cities and questionable for any.

Burial in trenches, or plowing under upon well-drained land, may serve as a method in quite small cities which have no low land that will be improved by

filling. However, it usually requires a long, expensive haul and, always, great care of details to insure against nuisance. This method requires a good deal of land, one to three acres per year for each daily ton, according to quality of soil. However, the same land can be used over again in a few years, or else sold, enriched by the deposits, and new land purchased.

The sanitary (or Gorgas) fill. I first met this method in 1914 while making a municipal sanitation survey of Seattle and several other cities for the Washington State Board of Health. By this method (originated by General Gorgas in the Panama Zone, and first used in this country in New Orleans) layers of garbage three feet deep, mixed with more or less bulky waste so as to facilitate air circulation, are given a porous but light-excluding covering, under which the garbage is speedily converted into inorganic material by scavenger bacteria. Crushed clinker for the three incinerators then also in operation was used for the porous covering to the depth of three or four inches. Sections of these fills, made a few months later, disclosed no organic material. Tin cans had completely disappeared by oxidation.

However, in Seattle at the present time, and in Kansas City, Davenport and numerous other cities, a modification of the Gorgas fill is in use. Three-inch layers of ashes or earth are used as covering of garbage, tin cans, waste papers, etc., and oxidation is mainly depended on for conversion into inorganic substance.

Practical “Don’ts”

But the sanitary fill is subject to some of the nuisances attending the ordinary dump, which should be guarded against by having one or more men always on the premises to receive and at once properly care for deliveries; the use of deodorants and the Gorgas spray for exterminating flies; a fence to corral flying papers; a patrolman at night to prevent surreptitious dumping of waste, including dead animals, and to extinguish accidental fires which constitute a menace to surrounding property.

“And never,” warns the present Health Commissioner of Seattle, “deposit sawdust in a fill. It will take up grease from the garbage, and fire spontaneously, burning with a most offensive odor.” If any carelessness at fills is tolerated, smoke and the dust from earth

(Continued on page 26)

Editorially Speaking

Who's to Blame for Congress?

A GREAT wave of weariness is rising all over the country against the present Congress. The American public is accustomed to a Congress that moves with extreme slowness, but the record of the present body is close to zero. Look at the great issues outlined by Mrs. Stokes on page 24, every one of which demands action. Many of them have been before Congress for a long time, but there is scarcely one of which the end even yet is in sight. It was urged that the tax bill should be passed in time to relieve the March payments of income taxes, but it looks now as if nothing would be done before the next quarterly instalment is due. To the measures listed by Mrs. Stokes should be added the World Court, recommended by the late President Harding and endorsed by President Coolidge in his first message to Congress, which still slumbers in committee.

Each party seems to be afraid of the political consequences of decisive action on any measure, and there is talk of Congress adjourning for the political party conventions, leaving these important questions hanging in the air. The inevitable result of such inaction will be an unreasoning desire on the part of the voters to get rid of the present incumbents and to elect new ones. Such action, taken blindly, would accomplish little. A new Congress will offer small improvement as long as the great game of politics holds the boards and is accepted by the public. As long as every issue is looked at by the individual Congressman from the standpoint of the effect of any action on his own success at the polls, and by party leaders from its effect on the fortunes of their political party, public welfare is bound to suffer. The public knows this, but it does not act on it, so it cannot escape its own responsibility in the matter. The crux of the question is, will the public play the game with the politicians, or will it put its own interest above partisanship and vote for a Congress that will do the same?



Draft Money as Well as Men

A PLAN to prevent war which is getting considerable attention—and deserves it—is that for the conscription of material resources as well as men. The late President Harding recommended this course, which would take the profits out of war. It is our understanding that Bernard M. Baruch, formerly chairman of the War Industries Board, advocated something of the kind long before, and more recently in a speech before the War College. For months *The Christian Science Monitor* has collected opinions from all over the country on its proposal that, in order to make war as repellent to all classes as it is to those who must fight, this amendment to the Constitution shall be passed: "In the event of a declaration of war, the property, equally with the persons, lives and liberties of all citizens, shall be subject to conscription for the defense of the nation." A large number of comments from legislators, capitalists, clergy, college professors and journalists have been published, and the prevailing opinion is earnestly in favor. Many types of distinguished men and women believe that a concerted effort in peace time to make sure that there shall be no profiteers next war time will go far to prevent that time from coming. When the war occasion actually comes, the pressure of private interests which would profit is disguised as patriotism—is exerted in scores of indirect ways hard to detect and estimate.

Not all the comment approves the proposal, of course—the word "demagoguery" has been hurled at it, for instance. The thoroughgoing pacifist objects to a plan based on recognition of the possibility of war. Others approve, but worry lest the plan be urged as a substitute for international cooperation—which is not in the intention. But among those who approve are not only the soldiers, who so bitterly resent profiteering, but the capitalists as well.

The same proposal has recently been made in resolutions introduced in Congress, and the House Committee on Military Affairs held a hearing on it last week. Mr. Baruch argued for it, working out practical details for the mobilization of men and industries. Nothing can be more odious to a decent mind than the idea of war profiteering—unless it be war itself—and a plan to do away with it should receive the most serious thought.



The Bootlegger's Partner

THE guilt of the man who buys from the bootlegger and his share of the responsibility for crimes which frequently accompany this form of breaking the law, was expressed forcibly by a Connecticut judge last week in the trial of a case of bootlegging. "The trade they [the bootleggers] represent drags after it every kind of violence up to murder, bribery and corruption, and the trail of crime leads to your door. You who are supposed to represent propriety, responsibility and social position, what are you but participants in and instigators of crime? If you can choose what laws you will obey, any other man can choose what laws he will obey, and if you do that what will become of your country?" The logic is unanswerable. Law breaking encourages law breaking. The public knows that the bootlegging trail stops at nothing, that some of the most dangerous criminals in the country are engaged in the work because of the huge financial rewards it offers. This money comes not from the pockets of the low and degraded outcast class, but from those of the wealthy and respected citizens of the country. Is it not time that public opinion, instead of jeering at and making light of bootlegging, should recognize the menace for what it is and should hold as culpable those who buy from the bootlegger?



Women Insurgents

WHILE on the one hand it is being charged that giving women the vote has made no difference in politics except to double the number of votes cast, women voters in various parts of the country are drawing enraged protests from men politicians for breaking through old established political precedent.

In New Jersey, Mrs. Lillian Feickert, while holding the position of vice-chairman of the Republican State Committee, has criticized the work of the Republican State Legislature and has had the temerity to hold individual Republican members responsible for their action. In an open letter to the New Jersey Woman's Republican Club, she asserted that the Legislature had wasted its time and she promised to make public "legislative promise-keepers and promise-breakers." This is against the rules of the political game as it has been played in the past, which have held that all office holders

belonging to one's own party should be considered as having a monopoly of virtue and wisdom.

In Chicago another precedent was broken when the Women's Roosevelt Republican Club, of which Mrs. Fletcher Dobyns is president, endorsed candidates for Aldermen in the City Council from the sole standpoint of their fitness for the office and without regard for their party affiliations, in the spirit of the law which provides for their non-partisan selection.

The idea that partisan politicians should not interfere in the selection of men for judges or for city administrative offices but that fitness for the work should be the sole consideration has been a theory which men political leaders have rarely put into practice.

In New York City another group, largely women, have broken away from the party machine and have been conducting an insurgent movement in the party primaries, an occurrence so rare in that locality as to be refreshing. These are small instances, but they are significant of a new standard coming into political life, one that makes the political party not the master but the servant of the public and holds it up to certain ideals.



The Danger of Indifference

THERE is a real danger in the weariness of the Washington mess that seems to be creeping over the country.

Undoubtedly there, has been exaggeration, terrorism, hysteria, and the cruelty of unfounded suspicion; certainly some of the revelations have been made to serve partisan purpose. The temptation is to turn one's back on the whole thing, without trying to make distinctions or to follow the sifting process, and from that to reach the easy conclusion that the investigators are fanatics. It would be a disaster. It is our business to follow through until we understand—not merely the actual facts of the oil leases, as the trial will bring them out; not merely all concrete details on individuals and issues; but to follow through morally too. The deepest issue of all, even beyond that of conservation, is the maintenance of high standards for public officials. Much that has been developed has nothing to do with guilt, but much to do with unfitness. The fact that reports from the country revealed a steady strengthening of the sense that Mr. Daugherty must go, as the limelight showed up his friends, is reassuring. We shall serve the cause of public morality ill if we allow disgust to turn into indifference.



A Coming Battle by Ballot

SPEAKING of what women are doing with their vote, the Woman's National Committee for Law Enforcement is planning to give a demonstration. The women of ten national organizations, with a membership of ten million, are affiliated in an organization already formidable to the politicians—united in a determination to use their votes to put in "dry" public officials, so long as the Eighteenth Amendment stands. "Those crusaders who knelt in the snow fifty years ago to pray before saloon doors won prohibition without the vote," said Mrs. Henry W. Peabody, of Boston, chairman of the National Committee. "If we can't keep it with the vote we have failed."

Law enforcement will be brought before all political party conventions this summer through the dry delegates which the committee already has in the field. As the women's issue it will be pushed in pledging candidates for the primaries and the general election. A national convention is to be held April 10-11, sponsored by Mrs. Coolidge, Mrs. Harding, Mrs. Taft, Mrs. Preston, with Mrs. Hoover as Convention Chairman. Before it closes a law enforcement platform will be

adopted, and the women will then go forth to battle.

The effort to get women to vote, single-minded, on law enforcement, making that the dominant issue, is one of the most significant phases of the presidential year. Arguments against it are possible—other important issues may be sacrificed to this single issue. But the movement is certainly eloquent of women's realization that law enforcement is fundamental, and tremendously interesting as an experiment in the use of the woman vote.



Ninety Good Years

TWO weeks ago Dr. Charles W. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, entered his ninety-first year, and not only Harvard but the government, in the person of Chief Justice Taft, took time off to celebrate the birthday of our most eminent educator. Dr. Eliot himself made an address to the Harvard boys, with points that apply quite as well to young women. He urged them to serve democratic government—"the hope of the world"—in every possible way; by sacrifice, for instance, of higher earnings in order to take public office. He recommended marriage early enough so that a young couple might develop together. And he urged a choice of work in which one could really find joy, even if one had to change to discover it.

Dr. Eliot's ninety years are a testimony to his own ability in learning how to live. They hold a long, fine record of sound, balanced achievement, and of a steady devotion to ideals. The country may well be proud of him.

We are glad to have his answer to our questions about woman's use of her vote—on another page—even though he isn't very optimistic about us. With so many changes as may be seen in the perspective of this one man's lifetime there's hope for anything!



Birth Control?

A CONSIDERABLE change has taken place in the public attitude toward the discussion of birth control.

Dean Inge—Dean of St. Paul's, London—comments on this in an article quoted by the Information Service of the Federal Council of Churches, and he adds: "It is far better that the question should be frankly considered. It is too late to forbid debate, too late to withhold knowledge. . . . The obvious truth must be recognized that a community which makes itself responsible for the education and maintenance of all who are born within it, must claim and exercise some control over both the quality and the quantity of the new human material for which it will have to provide." He points out the serious consideration which must have enormous weight with anyone who really faces the problem—the fact that the largest families exist among the people least able to support them, least able to give them a proper upbringing. Hence the appalling figures of diseased and defective, of children launched in the world with small chance of any manner of soundness, and the broken health of women. Birth control is already understood except where its effects, at any rate, are most needed.

The subject is enormously controversial, but it is not possible to ignore the necessity of considering it; of finding another way, if one refuses it, to check the evils which it claims to remove. At the moment a bill is before Congress (introduced in the House by Mr. Vaile, in the Senate by Mr. Cummins) legalizing the giving of information about contraception. It is protected by a provision that such information must be certified by no less than five graduate physicians not to be injurious.

Certainly this is a "woman interest." What do women think about it?

What the American Woman Thinks

The Cave Man Complex

vs.

Woman Suffrage

By

Carrie Chapman Catt

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL has issued a challenge to whom it may concern in the *March Century* through an article with the title, "Is Woman-Suffrage a Failure?" Well, that depends: if one measures the brief experiment in our country by the hypothesis that women are superhuman and therefore in four years ought to have removed the last vestige of disappointment in the one hundred and twenty-five years' experiment in man suffrage, then the conclusion that woman suffrage has been a failure is justified. On the other hand, if one measures the practical results of woman suffrage in operation by the understanding that American women are human, born of American fathers and therefore chained by the laws of inheritance to rise little higher than their dads, woman suffrage is relatively a pronounced success. It may not be strong enough to bring the millennium before its time, but it is going, and steadily, too, along the road of certain progress.

What Delayed Suffrage

The truth is, that there never was but one objection to woman suffrage on the part of men, and that was the "superiority complex of the male." There never was but one objection to their own enfranchisement on the part of women, and that was the "inferiority complex of the female." These states of mind were developed through impressive co-operation of church, state and all customs of society over a period of some thousands of years. The struggle for the vote was not what it appeared on the surface; it was an effort to bring men to feel less superior and women to feel less inferior. That struggle did not end with the grant of the vote. Some men feel as bloated an opinion of themselves and some women as shrunken an opinion of themselves as before 1920. This struggle will go on till every human has come to know that "God created man in his own image and likeness and gave *them* dominion over the earth."

Now comes Mr. Russell, who, despite the fact that he thinks he has conquered his cave man's complex, rises up and whacks women voters because they have not achieved a super-superiority over men. That is the entire case as set forth in his conclusions, which he admits are not necessarily immovable convictions. His wavering mental attitude seems to be caused by seven definite disillusiones.

1. Women voters have effected no change except to increase the number of "docile ballot droppers." "Not a boss has been unseated, not a reactionary committee wrested from the old-time control." Said a friend of mine who has been visiting women's political meetings: "The partisan women all seem to me to be acting under orders from nearest male relatives." So thinks Mr. Russell, apparently. Should either visit men's partisan meetings, they would say, "Why, these men, too, act as if under orders—but from whom?" The truth is that partisanship has become fanaticism in this country. Since neither party stands for any issue clearly different from the other party, loyalty has been invoked for a generation through appeals to the organization which goes on existing because it has existed. Why expect women to be free from superstition when men are under its thrall? Men and women are fathers and mothers of each other and neither can rise higher than their source. There is nothing peculiar in the "me, too," attitude of women; the difficulty rests with the fact that the intelligence of the human race, American department, has only developed up to the present manifestations. The cause is not sex; it is party fetish.

Why not whack the cause instead of the effect?

A Million Years vs. Four

There are, however, several rays of promise. Were a congress convened of non-partisans, who belong to no party and vote no one's orders, it would contain about a two-thirds majority of women. Within the parties, during the past four years, little battles, sometimes friendly, sometimes decidedly otherwise, have been in progress and women have won a very creditable share of the victories. Bosses have been unseated and reactionary committees have been wrested from their old-time control and so progress progresses. It has taken a million years for men to climb from their cave-day habit of mind to the present operation of self-government; why not grant women more than four years to remove *all* the unsatisfying out-

growths of men's political evolution?

2. The number of women nominated for high office has been comparatively small and the women candidates elected woefully few, and this despite the fact that women in office have almost invariably given satisfactory service. Politicians have been convinced thereby, so Mr. Russell thinks, that women have not voted and will not vote for women and they no longer in consequence are awed by the women's vote. They have it weighed and measured and as a decisive factor it is found wanting.

Why Women Shun Office

It is true there are not as many women in Congress and the legislatures as there should be (although the number in the legislatures is nearer eighty than the sixty-three of Mr. Russell's count), but the reasons are not those Mr. Russell sets forth. Women are reluctant to become candidates for two important reasons. First, the candidate is likely to be forced to wade through mud to her victory, to make concessions to interests which nauseate her soul and to arrive at the goal with a reputation in tatters. Second, "Why endure this torture," they ask, "when we know in advance that the party which nominates us will knife us at the polls, not by votes of party women, but by men?" In continental Europe, where there are many more women in Parliaments, the explanation is that proportional representation gives women a chance to elect their own sex and they do it. Even in England the freedom of a candidate to stand for any constituency willing to sponsor him has enabled more women to be elected than in our own country. Again the real obstacle is politics, patronage and power.

3. Only 49 per cent of the qualified voters went to the polls in 1920 and by "common report" the greater number of absentees were women. No dependable statistics of the totals of women or men voters in any election are to be had, but so far as gathered, they indicate a decided inaccuracy in Mr. Russell's statement. Instead, 70 per cent of qualified men and 60 per cent of qualified women in the North and West are the average of several elections. In the South, where the Negro vote is suppressed and woman suffrage sentiment less advanced, the per cents are probably lower for both men and women.

If 70 per cent of qualified men vote as the result of a hundred and twenty-five years of man suffrage, stimulated by the whip of the "superiority complex," then when 60 per cent of qualified

women vote, overcoming the "inferiority complex" as a result of four years of woman suffrage, it presents a showing that should make politicians shudder.

4. Returns have "seemed to show that the heaviest balloting by women was for men who had most vigorously opposed their political emancipation." "The last illusion about them (women voters) has gone from the politician's mind." He is convinced that women are the best of "good Indians, obeying the higher ups without question."

Not so Meek as They Look

O, ho, Mr. Russell, you were a Simple Simon when the politicians told you that story. Not one among them is there who does not know that in every instance where a legislator opposed woman suffrage because he was either under control or reactionary minded, party women left him by thousands, but that the vacancies they created were filled and exceeded by the male voters from the other party who deserted their candidate and flew to the support of the "superiority of the male complex." Women are not so docile nor so blind as Mr. Russell's communicators think. They may appear to have buried their contentions, but be assured, as Mrs. Pankhurst once said, they have carefully "marked the spot."

5. "Women in municipal affairs are almost negligible." On the contrary, women have been such a decisive factor in municipal affairs that the testimony of important American men to this effect led Premier Mussolini to promise municipal suffrage to Italian women.

6. "The first disillusion about women came with the Washington Conference for the Limitation of Armaments." The Conference was their idea, says Mr. Russell, and women brought it about, yet they meekly accepted the concession of a powerless advisory committee and when they saw their idea of general disarmament defeated they merely "crumpled up" under it and went home and did nothing.

It was Senator Borah who introduced a resolution in the Senate which started the ball rolling for the Washington Conference and the women merely backed up the demand by their campaign. The women did not have much share in the conference, to be sure, but even their fruitless "advisory" committee was more recognition than Mr. Borah got. They knew they were knocked and probably Senator Borah knew he was. The responsibility does not seem to belong properly to the women nor to Senator Borah. The women, however, were not "crumpled up"; they were stirred up. There are over seventy peace societies or branches of organizations in this country and the majorities of the supporters are women. These societies are having some difficulty in finding where peace is since they, like

men, have been befogged by the misrepresentations of politics, politicians and press. But the will to peace has set in strong among the women and when they find the road, their feet will not be stayed by parties nor politicians. They will move on and ask no one's permission. That is the greatest thing coming. It will not be a campaign but a crusade. Patience, Mr. Russell.

7. Inquiries (by whom made and by whom answered is not mentioned) have brought out a uniform answer and that is "that women in America take virtually no part in politics because they feel they do not know enough about such things." Mr. Russell compares this timid attitude with the self-reliant one of English women who never feel politically ignorant nor timid. The women of England have a powerful advantage over American citizens. They have one Parliament where practically everything is done and where every cabinet member may be questioned through members if one wants to know anything. In this country the well-informed must know the politics of his election district, his ward, his city, his county, his state, his national Congress and then he must add information concerning forty-seven other states. Suppose you are asked: "Do women serve on juries in the United States?" To answer one must know the decisions of courts, opinions of attorney generals, the actions of legislatures, the results of referenda to voters, and what not in forty-eight states. Yes, women do feel ignorant and so do men. Great heavens, the wonder is that we are not all in the insane asylum as the result of the nerve strain we have had trying to know as much as we do. Really, Mr. Russell, you do owe someone an apology. You know very well that every American citizen, including yourself, is overwhelmed by the task of trying to keep up with the news and that our helplessness is due not to the timidity or incapacity of women or men, but to our system.

More Time, Please

In fact, women are engaged in educating themselves in heroic fashion and offer heartening, not disheartening, promise of the "political regeneration" Mr. Russell has been expecting.

In truth, all the disappointment any one may feel about woman suffrage (I am not disappointed myself) is due to one of three things: (1) The unsettled conflict between the complexes; (2) the established flaws in self-government emanating from man suffrage; (3) our governmental or party system.

It took some millions of years for the reptile to drop its tail and grow wings and become a bird (apologies to Mr. Bryan). The bird of self-government has lost its tail and sprouted its wings, but they are only big enough to flutter. Grant a little more time, Mr. Russell,

the bird will fly—aye, and if you live long enough you will hear it sing glad-some songs of human freedom.

Who's discouraged? Not I, Mr. Russell.

Spoiled Sons

Here is an experience offered in response to our request for letters from "working wives." For obvious reasons the name is withheld from publication.

I HAVE a triple job—that is, I do office work, my household work, with the aid of a cleaning woman once a week, and I bear the entire spiritual burden of our marriage. The first two jobs can be combined very pleasantly by a healthy woman of average ability—it is the added third job which constitutes the strain.

Very few men realize that a truly successful marriage requires as much thought, patience and ability in working out problems and situations as a successful business. If he loves, as mine does, he thinks the dictates of the heart will suffice. We know better. I give constant thought to the little details, psychological and material, which go to make a pleasant and profitable companionship. He thinks good intentions are sufficient. In other words, while he loves me devotedly, would do anything for me which he considered important, he is spoiled; he was spoiled before I ever saw him, and I cannot see myself in the "hard-boiled" rôle of the woman who "unspoil" a man.

I can never count on his cooperation in matters affecting my work. He knows that to maintain our standard of life we need my salary—yet I have to waste my energy in cajolery, insistence, nagging. He fails to take any interest in people simply because I like them, or consider it advantageous to cultivate them. He has a pleasing personality when he chooses, yet when I introduce him I am never sure what sort of an impression he will make—and in my job social and personal attributes happen to count.

You see, it is the age-old complaint reversed. He needs the money I make, yet he takes no interest in the means by which I make it.

If my mother-in-law had done her manifest duty as a mother and a woman she would have gone to work when in early life she found her family hard pressed, instead of allowing a young boy to leave school. And she would have taught her son to bear his share of the spiritual and social load. Instead, she utterly spoiled a sweet-natured, generous boy.

In my opinion a woman can very successfully and happily run both a home and a business (I think even if there are children), when women begin to show some intelligence and conscience in their treatment of their sons.

The Woman Voter

[This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.]

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Federal Measures the League Supports

S. 1337-H. R. 3923: Sterling-Reed bill, creating a Department of Education with its head a member of the Cabinet, etc. Proponents of the measure concluded their arguments before the House Education Committee, March 19. Opponents were scheduled to be heard, March 26. Mrs. John Jay O'Connor, chairman of the Child Welfare Committee of the National League, presented the League's support of the measure, in the absence of the education chairman, Mrs. Walter D. Brookings. She said the League had endorsed the principles in the measure at the last four annual conventions.

H. R. 6896: Lehlbach bill, abolishing the Personnel Classification Board and transferring its duties to the United States Civil Service Commission. The House Civil Service Committee, to which the bill was referred, unanimously approved the bill in a report to the House, March 18. The report severely condemned the Personnel Board for its interpretation of the Reclassification Act of 1923.

The status of the following bills is:

Child labor amendment: In both the Senate and House Judiciary Committees. No action has been taken by the Senate committee on the favorable report of its sub-committee.

World Court resolution, embodying the proposals of President Coolidge and the late President Harding, with reservations by Secretary Hughes. In Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

S. 790-H. R. 685: Curtis-Graham women-prisoners' bill. Passed the Senate. On calendar in the House.

S. 2713-H. R. 7450: Capper-Bacon bill providing aid to states for the physical education of children. Referred respectively to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, and to the House Committee on Education.

S. J. Res. 15: Jones amendment to the Constitution, providing for suffrage in the District of Columbia. In Senate Judiciary Committee.

S. 1408: Fess amendment to the Smith-Hughes Act, to increase appropriations for home economics. Referred to Education and Labor Committee.

President Coolidge has signed the bill (H. R. 4121) extending the provisions of the Federal Maternity and Infancy Act to Hawaii. Mr. Sutherland, delegate from Alaska, has introduced a bill performing for that territory the same function as the signed bill performs for Hawaii. It has been referred to the Committee on Territories.—ANNE WILLIAMS.

League Publications and Periodicals

EVERY Nebraska candidate for the United States Senate and House, the state supreme and district courts, the state executive offices, and the legislature has received from the Nebraska League a four-page questionnaire. Inside the cover page is a set of questions, the same for all candidates, covering the candidate's age, place of birth, marital status, number of children, kind of education, present and former occupation, present and former political affiliations, elective and appointive offices held, and the final, "Why are you a candidate for office?" The questions on the next page are adapted to the office for which the candidate is running and cover all the measures and legislative principles the National League has endorsed. In the interrogatory for candidates for state office, jury service for women, various tax laws, the short ballot, state police, removal of party circle from ballot, and appropriation of funds for prohibition enforcement, are concerned, but the League's stand at no time made apparent. The candidate is at liberty to reply to some or all of the questions without prompting or suggestion from the League.

The official organ of the West Virginia League, *The West Virginia Voter*, publishes, in its March issue, an excellent skeleton outline for a get-out-the-vote campaign in any town. It has ten different directions and they are: Advertise the calendar of elections; organize a bureau of speakers of election issues; give out information on the correct marking of the ballot, on the qualifications of voters, and the requirements of registration; publish facts regarding the importance, duties, and the power of the offices to be filled; broadcast the significance of using the primary to nominate candidates; expand the issues and platforms of primary and other elections by questions to candidates; arrange meetings at which candidates will present their platforms; collect and give out information on candidates, including qualifications, records, and platforms; publish information on the general and specific issues of the elections, and—the last in large type—organize and conduct a precinct-by-precinct canvass, under block captains, before both primaries and the final elections.

Simplicity is the chief characteristic of the striking new placard or "dodger" the National League is prepared to supply to local and state Leagues for the get-out-the-vote campaign. It is a sheet of glazed paper of good quality, nine by twelve inches in size, with "Vote" printed on it in letters about three inches high and wide enough to be read clear across the street. Sketched lightly back of the word is a locked ballot box with a ballot tucked in the opening in the top. There is sufficient space below the word for any announcement a local League cares to add. The placard as a whole has been highly praised by all who have seen it, as likely to be of great value in reminding the casual observer of the citizen's duty to vote. The price of the sheet is forty-five cents the hundred.

The election calendar which fills a page in the March number of the Illinois League's *Bulletin* will be of great help to Illinois women and may serve as a model for Leagues in other states. It is arranged in four columns, dates in the first, details of registration in the second, explanation of primaries in the third, and in the fourth, statements of what officials will be elected at each election of which the date is given. The opposite page is given up to a chart showing at a glance "An Illinois Political Party and How It Works." This, too, will be of service to women in other states who wish to make the

steps in the nomination of a President "understood of the people."

Mrs. William G. Hibbard, director of the fourth region for the National League, contributed to the March number of the *Ohio Woman Voter* a paper on direct primaries which is a valuable addition to the literature on the subject. For the same issue Margaret H. Johnson provided an article, "Electing a President," which covers in surprisingly small space the whole procedure. A well-selected reading list adds to the value of the paper. Women who helped in the recent Ohio membership campaign take part in a symposium on "Ways of Winning New Members."

The March number of the *Woman Voter*, published by the Indiana League, has on its front page a charming sketch of an old-fashioned and beautifully proportioned house which is headquarters of the Elkhart League. Mrs. A. H. Beardsley, president of the Elkhart League, presented the mansion to the League and it is likely to be the center not only of League work but of all the civic interest of Elkhart women.

The March number of the *Woman Voter's Bulletin*, published by the Connecticut League, is notable for an article by C.-E. A. Winslow, professor of public health at Yale, on the control of stream pollution in Connecticut, which should be of use in all states having similar problems of water supply. The editorial page offers an excellent leader, "Charity and Politics."

Because it is so simple, so practical, and so comprehensive, the prize article "How to Get Out the Vote," by Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, has been reprinted on a single sheet for the use of Leagues everywhere. Copies can be obtained from national headquarters at forty-five cents the hundred.

The Fifty-Dollar Reference Shelf

THIS is the list, by Miss Agnes Doherty, of St. Paul, Minnesota, which was awarded first prize in the League's competition for the best fifty-dollar and twenty-five-dollar reference shelves. The manuscript gives every evidence of having been prepared with the most painstaking care. The outstanding feature of the winning list is the amount of excellent free material it contains. A wide range of subjects is covered.

I. General Reference Books and Pamphlets

Nation

Statistical Abstract of the United States, 75c; *Statistical Atlas*, \$2.50; *Abstract of the 1920 Census* (when issued), \$1.50.

Federal Executive Departments as sources of information for librarians. *Bureau of Education Bulletin*, 1919, No. 74. Washington: Government Printing Office, 25c. *House Manual*; *Senate Manual*; *Congressional Directory*; *The Congressional Record*. From your Senator or Representative without charge.

Reports of Federal departments and bureaus, e. g., Commissioner of Education; Commissioner of Immigration; Civil Service Commission; Federal Trade Commission, etc. Write the various departments. Free.

Bureau of Education. Send for *Bulletin*, 1923, No. 32, or later list. List of publications free. Many pamphlets on education; many leaflets on education; *City School Leaflet*, No. 4 (Per cent of municipal funds devoted to schools); *Statistical Circular*, No. 1 (Per capita costs of schools); *Kindergarten Circular*, No. 10 (Some experiments in pre-school education).

Department of Agriculture. Many free bulletins. Send for list. Secretary of Agriculture. *Farmers' Bulletins on Food and Nutrition*.

Department of Labor. Publications of the Women's Bureau. Free. Bulletins: No. 3, *Standards for the Employment of Women in Industry*; No. 12, *The New Position of Women in American Industry*; No. 14, *A Psychological Basis for the Shorter Working Day for Women*; No. 16, *State Laws Affecting Working Women*; No. 27, *The Occupational Progress of Women*; No. 28, *Women's Contribution in the*

Field of Invention; No. 30, *The Share of Wage-earning Women in Family Support*; No. 31, *What Industry Means to Women*. Washington: Department of Labor.

Institute of Government Research, Washington: 26 Jackson Place.

Service Monographs of the United States Government; a series of studies by a nonpartisan independent institution. No. 22, *The Women's Bureau*. \$1.00.

State

Reports of state departments, boards, commissions. Free. *Legislative Manual or Blue Book*; a volume of laws of a legislative session; copies of ballots, bills, calendar, and journal of each house. Free. Maps of states showing representative and senatorial election districts. Free. *The Model State Constitution*. New York: National Municipal League, 25c. Illinois Constitutional Convention. Bulletins. Springfield, 1920. Free.

County

Reports of county officers and boards. Free. Map of the county showing townships or local divisions. Free. Copies of legal blanks, documents. Free.

City

City charter and ordinances. Free. Map of the city showing wards and precincts. Free. Reports of municipal departments. Free. *Financial Statistics of Cities*, Annual. Washington: Government Printing Office. (From your congressman.) Copies of legal blanks, ballots, various town documents. Free. *The Model City Charter*. New York: National Municipal League, 50c.

BYINGTON, M. F. *What Social Workers Should Know About Their Own Communities*. Third ed. rev., 1919. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 10c.

The World Almanac. Annual volume of statistics. New York: The World, 40c.

Summaries of Current Economic and Financial Conditions

1. New York Chase National Bank; occasional bulletins. Gratis.
2. New York Irving Bank-Columbia Trust Company. *Economic Conditions*. (Monthly) Gratis.
3. New York National City Bank. *Economic Conditions*. (Monthly) Gratis.

II. Outlines for Study

DAVIDSON, CHARLES. *Active Citizenship*. New York: Wilson, 1920. 50c.

MOLEY, RAYMOND, in collaboration with HELEN M. ROCCA. *The Outline of Government in the United States*. Washington: National League of Women Voters, 1922. 50c.

III. Social Sciences or Social Studies Including Politics, Economics, Sociology, etc.

BEARD, CHARLES A. *American Government and Politics*. Third rev. ed. New York: Macmillan, 1920. \$3.50.

BEARD, CHARLES A. *The Economic Basis of Politics*. New York: Knopf, 1923. 99 p. \$1.25.

EDIE, LIONEL D. *Principles of the New Economics*. New York: Crowell, 1922. \$2.75.

EDMAN, IRWIN. *Human Traits and Their Social Significance*. School ed. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1920. \$2.50.

HAMILTON, WALTON H. *Current Economic Problems*. Rev. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922. \$4.00.

JENKS, J. W., and SMITH, R. D. *We and Our Government*. New York: American View Point Society of Boni and Liveright, 1922. \$1.50.

JOHNSON, J. F. *We and Our Work*. New York: American View Point Society of Boni and Liveright, 1922. \$2.15.

LIPPMANN, WALTER. *Public Opinion*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1922. \$2.75.

MUNRO, WILLIAM BENNETT. *The Government of American Cities*. Rev. ed. New York: Macmillan, 1920. \$3.25. (To be included only if the three books listed first may be obtained free.)

NATIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC RESEARCH. *Income in the*

- United States.* New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1921. \$1.25.
 OGG, F. A., and RAY, P. O. *Introduction to American Government.* New York: Century Co., 1922. 841 p. \$3.75.
 RORTY, M. E. *Some Problems in Current Economics.* Chicago: A. W. Shaw, 1922. \$1.25.
 YOUNG, J. T. *The New American Government and Its Work.* Second ed. rev. New York: Macmillan, 1915. \$2.75.

Pamphlets

- ANDREWS, J. B. *Labor Problems and Labor Legislation.* New York: American Association for Labor Legislation, 1922. 30c.
 CHAFFEE, ZACHARIAH. *Freedom of Speech in War Time.* Cambridge: Dunster House Book Shop. 40c.
 DAWSON, EDGAR, editor. *Outlines of Responsible Government.* New York: National Municipal League, 1923. 20c.
 FISHER, IRVING. *Bulletin of the Committee of One Hundred on National Health.* Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909. 15c.
 JUDD, C., and MARSHALL, L. C. *Lessons in Community Life.* Series A, 25c; Series B and C, 15c each.
 MITCHELL, W. C. *U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, Bulletin No. 284.* Washington: Government Printing Office. 5c.
 MOLEY, RAYMOND. *Parties, Politics, and People.* Washington: National League of Women Voters, 1922. 35c.
 SMITH, R. H. *Justice and the Poor.* Bulletin No. 13. New York: Carnegie Foundation for Advancement of Teaching, 1919. Gratis.

IV. Biographical Literature Illustrating the Working of American Government

- DODD, WILLIAM E. *Woodrow Wilson and His Work.* New York: Doubleday, Page, 1919. \$2.50.
 ROOSEVELT, THEODORE. *An Autobiography.* New York: Scribner, 1920. \$5.00.
 WHITLOCK, BRAND. *Forty Years of It.* New York: Appleton, 1914. \$1.50.

V. International Relations: Foreign Policy

- AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR INTERNATIONAL CONCILIATION. *The United States and the Permanent Court of International Justice.* New York: American Association for International Conciliation, May, 1923. No. 186. 5c.
 AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY. Documents, Messages of Presidents, etc., No. 17. Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Intercourse and Education, 1920. Gratis.
 BRYCE, JAMES. *International Relations.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. \$2.50.
 CURTIS, LIONEL, and KERR, PHILIP H. *America and the International Problem.* No. 183. New York: American Association for International Conciliation, 1923. 5c.
 WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION. *The Permanent Court of International Justice.* Boston: World Peace Foundation. 15c. Total, \$49.90 (without the three books listed first). Total, \$51.40 (without Munroe's *Government of American Cities*).

Twenty-five dollar prize list will appear in the next issue of the WOMAN VOTER.

The Prize Winners

IN the competition for the best fifty-dollar reference library and the best library for half that sum, the winner of the first prize of \$40 is Miss Agnes Doherty, of St. Paul, Minnesota. Miss Doherty was graduated from the University of Minnesota and did post-graduate work at Columbia, the University of Chicago, and the University of California. She is a teacher of social sciences in the Central High School of St. Paul and is well known to members of the National Education Association, of which she is a trustee. She was a member of the advisory committee which set the first minimum wage for women in Minnesota, a leader in the movement which secured mothers' pensions in the state, and is reckoned one of the most

effective writers and speakers on education and social legislation Minnesota possesses.

The winner of the second prize is Mrs. Gertrude Drury, a native of Vermont, whose home for the past ten years has been St. Louis. She is a librarian in the St. Louis Public Library and her work as a member of the faculty of the St. Louis Library School covers reference, classification, trade bibliography, and library economy. Her training is of the soundest and includes service in the University of Vermont Library, the library of Smith College, the U. S. Bureau of Education, and the U. S. Department of Agriculture library, in addition to the academic training of the New York State Library School at Albany. Mrs. Drury says she was attracted to the contest "because we at the library frequently have calls for just such information as some of the reference works on the list supply." A "useful project" she calls the League's effort to supply the best and most extensive reference library for the least money.

The third prize was awarded to Mrs. John P. Senning, of Lincoln, Nebraska. Mrs. Senning, who was Miss Elizabeth Stone, was born on a farm near Joliet, Illinois, was graduated from the University of Chicago in 1908, winning the master's degree in the next year. For three years she was a librarian in the university library and since her marriage in 1913 she has lived in Lincoln, where her husband is a professor in the political science department of the University of Nebraska and she herself, research assistant in the Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau, which is on the university campus.

"Thus, you see," she says, "we have political education with us morning, noon, and night. My dream of political education for women extends so far into the past that I do not know the date of its beginning. The League offered a way by which women might learn the real facts about government and I lost no time in becoming a member as soon as the League was formed in Nebraska."

From 1920 to the autumn of 1922 Mrs. Senning was vice-president of the Lincoln League and has been first vice-president of the state League since the spring of 1921.

Mrs. Harriot T. Cooke, of Orange, New Jersey, winner of the fourth prize, says she would have been a librarian if she had ever "had time from a husband and raising a family of three children to earn a living, or rather, be paid for doing it." She was born in Tennessee and has been a reader all her life, and a suffragist about as long. She cast her first vote in Colorado soon after she was married, and when she came to New Jersey and the suffrage cause was won, she helped organize the League of the Oranges. She was chairman of the Committee on Efficiency in Government for two years, vice-president of the Orange League for two years more, and is now president. In order to fill these positions creditably, she says, it was necessary for her to read everything on civic and political questions that came her way and her list is the result.

The competition judges were: Dr. Edgar Lawson, professor of history and social science at Hunter College, New York City; Miss Linda Eastman, librarian of the Cleveland Public Library; Dr. Raymond Moley, associate professor of government at Barnard College, New York City, and two former vice-presidents of the National League, Mrs. Richard Edwards, of Peru, Indiana, and Mrs. George Gellhorn, of St. Louis, Missouri.

It is to be regretted that for lack of space it has been necessary to omit annotations from Miss Doherty's list.

Peace and Citizenship Schools

"THE United States wants world co-operation and peace, but has not yet learned to make this wish effective," says the Foreword in the program of the three-day "peace school" held March 20-22 under the direction of the New York League and the New York Council for International Co-operation to Prevent War. "A knowledge of facts simplifies the problem, a discussion reveals the issues, and a united opinion is created which in turn will force a practical solu-

tion. Therefore, in this school we are presenting both facts and the best plans for group discussions."

The Foreword adds that the course should be valuable to trained speakers who wish new methods of discussion and to untrained speakers who are willing to learn facts and to impart them.

The school was held at the Y. W. C. A. on Lexington Avenue, and proved so great a success that the organization of similar schools in many parts of the country seems assured. The subject of the morning session of the first day of the school was "Our Foreign Policy in the Western Hemisphere," and the speakers were Mr. S. G. Inman, of the Committee on Co-operation in Latin America, whose subject was "The Monroe Doctrine and the State Department," and Professor Edward M. Earle, of Columbia University, who spoke on "Economic Imperialism." In the afternoon there was a free and informing discussion led by Mr. Charles Fahs, author of *America's Stake in Europe*.

The morning session of the second day was addressed by Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, of Columbia University, whose subject was "The League of Nations." The afternoon discussion was conducted by Mr. James McDonald, of the Foreign Policy Association.

The third day began with Mr. Frederick Libby's talk, "Disarmament," which was followed by Dr. Frederick W. Roman's address on "Reparation," the two speeches coming under the subject head, "The Immediate Problem." Professor A. D. Sheffield led the afternoon discussion, which was of extraordinary interest and of quite as extraordinary helpfulness to the women who had come to "join the New York peace campaign."

Brown University opened its doors to a United League of Rhode Island school of citizenship which began on April 3 and held its final session April 5. The opening session was devoted to an address of welcome by the president of the university and a discussion of currents and tendencies in American political thinking. The program for Friday morning called for a discussion, "Where the Voter Comes In," led by Professor Clifford Hubbard, of Brown, followed by Professor Elizabeth Donnan, of Wellesley, with a talk on the make-up and workings of the national political conventions.

The afternoon session began with an address by former State Senator Herbert Sherwood, "Legal Rights of Women," which was followed by a discussion, by Professor Arthur Holcomb, of Harvard, on the growth of democracy as shown in state constitutions. Other speakers and their subjects announced in the program are: Professor Alfred Steiner, Grinnell College, "The Foreign-Born as a Factor in National Politics"; Professor Paul Gerber, of Brown, "The United States and Mexico," and Miss Ruth Morgan, National League of Women Voters, "The State Department and the Monroe Doctrine."

Miss Mary B. Anthony was chairman of the committee which had general charge of arrangements for the school.

Writing to tell of the institute of government and politics, held in St. Louis March 11-13 by the St. Louis League and Washington University in co-operation, Mrs. George Gellhorn, who was program chairman, says: "The institute ended with expressions from all sides that it had been an unqualified success and must become at least an annual institution. The total number to attend, either through holding course tickets or having bought tickets for several of the sessions, runs to something over one thousand. At the banquet meeting and the speaking after the banquet there were six hundred. Mrs. Pinchot made a most eloquent appeal for active participation by the women in politics, international and domestic. Private Peat was emphatic and vivid in the exposition of his subject. When Judge Mary Bartelme spoke we turned away hundreds who wanted to hear her. Tell Rhode Island we have used them as our measuring rod and we hope we have come up to their standard of attendance."

The Cincinnati League held a one-day school of politics and government at the Hotel Gibson, March 20, with Mrs.

R. C. McGrane as presiding officer. At the morning session, Professor N. J. Ware, of the University of Louisville, made "The Psychology of Politics" the subject of an interesting address, and was followed by Professor C. O. Gardner, of the University of Cincinnati, whose topic was "Presidential Primaries." Miss Belle Sherwin, first vice-president of the National League and head of the Department of Efficiency in Government, explained the National League program and Miss Emily Kneubuhl, director of political education for the Cincinnati League, discussed plans for getting out the vote.

League institutes of government and politics have been arranged for three districts of Minnesota, with the co-operation of Teachers' College of the University of Minnesota. The plan decided on for the three follows the arrangement which proved so successful in the institute held in Minneapolis last autumn. Two or three subjects of general interest are to be developed by means of lectures and round tables. The first institute was held at St. Cloud, March 20-21; the second at Winona, March 27-28, and the third is set for April 9-11, in Duluth. It is planned to hold other institutes until every district of the state has had its school.

Chattanooga (Tennessee) had a citizenship school, March 27-28, conducted by Miss Helen Rocca, of the National League Department of Efficiency in Government, with the assistance of Miss Marguerite Woolley, secretary of the third region. Among the lecturers on the program were Mrs. George F. Milton, of Chattanooga; Mrs. Solon Jacobs, second vice-president of the National League; Mrs. Minnie Alison Welch, of Sparta, president of the Tennessee W. C. T. U., and Mrs. R. E. Cooke.

The Connecticut League announces a school of citizenship to be held at Middletown, May 15-17, with the co-operation of Wesleyan University. Because this is the year of a presidential election, the general subject of the school will be "National Politics." Topics to be discussed include national political parties, immigration, Congress and taxation, the tariff and living costs, education from the Federal end, and international affairs.

League Women and League Work

WHEN delegates of the United League of Rhode Island return from the National League convention in Buffalo they will set to work at once on another of their successful membership drives, which will be carried on from May 6 to May 16. The goal is 2,000 new members and the League expects to enroll women in factories and stores, women on farms, and women in village, town, and city homes. Mrs. Beverly Lake is commander-in-chief and the forces she heads will be organized into squads with corporals in charge of them. Mrs. Raymond F. Wolcott's work will be to arrange for appeals in churches, guilds, societies and mass meetings. Miss Alice W. Hunt will have inspirational features" as her part, and already League headquarters in Providence is displaying an "ivy chain" of workers growing from the "Victory Plant of League Loyalty" to make methods of the campaign clear.

THE Cambridge (Massachusetts) League held an exceedingly interesting international meeting late in February. Six foreign countries—England, France, Russia, India, China, and Japan—were represented by guests, and each guest gave an informal talk on the political status of women in her own country. Miss Sarah Wambaugh added to the interest of the occasion by a talk on women who are serving on some of the committees of the League of Nations, and the work they are doing.

THE librarian of the Bakersfield (California) Public Library provides a shelf of books and pamphlets dealing with phases of League work, for the benefit of the recently organized League there. She will also help League work by lending literature for readers in other parts of the county.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

For Peace and Freedom

HERE is a "first," which, for once, is not a pioneer step by a lady. For the first time since its organization in 1915, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom will meet in America. May 1 to 7 is the date and Washington the place—the occasion is the Fourth Biennial Congress. Austria, China, Japan, India, New Zealand, Czechoslovakia, the Ukraine, Holland, France, England, Italy, Bulgaria, Sweden and Germany will be represented. Jane Addams, president of the League, will preside. Among the notable women who will attend the Congress are: Mme. Marcelle Capi, Gabrielle Duchene and Andree Jouve, from France; Lucie Dejardin, from Belgium; Yella Hertzka, from Austria; Mme. Ramondt-Hirshmann and Dr. Aletta Jacobs, from Holland; Dr. Ida Vassalini, from Italy; Vilma Glucklich, from Switzerland; Dorothy Evans, Kathleen Courtney and Miss Picton-Turbervill, from England; Gertrud Baer, Dr. Anita Augsburg and Lida Gustava Heymann, from Germany, and Hiro Ohashi, from Japan. Delegates will tour the United States immediately after the Congress, holding mass meetings in cities where the League has branch organizations. The general subject under consideration will be a New International Order.

A one-day conference of the United States section of the League precedes the Congress.

Women in French Academies

MME. ANNIE MURRAY DIKE is the third woman to be admitted to a French Academy. Three months ago Mrs. Dike was elected to the Academy of Agriculture, the first woman to enter, and on March 5 she was formally received. The other French Academies that have opened their doors to women are the Academy of Fine Arts, which has admitted the Queen of Rumania, and the Academy of Medicine, which claims Mme. Curie as a member.

Studies Tropic Life

ISABEL COOPER—the interesting person who was the subject of Mildred Adams's "Jungle Lady" in the March 25, 1922, CITIZEN—has sailed on another expedition to British Guiana to study tropic animal life in its own home. She is official artist with the Tropical Research Station of the New York Zoological Society under Mr. William Beebe.

Miss Cooper is responsible for the beautiful scenic water colors in Mr. Beebe's new book, *Galapagos*.

Suffrage Progress

IN South Africa, the women's enfranchisement bill passed its second reading in the House of Assembly, Cape Town, by fifty-four votes against forty-eight.

On the Island of Jersey

WOMEN may now be elected to the local legislative assembly on the island of Jersey in the English Channel—so we learn from the *Vote*. Though suffrage was granted to Jersey women in 1919, women's nominations were refused at the last election. This is the second Channel island to recognize women—Miss M. L. Randall having only recently been elected to represent the town of St. Peter Port on the island of Guernsey.

"Lady Sheriff"

WISCONSIN has its first woman sheriff. She is Mrs. Daniel Leonard, of Antigo, who was appointed to fill the unexpired term of her late husband.

In Cook County

MRS. W. E. BEMIS, Cook County's first and only woman commissioner, is now chairman of the Civil Service Committee of the Board of Commissioners.

In the League of Nations

DR. ALICE HAMILTON, one of our contributing editors, and assistant professor of Industrial Medicine at Harvard, has been appointed a member of the permanent health organization of the League of Nations. Our information comes from the *Medical Woman's Journal*.

Candidates

BOTH Pennsylvania and California have more women looking toward the state legislature. Mrs. Ruth E. Fillmore is candidate from the Seventh District of Pittsburgh. Mrs. J. J. Suess comes from Monte Vista, California, and is running for nomination on the Republican ticket for member of the Assembly.

Kentucky's Secretary

ACCORDING to the *Legislative Counsellor*, Mrs. Emma Guy Cromwell was recently elected Kentucky's state secretary.

Mrs. Catt and Miss Hay

FLORIDA women write us that they want it distinctly understood that Mrs. Catt and Miss Hay visited their state as well as Cuba; and Georgia and North Carolina may be heard from next, since the visitors have stopped in Savannah and in Southern Pines, coming north with the spring. In each of the Florida cities they visited they were entertained splendidly by women's clubs and other organizations, and both spoke repeatedly.

Y. W. C. A. Convention

THE Eighth National Convention of the Y. W. C. A. is set for the week, April 30 to May 5, at the Hotel Commodore, New York. Three thousand women are expected. The Rev. Richard Roberts of Montreal is to be the principal speaker. Simultaneously with the large meeting, three assemblies of the largest membership groups in the Association—the Student Assembly, the Business Assembly and the Industrial Assembly—will hold independent meetings and discussions, and time will be arranged for them to place their problems before the delegates.

It was eighteen years ago that the first National Y. W. C. A. convention was held in New York.

"Naming" Hospital Beds

IN the Royal Free Hospital, London, there is a ward named "Washington," in compliment to Americans. This was done at the request of the American Women's Club in London, and now Dr. May Thorne, representing the hospital (and long associated with it), is here to see if the twelve beds and the twelve cots that the ward contains cannot each be named after a famous American woman and another bond of national friendship formed. She would like to begin with the name of Dr. Elizabeth Blackwell, and for a very good reason. Because, in 1877, when the Royal Free Hospital opened its doors to women medical students (the first in the United Kingdom to do so) of the only two women qualified to practice medicine and surgery one was Dr. Blackwell. She had received her training in Geneva University, New York, and was practicing in London. The other woman was Miss Elizabeth Garrett, who held the Licentiate of the Society of Apothecaries, London. Besides famous American women, American colleges or towns are eligible to name the cots or beds that will help care for the needy of Lon-

don's poor mothers and babies—yes, "Washington" is a maternity ward. (English hospitals, by the way, have as yet no private wards where rich people pay large sums—they are cared for only in private nursing homes.) To name a cot in perpetuity costs \$2,000, a bed \$6,000; to endow either costs \$6,500 and between \$18,000 and \$20,000 respectively. The Royal Free Hospital has a claim on women's interest not only for its fine work, but because for years it was the only hospital in the United Kingdom where women could receive a medical education.

An American committee is being organized, and Mr. John William Davis, former Ambassador to England, has promised to be a member.

SPEAKING of conventions, we take occasion to mention once more that the National League of Women Voters holds its annual convention at Buffalo, April 25-29, with a highly interesting program, including several governors and prominent Washington officials.

Mrs. Kenney

ANOTHER of the elder suffragists is gone. Mrs. Lilla Jewell Kenney died last month in Washington. Despite her seventy years Mrs. Kenney attended the international suffrage convention at Rome last year with her two daughters, Mrs. Donald C. Godwin, and Mrs. Izetta Jewell Brown, who is seeking the nomination for United States Senator from West Virginia.

General Federation Notes

By Lessie Stringfellow Read

LOS ANGELES is all a-tip-toe about the big Biennial to be held there June 2-13. This hostess-ship of California will mark the third time the state has entertained the General Federation and Los Angeles' second experience as hostess city.

APERMANENT "home-making center" will be maintained in connection with the General Federation Headquarters, 1734 N Street, N.W., Washington, according to an announcement made by Miss Lida Hafford, director. It is to be established in the tea house, which is a part of the Federation plant, and operated by Mrs. Frances Carter. Everything will be most modern; a score or more of manufacturers having equipped the house with gifts totaling nearly \$5,000. Among some of the enticing devices to be found is the individual table stove, giving all the fun of making one's own waffles or toast. Lectures on various phases of homemaking will be given by experts from time to time, and every effort will be made to make this a practical and helpful home center.

AFILM including the Better Homes idea for Negroes, picturing living conditions as they are and as they can be, was recently shown at one of the large theaters in Atlanta, Georgia, co-incident with the showing in that city of the Better Homes film. Mrs. Alonzo Richardson, president Atlanta Better Films Committee, writes that the film ran at one of the Negro theaters two weeks, and "the opinion is that there has never been a more constructive piece of work done."

THE women's clubs in Southern Pennsylvania are meeting by radio

each Thursday afternoon. They are taking turns at broadcasting, the first program being that of the New Century Club of Chester. Nature clubs, garden clubs, study clubs, political groups are all in line to be heard. The Montgomery County Federation, which is especially well organized, gave a special treat on one afternoon by holding a club institute.

A"HALF WAY HOUSE" for children has been established in Birmingham, Alabama, by the Junior League, a federated club of about three hundred young girls and matrons. It is here that the children spend their days from the time of dismissal from the Juvenile Court until a home is found for them. The League employs competent matrons, nurses, dietitians, and operates the house at a cost of about \$5,000 a year. It has secured scholarships for two girls who are now in industrial schools.

THE twenty-ninth annual convention of the Alabama Federation of Women's Clubs will be held in Montevallo, Alabama, beginning Tuesday evening, April 8, and lasting through noon Friday, April 11.

ANATION-WIDE movement which should result in complete reorganization of the prison labor system throughout the country within the next five years is foreseen by Miss Julia Jaffray, New York, chairman on institutional relations in the General Federation of Women's Clubs. Miss Jaffray writes that the action of the General Federation at its Atlanta council in the resolution which was adopted made a very deep impression on the American Federation of Labor, and was reprinted in its annual report.

Washington

(Continued from page 7)

government. We need a progressive coordination; to know what we want; to study candidates and issues minutely. It would be hard for women voters to be any more undecided than are men at this juncture. But it would be comparatively easy for women to find out exactly where they stand upon pending questions and candidates; and such an opinion would be of the greatest value, particularly at this stage of the campaign. Study and deliberation in these preliminary months are of many times the value of the same amount of concentration later on. The whole campaign is formative now. After it is set, all kinds of furious battering and objection can go on and little impression will be made. Issues and presidential candidates have been doubling up at an extraordinary rate lately. Democratic candidates are numerous and of all shades of conviction.

Your correspondent would leave with you in this letter the following table of pending issues in the present political situation. It is by no means a slate of just what may be presented at the nominating conventions. But it will form a basis for preliminary study and deliberation.

DOMESTIC ISSUES

Agriculture

Do you favor federal aid for agriculture, i. e., by federal corporations for marketing of grain to foreign countries, or for the purchase of surplus wheat, or help for cooperative marketing associations?

The only other answer to the agricultural situation is a gradual readjustment of supply and demand and reversion to pre-war production and, to some extent, pre-war prices, with decreased planting and a lessening of the extreme pressure put upon the industry during the war for extra expenditures and high living costs. In this view might properly come such relief as further extension of farm credits and reduction of freight rates, as distinct from paternalistic aid in the form of federal selling corporations, and so on.

Railroads

The basic principles of government control and operation versus private responsibility will be found in many of the pending questions. It is fundamental in the railroad problem. The government, as a result of the war, is now heavily involved in railroad finances, but the melancholy situation exists that the public is not getting proper service in freightage or transportation, and the railroads are not attracting the investment of capital to an extent enabling them to develop or adequately support themselves. The division of re-

sponsibility between government and railroads obviously has been a failure.

Two courses are open. Cut off government patronage and responsibility and make the railroads entirely self-reliant, or provide out-and-out government control and responsibility. Subdivisions of responsibility under these two great principles have been what have made the intricate and unworkable mess in which the whole transportation problem is involved. For instance, by legislation we have suggested that the railroads consolidate into large systems. They did not accomplish it. So the proposition is now to change the Transportation Act so that they eventually will be compelled to consolidate, which again belongs to the realm of government control. If the government compels the railroads to make substantial freight rate reductions, that again is government control. If the Esch-Cummins Act is continued mainly in its present form that would merely continue the unsuccessful division of responsibility therein provided. The country has gradually drifted into a kind of government control which is more inclusive than many realize. The Interstate Commerce Commission has powers which make it extremely hard for railroads to follow any individual program. But the government has refrained from taking the additional step of assuming the responsibility. The British experience in government operation of railroads should be a help to conclusions.

Prohibition

Study the course of great national reforms, whose dangers have been not in the period of initiation but in the second stage, the application, through which prohibition is now passing. Powerful factors are being employed here to nullify prohibition. It is in far greater danger now than it was before the constitutional amendment was ratified. The present wave of political extravagance and do-as-you-please has broken down the moral aspect of prohibition. Congress is full of bills for the "liberalization" of the Volstead Act, meaning more alcoholic beer, wines, and greater state option in the matter. Moreover, the drive is not led by working people but by those who find it expensive and a nuisance to keep their large private supplies in order. Prohibitionists have countered in Congress by urging that even the industrial alcohol industry be kept under the prohibition unit of the Internal Revenue Bureau, and by violent opposition to the proposals for changing the alcoholic content prescribed by the Volstead enforcement act. Rigid enforcement under civil service of present laws is the prohibition position. Anti-prohibitionists are pointing to the Congressional investigation of the Internal Revenue Bureau and what may be gross misuse of federal authority and lax enforcement as proof of the impossibility

In Congress

THE House during the fortnight has attempted to proceed with the regular appropriation measures with frequent interruptions for reaction from the numerous investigations. The Senate has been debating constitutional amendments. By far the largest portion of the time of members of both houses has been taken up in the hearing rooms. Legislative progress of interest has been as follows:

Introduced in the Senate

By Senator McLean, Connecticut, bill extending the provisions of the national bank act to the Virgin Islands.

Senator Sheppard, Democrat, bill authorizing the Federal Farm Loan Board to increase loans.

By Senator Walsh, Massachusetts, Democrat, bill authorizing pensions for blind or partly blind children of persons who served in the Civil War.

By Senator Keyes, Republican, bill defining the rights of alien administrators in bringing action in Federal courts.

By Senator Curtis, Republican whip, farm relief legislation chartering an interstate farm marketing association and providing a loan of \$10,000,000 to such a body.

By Senator Fletcher, Democrat, bill appropriating \$38,000,000 for the completion of public buildings already authorized.

Passed by the Senate

Resolution calling for the impeachment of Clarence C. Chase, son-in-law of Albert B. Fall. Mr. Chase was Collector of Customs at El Paso.

Voted to certify Harry F. Sinclair, who refused to testify before the Senate Oil Investigating Committee, to the District of Columbia court for contempt. Senator Elkins, Republican, West Virginia, cast the only opposing vote.

Deficiency appropriation bill which previously had been passed by the House.

Resolution by Senator Walsh, Montana, Democrat, requesting the Secretary of War to furnish full information regarding the sale of arms to the Mexican government.

Introduced in the House

By Representative Treadway, Republican, resolution calling for action regarding a speech by Senator Caraway, Democrat, alleged to have improperly criticized the House and the Speaker.

By Representative Kindred, Democrat, New York, resolution for an investigation of the prohibition unit of the Internal Revenue Bureau.

By Representative Ashwell, Democrat, bill creating a farm marketing association of national cooperative marketing bodies, to be headed by an interstate board in Washington.

Passed by the House

Resolution for an extensive investigation of the aircraft industry and the army, navy and mail air services.

Resolution of Representative King, Illinois, for an investigation of the duplication of government bonds at the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

Resolution by Representative Fish, New York, appropriating \$10,000,000 for the relief of women and children of Germany.

Legislation covering the appropriation for the support of the navy.

Voted to request the President to move for another conference on limitation of naval armaments. Discussed in connection with the naval appropriation bill.

Legislation providing for soldiers bonus on the basis of insurance certificates, by a vote of 355 to 54.

Legislation authorizing the expenditure of \$7,500,000 for improvement of roads in national parks.

of any enforcement of prohibition.

Tariff and Taxation

Consideration of the success of the Fordney-McCumber tariff law, which now has had a fair operative test. Under it, it will be remembered, the President is the nominal head of a Tariff Commission which has authority to adjust rates upon petition according to its judgment, and which is the agency for carrying out the so-called flexible tariff principle incorporated in the new law. This principle is on trial. The opposite contention has been the English policy of free trade, or, at least, a tariff for revenue only, which takes no account of the factor of so-called protection for domestic industries in tariff schedules.

Both Republican and Democratic parties agree that there ought to be some reduction of taxation. The specific plan, whether following the recommendation of Secretary Mellon or Representative Garner, will undoubtedly be decided by the present Congress. The Mellon principle is the release of capital from high surtaxes so that the resulting moneys may be applied to investment which will be turned to industrial development throughout the country. The Garner theory is the continuance of high surtaxes and the lessening of the taxation of smaller incomes, believed to bring relief to a greater number, people who receive moderate incomes.

Bonus for ex-Soldiers

The issue is clear. Some states have voted and will pay a state bonus. In addition, should the federal government grant one? The present bonus bill, which has been passed by the House and is now in the Finance Committee of the Senate, where it has been struggling with the tax bill for preferment, gives former service men a bonus in the form of insurance certificates. It has been estimated that it will cost \$2,119,000,000, but since the announcement of this figure doubts have been cast that the cost could be kept as low as this.

Education

A federal Department of Education, for which bills have been before Congress for several years.

Army and Navy

Further disarmament. Strict adherence to the letter and spirit of the disarmament treaties enacted during the Harding administration. Regulation and development of aircraft and air mail.

Immigration

Shall the United States adopt, as a permanent policy, further restriction of aliens or the "open door" of a national asylum? If there is to be greater restriction than ever, which is proposed in the immigration bill now before Congress, there arises the question of keeping strict account of immigration, for instance, by requiring the registration of all aliens in this country, and the ad-

visability of inaugurating a system of examination of immigrants at the European or other foreign sources, in an endeavor to prevent transportation of aliens ineligible to admission under the American laws.

Labor

The constitutional amendment now pending in Congress to regulate child labor in industry. This needs continued support and encouragement. Another labor issue, the functioning of the present Railroad Labor Board, is one of the reasons for the strenuous opposition to the present Transportation Act on the part of progressives and others.

It was created by Senator Cummins and Representative Esch, authors of the Esch-Cummins Act, with the hope that it would meet the entire labor difficulty in the railroad industry. Witnesses have testified over and over again that it is a failure. Yet there remains the question—is it better than nothing? Another plank in a labor platform is the prospect of the problem of the coal mines still hanging fire, and this involves the fundamental principle referred to above of private versus government control and operation.

Shipping

Shall there be a paternalistic policy of government control, operation and subsidy for American shipping? Some interests would separate control and operation, and federal subsidy for the merchant marine with the argument that federal subsidy and encouragement should be given to private operation.

Conservation

If the country is to profit by the exhaustive oil investigations a new conservation policy must result. President Coolidge already has appointed a commission to go to the oil fields and report upon the actual condition of the nation's supply. Oil is only a part of a real conservation program. The country has not been thoroughly aroused to the extent to which the natural resources are becoming depleted since the Roosevelt Administration.

An important and proper subject for study in this connection is whether or not the Ku Klux Klan should be dignified by being made an issue in the next campaign.

The group of voters who know most clearly and logically where they stand upon the main points in the above tentative outline will be by far in the strongest position in pre-election politics.

Foreign Relations

What has the League of Nations accomplished to date? Authoritative sources will reveal an astonishingly large number of results along humanitarian and social lines—not so much in the political field, although the work of the League in the economic restoration of central Europe, for instance Hungary, has been notable. Has the United States been more effective in the

capacity of "unofficial observer" and participant in the numerous economic conferences; for instance, the present assistance being given to the settlement of the Memel dispute, than she would have been as a member of the League? Should the Republican Party be held to its promise of membership for the United States in the World Court, and would development of the principle of the Four-Power Treaty be one way out of our isolation from world affairs? To what extent, in this connection, is the United States responsible for the economic collapse of Europe, for the condition of German women and children, for which the House has just voted a \$10,000,000 relief; to what extent are we a factor in the money crises of Germany and France, with the distress at the fall of the mark and franc?

What about Russia, and the continuance of the Hughes policy of non-recognition? What about the sale of arms and ammunition to governments engaged in or contemplating war? What is public sentiment regarding the cancellation of foreign war debts to the United States, or is it a better square deal to proceed with refunding and settlements,

as have been begun with Great Britain and smaller nations?

Of course, many of these subjects are attended by complications and economic problems beyond the grasp of the ordinary voter, man or woman. So must it always be. Perhaps one male voter out of one thousand knows the attendant conditions surrounding any issue. We do the best we can, having taken every opportunity for discussion and study. If every participant in the coming elections had gone that far, nothing short of a miracle would take place at that time. Neither party in Washington today can see through the trees of the small and revolting things which are uppermost. Conservation is not being discussed, but oil scandal. Reduction of taxation is almost superseded by the question of who will win, Secretary Mellon or the House. Policies are not paramount apparently, but men are—whether it is to be Coolidge, La Follette, McAdoo, Hiram Johnson or one of about twenty others.

Beginning in the next issue—a series of studies of presidential candidates, by Mrs. Stokes and others. Mrs. Stokes's first subject is President Coolidge.

The Bookshelf



By
M. A

THREE books portray the self-consciousness of young America; self-conscious in the sense of youth making discoveries about itself, taking time to get acquainted, comparing, remembering very recent childhood, and questioning the future.

"*Interpreter's House*" is Struthers Burt's brilliant novel of modern New York, and modern America. Its plot is the story of young Gulian Eyre, son of a wealthy and philosophic father, something of a poet with words and more with thoughts and feelings. He comes home from years in Europe with a curiosity about his country's life since the war, and a personal longing for some sort of growth and permanency. Through a series of vivid incidents which have to do with such fundamentals as death, divorce, and financial disaster, he reaches the point where "he was beginning to get his life under control, to direct it instead of having it direct him, and he was beginning to realize the satisfaction that lies in that fact." And although that is the end of the book, no one doubts that it is the beginning of the man Gulian Eyre.

Mr. Burt seems to say by implication that it is also the beginning of an adult nation, and that America is just about reaching that point. The book is full of observations and deductions which

one wants to mark, for its author has an eye for beauty and unseen values, and the ability to take things apart and put them together in arresting combinations. It is the first novel of a short story master, and it suffers from a kind of jerkiness which gives the impression of a group of short stories strung together with wordiness in the stringing. But these faults are small compared with the sense of greatness which marches through the whole book.

"*So Big*" is Edna Ferber's new novel, of such a character that only by great exercise of will power can one refrain from the pun which would make its description out of its name. It is an historical novel, in that it begins in the very young Chicago of 1885, and grows with the growth of an "incredibly Dutch" truck-farming section to the south of the city. But it is much more the story of the growth of Selina Peake, whose gambler father taught her that "life's just one grand adventure. The more kinds of people you see, the more things you do, the more things that happen to you, the richer you are. Even if they're not pleasant things, that's living." And through school teaching, being an unlucky farmer's wife, doing her own efficient farming, she remembered

Interpreter's House, Scribner, 1924. \$2.00.
So Big, Doubleday Page, 1924. \$2.00.
New Hampshire, Holt, 1923. \$2.50.

and lived his philosophy. But she failed when she tried to pass it on to her son, and that is the tragedy of the book.

Miss Ferber is another short story master who has turned novelist, and her skill with the latter form is of high order. Fine as it is, this book has the sense of growth, and the promise of greater work in the future.

Robert Frost's "*New Hampshire, a Poem with Notes and Grace Notes*," seems to be the state itself, with its people, its hills, its myths and its morals. There were folk who predicted that Frost was "written out," that his lucid style, innate rhythms, and hard, clear simplicity had nothing else to say. But those are the same people who think that all New England looks alike, who do not know the infinite variety in those small states, the local character, the startling contrasts which occur within short distances. This book is New Hampshire, and it has all those things. Humor and friendliness, sharp bitterness of grudging speech, meanness, and love of beauty, singing words, and mouth-quirking quaintness. And being New Hampshire, it is an integral and ancestral part of that America which has grown so much wider, and perhaps not so deep.

Making Garbage Respectable

(Continued from page 13)

and ashes are liabilities to the neighborhood; and flies, rats and cockroaches are plagues due to be added. However, Seattle has turned many gullies and ravines into playgrounds and building sites, and reports that she has accomplished this without nuisance.

I believe this method, at its best, is feasible for any city, large or small, having land spaces to fill, provided that in cold climates filling is never so rapid as to leave garbage permanently below the frost line before it has had time to oxidize; otherwise, future excavation will produce a great nuisance. Also, good drainage is indispensable, and filling must be done in even layers and covered every day.

Incineration, or burning garbage in a

specially constructed furnace, or "destructor," with forced draft, using the city's combustible waste as fuel. Ashes, especially domestic ashes, because of our wasteful methods of burning coal, usually have considerable fuel value. To be practical this method demands: (1) Collection of ashes and all combustible waste, as well as garbage, at one call, preferably in a light motor truck, or a special type of rather light and roomy cart which may be drawn by horses, or, if route is level or down grade, by a single horse. (2) Utilizing the resulting slag or clinker. This, broken to the size of crushed stone, is the ideal covering for sanitary fills. Slag is also fine material for road and sidewalk construction. (3) Utilization of excess steam. Part can be used for the forced draft of the incinerator; part for crushing the slag. Incinerators should be located where the excess steam can be used at the municipal pumping station, as in Savannah, or as an adjunct to some heating or lighting plant.

Among the advantages of incineration are—that it is the most sanitary of all methods; that destructors can be located anywhere without nuisance; that a temperature of 2000° or more can be reached in the combustion chamber in which dead horses and other animals (a big problem in a big city) can be incinerated without nuisance; and that the slag and excess steam can offset part of the expense.

Seattle, which at the time of my survey operated three destructors, using the crushed clinker for cover in the sanitary fills, but not utilizing the excess steam beyond its own plant, has given up all incineration on account of expense. I question the wisdom of this step especially since I am informed that dead "horses and cows are sold for what salvage the person buying can get out of them," a practice to be regarded as most dangerous to public health. At least one destructor would seem to be a sanitary necessity for any large city unless animal carcasses are disposed of by contract to a responsible rendering establishment.

It is undeniable that garbage, espe-

cially American garbage, contains a substantial recoverable value which is largely or wholly destroyed by any of the methods described. Many people feel that it is wrong to burn or bury it. Two alternatives exist: Feeding; and Reduction for recovery of the fats and chemicals.

Feeding is an ancient and much discredited method. Nevertheless, carried out under unified, expert and permanent management, it seems to be making good in quite a number of American cities. Worcester was the first to demonstrate it with a large municipal piggery, still after twenty-five years in successful operation; sometimes making money; sometimes encountering a deficit. Denver and Grand Rapids each do their own garbage collection and end municipal expense in placing the garbage on board train for a contract company which ships it many miles away. Expert veterinary and bacteriologic service is maintained at these great hog ranches; all pigs are immunized to hog cholera soon after birth, else this means of disposal might be obliterated in one swift epidemic. The feeding method, contrary to the general idea, is not as well suited to the small city which cannot afford the expense of necessary supervision in health and sanitation. Many cities have tried feeding on a large scale and have abandoned it for one or more of the following reasons: Very long and expensive haul; difficulty of preventing sale of hotel and restaurant garbage to outside scavengers (hotel men often strenuously oppose municipal collection); epidemics among hogs, difficulty in sorting out injurious foreign matter in garbage, including citrus fruit, tin cans, broken tumblers, trichinous rats, parts of diseased meat carcasses, to say nothing of soap powder, lye, glass or incandescent bulbs and phonograph needles, much more easily felt than seen!—and nuisance-abatement suits brought by township officers and others.

Until about a decade ago the one great objection to garbage reduction was that it created an intolerable nuisance and as such must be so far removed from the city that the length of haul more than counterbalanced the value of the product. However, a new process has been developed by which garbage is dehydrated, de-greased and de-chemicalized entirely in sealed tanks with condensers. It is claimed that no nuisance is caused even in thickly populated regions. Columbus was the first city to make a notable success with reduction. New Bedford, Los Angeles and Rochester are among the cities which have the system in operation with short hauls and a material reduction in cost of garbage disposal. This system does not allow home-wrapping of garbage and leaves ashes and general rubbish out of account; but it does take care of dead animals.

However, it cannot be too strongly

PRIZE CONTEST

The *Woman Citizen* will give the following cash prizes for the best essays on *Is Woman Suffrage a Success or Failure in Your Town—Why?* written by girl students in any High School or Private School of same standing:

First Prize, \$50.00

Second Prize, \$25.00

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The essays must be from 600 to 1,000 words in length.

The writer must not sign her essay, but her name and address and the name of the principal of the school must be placed in a sealed envelope accompanying the manuscript.

Essays must reach the office of the *Woman Citizen* by June 15, 1924.

Judges will be announced later.

During this contest special class room rates of 5 cents per copy will be given for ten copies or more of the *Woman Citizen* sent to one address.

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emphasized that the general overhead expense of this method and the amount of scientific supervision required are altogether too great for the small city. *Reduction would be a costly mistake for any city under about 100,000.*

In conclusion: I am personally of the opinion that for the majority of cities with filling spots and less than 100,000 population, a combination of sanitary fill and destructor is best. For those well over 100,000 I would add to this combination a modern reduction plant operated, if possible, by excess steam from the destructor. I would duplicate this combination as often as necessary to meet the needs of the city.

However, each city must be studied as a separate problem. Do not let your city leap before it looks, which is chiefly responsible for present widespread unsatisfactory conditions.

There is surely no greater challenge to women's housekeeping knack and experience than this disgracefully unsettled problem of a city's garbage. I believe, moreover, that there exists a great field for professionally trained women as sanitary inspectors and municipal sanitary engineers and as health officers, to the end that our cities may be brought to approximate the order and wholesomeness of a well-kept home.

Spoils or Civil Service?

(Continued from page 10)

"This civil service law," he says, "is the biggest fraud of the age. It is the curse of the nation. There can't be no real patriotism while it lasts. How are you going to interest our young men in their country if you have no offices to give them when they work for their party?"

"This is an awful serious proposition. Free silver and the tariff and imperialism and the Panama Canal are trifling issues when compared to it. We could worry along without any of these things, but civil service is sapping the foundation of the whole shooting match. Let me argue it out for you. I ain't up on sillygisms, but I can give you some arguments that nobody can answer.

"First, this great and glorious country was built up by political parties; second, parties can't hold together if their workers don't get the offices when they win; third, if the parties go to pieces, the government they built up must go to pieces, too; fourth, then there'll be h— to pay.

"Could anything be clearer than that? Say, honest now, can you answer that argument? Of course, you won't deny that the government was built up by the great parties. That's history and you can't go back of the returns. As to my second proposition you can't deny that either. When parties can't get offices, they'll bust. They ain't far from the bustin' point now, with all this civil

service business keepin' most of the good things from them. How are you goin' to keep up patriotism if this thing goes on?"

And that the spoils system does stimulate a certain type of individual to political activity few will deny.

Why, then, has this method of choosing men to office been abandoned in the most progressive jurisdictions? There are at least six charges against it. First, it causes an unnecessary increase in offices; second, it fills the office with incompetent men; third, it impairs efficiency through the development of an exceedingly rapid labor turnover; fourth, it wastes the time of both administrators and legislators; fifth, it causes an increase in the cost of government; and, sixth, it breeds corruption.

The truth of the first charge will be attested by anybody living under a jurisdiction in which the spoils system still prevails. Frequently, the daily papers carry puns on the situation. The cartoonist who portrayed a clerk in a Government office declining a cup of coffee offered him at lunch with the horrified exclamation, "My dear fellow, it will keep me awake all the afternoon," but pictured, more than likely, an actual incident. Or if the incident was not real, it at least seemed very much in keeping with the general repute of the Government service.

That appointments made in consideration of party work rather than upon the basis of qualifications for office will result in the appointment of incompetent men needs no proof.

The expense involved in the labor turnover is not, perhaps, so generally realized. Only when one discovers that private capital estimates the cost of replacing an industrial employee at from ten dollars to three hundred dollars, depending on the degree of skill involved, and the cost of replacing a clerk at approximately one hundred dollars, is it possible to attain a real conception of the cost of the spoils system. The principle of the spoils system, carried to its logical conclusion, would bring about a complete change of personnel with each change of administration. At no time, however, has the principle been applied in its entirety. To the extent that it is, nevertheless, by just so much is the efficiency of the service impaired. And to just that degree does the nation suffer a loss.

Furthermore, the pressure upon both legislators and administrators has very frequently consumed so much of their time that they have in fact become nothing more than office brokers. The real work for which they were elected suffered accordingly.

The final charge against the system is that it breeds corruption. In general, offices are used for the buying of political support when they are distributed under the spoils system. Offices,

not principles, become the chief stimulus to political effort. Ethically it is hard to see any difference between the man who sells his political influence for office and the man who sells his vote for money, save in the matter of degree. Nor is it any wonder that serious scandals occur with this type of individual in office. It is, indeed, an easy transition from the stage of thought which permits the manipulation of public office for political advancement to one which permits the use of official position for aggrandizement in other ways.

This, then, is the spoils system and these are the charges against it. What method of choosing individuals to fill the administrative service has been devised to replace it?

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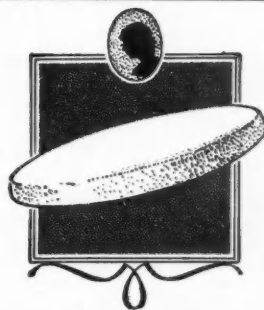
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system. A civil service board has been appointed for the purpose of eliminating spoils and developing a system of personnel management. The purpose of the board might be stated as the reduction of the labor turnover, the recruitment of the highest type of personnel and the development of zeal in the service.

A system of examinations has been devised for the elimination of the unfit. These examinations are usually designed to test the applicant's ability to fill the particular position in question. They vary in character with the character of the work to be performed. In New York common labor is given a physical examination and strength test. Applicants for positions as inspectors of blasting are sent down into an excavating project and allowed to demonstrate their ability to do blasting. Inspectors of weights and measures are given defective scales to discover the defects. For other positions other examinations are used. A part of the examination of the Director of Food Inspection was to "outline a plan for the organization of an inspection force for the proper control of the food supply of a city of 4,500,000 on a budget allowance of \$230,000."

For many positions the written examination is not all-conclusive. Other elements are taken into serious consideration—education, experience, character, etc. When a vacancy arises the three names standing highest on the lists are certified as eligible for appointment. From these the appointing officer may take his choice. This, to some extent, is a departure from the merit principle, but it has been justified upon the ground that the examination does not reveal a man's full character. In the old days, when an examination meant a written examination, nothing more, there was

without doubt justification for the procedure. How much justification remains in those jurisdictions where the examinations have been worked out with scientific precision is open to question.

By these means, to some degree at least, partisan considerations in appointments have been minimized, and the unqualified have been barred out.

The work of the commission does not end here, however. Only under a system in which the employees receive equal pay for equal work, in which promotion takes place for merit, and in which promotion is reasonably rapid, can the Government hope to attract to it, or hold, men of high caliber. Hence the task of the civil service commissions has been to produce these conditions in the Government employ. The result has been that movements for reclassification, that is, ironing out the differences in pay and work which everywhere remain as vestiges of the spoils system, have been under way. Efficiency records have been introduced. Transfers from one department to another when openings in the upper ranges of the service occur, have been made possible. And agitation for retirement systems has become widespread.

Although it cannot be said that all the problems that confront civil service commissions have by any means been solved, nevertheless *it can be said that the civil service system has already proved itself infinitely superior to the spoils system.* And that wherever it has had adequate support it is on the high road to the solution of the problems which still confront it.

What has all this to do with the woman citizen? The chances are that you live under a jurisdiction in which administrative offices are still considered

spoils. If such is the case there is work to do. If not, the chances are that the civil service system of the locality in which you live is more nominal than real. If so, there is still work to do.

A Line on the Movies

By Laura L. Laedlein

TWENTY-ONE—A healthy boy is wounded to the heart (who wouldn't be?) at having to skip, bare-legged and satyr-horned, to the wooden ecstasies of Pannish pipes, for his mother's charity benefit, in company of sundry galloping nymphs. A factory girl who never heard of Pan, a boy and girl affair, and a scandal-panicky family are the story-frame for Richard Barthelmess' intelligent simplicity of acting and Dorothy Mackaill's good support of him. An Inspiration picture, directed by John Robertson.

LILIES OF THE FIELD—A picture of the gay ladies of life, in which the acting is far better than the story. The lilies wear beautiful gowns, but not as beautiful as those of the lady who represents toiling and spinning by rearing one child on millions in Washington Square. Corinne Griffith and Conway Tearle. A First National picture, directed by John Francis Dillon.

THE THIEF OF BAGDAD—A spirited fairy-tale, beautifully produced and directed, with Douglas Fairbanks in the rôle of the gallant prince of thieves, playing laughter and romance with pantomimic clarity and grace. The picture has unusual consistency of manner and mood. Not to be missed by children—of all ages—who want excitement and beauty, nor by those seriously picture-curious. A Douglas Fairbanks production, from the Arabian Nights, and directed by Raoul Walsh.

THE FIGHTING COWARD—A young conscientious objector to the old Southern code of fire-eating runs away from home, and indulges his love of peace by building on bluster a reputation for ruthlessness no one dares touch. A cast of favorites includes Ernest Torrence, Mary Astor and Cullen Landis. A Paramount picture, from the stage play "Magnolia" by Booth Tarkington, and directed by James Cruze.

BIG BROTHER—This is a story of an East Side gangster made socially orthodox by the responsibility of a small boy ward. The rare chance for a heavy sentimentality is pretty well withstood: intelligent direction and the often excellent acting of Tom Moore and his small colleague, Mickey Bennett, touch the stereotyped story-outline with fresh human color. Small boys will like Midge and his hero, though the latter has a heavy hand in the matter of soapsuds, and probably uses the wrong soap, too. A Paramount picture, from a story by Rex Beach, and directed by Allan Dwan.

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The School Child's Health

By Gulielma F. Alsop

COLLEGE PHYSICIAN AT BARNARD

ENORMOUS demands in body growth and glandular and muscular development are made on the child from the beginning of the school age right through adolescence. To satisfy these bodily demands adequately, the child needs an enormous caloric intake of food. A growing child should eat two or three times as much as his businessman father. He needs as much food for his actual growth as a lumberman does for heat and energy, working in the woods in Maine in winter, or a soldier in active service, or a sailor at sea in a storm. The satisfaction of the child's needs is provided for by nature in two ways: By the possession of a large appetite, which usually demands food at least six times a day, and by a great muscular activity which utilizes the body-building foods eaten and transforms them into bones, brains, muscles, organs, skin, hair.

The same vitaminic necessities that apply to the baby's and the young child's food hold good here, as they do through life. But the qualities that stimulate growth are more essential before the bones have ceased developing. The diet of a growing child should be abundant, varied—not selected—and simple. The only restriction should be in the line of sweets. It should contain ample body-building foods—milk, eggs, meat; exuberant heat and energy foods, carbohydrates, with special stress on vitamins and minerals in the vegetables, fruits and whole cereals.

A well co-ordinated muscular body guarantees that the various functions of the physical body, digestion, absorption, assimilation, excretion, circulation, secretion, will proceed normally, with ease and efficiency. The skeletal growth depends upon the muscular growth. No back or shoulders are held straight by the bones themselves but always by the muscles joining the bones. The success of skeletal growth is first, nutritional, second muscular. If the muscles are sufficiently developed, then the skeletal growth takes place with success, resulting in good posture, an erect carriage, straight shoulders, flat back, strong, high-arched feet.

Muscles grow by use, by long, unwearying, oft-repeated use. The muscular demands of a growing child can only be met by four, or better six, hours of bodily activity daily. Every muscular act is at the same time a nervous act and trains the nerve centers. If one picks out just at random a nervous child it is sure to be a thin, indoor, unmuscled child. The steady, well-balanced girl or boy is always well-fed, well-muscled.

A child's instinct, if left free and untrammelled, will in most cases drive it

to obtain the fulfillment of these necessities. Usually it is our misguided methods of civilization, emphasizing the brain at the expense of the body, which confine a child too soon in school; so doing it incalculable harm and influencing its entire adult life. School requires quite the opposite behavior from nature. School requires quiet, silence, application and the close use of the eyes in reading and writing; nature demands noise, motion, diversity and the use of the eyes for distance only.

Moreover, the resistance of a child to infectious diseases is much less under ten years of age than after that age. A child needs space, not crowding, isolation from contact with disease until the resistance has increased.

This does not mean that the child should simply run wild, though that is often excellent, but that it should be vigorously taught muscular skill in games and sport, and some mechanical skill with tools as in carpentering and sewing.

Feed the child well. Postpone its schooling until eight, or better, ten. When it does go to school, remember that its hours of play out of doors should be as jealously guarded and as thoughtfully planned as its hours of study in school.

Your Investments

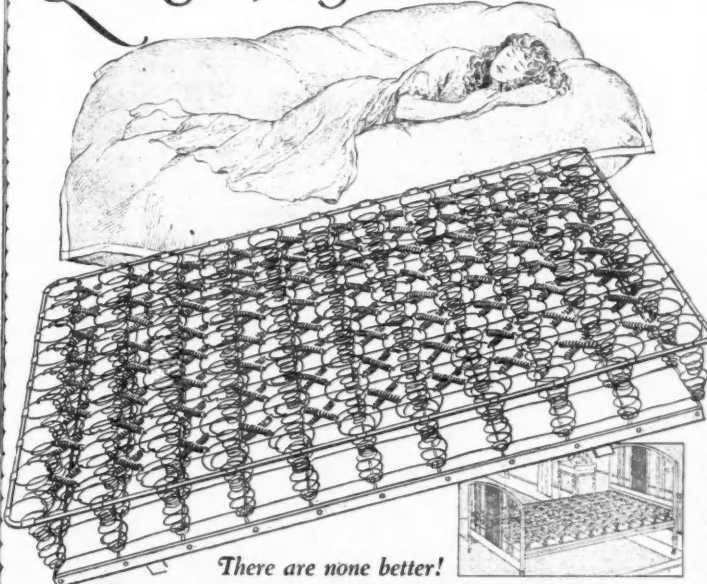
The Austrian Loan

By Eleanor Kerr

NORMALLY there is no great range in the exchange value of the currency of a country which is theoretically on a gold basis. The European war, however, as one of its serious aftermaths, left the currencies of Europe in a disordered and demoralized condition. In the case of Austria tremendous amounts of paper money were issued, not only during war years, but later, while the gold reserve actually became smaller, so that by 1922 the Austrian crown was barely worth the paper on which it was printed. Meanwhile the Empire had been broken up, several new countries' being formed out of the territory of the former dual monarchy, leaving to the Republic of Austria the City of Vienna, and approximately the territory which formed the old Duchy of Austria, comprising about 33,000 square miles and a population of about 6,500,000.

Conditions rapidly became chaotic, since the currency basis lacked stability, making savings and investments useless unless they took the form of material objects. There was no incentive to in-

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dustry since wages depreciated more quickly even than they could be spent. Commerce was at a standstill and real want followed its breakdown.

At this stage the League of Nations stepped in and, placing Austria in what was practically a receivership, appointed Dr. Zimmermann, a practical Dutch economist and politician, as administrator. A plan was arranged whereby a foreign loan, guaranteed by the leading nations of the world (with the exception of the United States, which is not a member of the League), should be raised in gold to form the basis of a gold reserve to stabilize the Austrian currency. This loan was issued last summer and yielded the equivalent of over \$120,000,000. The Austrians themselves added a further amount of gold, and as a result the country's currency was placed on a definite stable basis of 70,000 Austrian crowns to the American dollar. The League of Nations' plan for rehabilitation provided for the transfer to private

management of various state industrial enterprises, gradual reduction in the number of state employees, and other efficient measures.

As a result of this stabilization of the currency, even though it was done at such a low rate, banking and commercial conditions have greatly improved, savings are once more in evidence and it looks as if the Austrian budget would be balanced during the coming year.

Stabilization of currency is an assurance that, no matter how small one may call the value of the unit, it is nevertheless going to remain close to that value. This assurance, coupled with renewed energy and the knowledge of the moral as well as financial support of other nations, has produced a transformation which may be regarded as the first step in putting the nations on a sound basis.

The success of the Austrian loan will probably lead to other similar issues, a stabilization loan to Hungary being now in process of arrangement.

Is Woman Suffrage Failing?*(Continued from page 10)*

"Women have contributed, too, in raising the tone of the polls. They are no longer considered places of black smoke and men's feet parked on tables. The women did this unconsciously with no especial effort. Their mere presence seemed the signal for the change. Even the most grudging will admit this.

"One political speaker told me also that women had raised the tone of meetings, that when they were present, the audience listened more attentively. I don't know whether women are more interested or whether they are just more used to listening! I think women are helping, too, to get politicians away from the flowery type of speech, on which so much time and effort are wasted. Women like speeches cut to bare essentials, and they will let this be known. I am hoping this influence will penetrate even to Congress.

"Very little has been accomplished as yet by the women in the parties. Many of them looked upon suffrage as an end in itself. Now they are learning to understand how they can make themselves effective by working through their parties. The machinery is complicated; there is much to learn. And they must work their way in.

"Of course, in the inner councils, where things are decided, the women voters have as yet very little place. I'm

surprised more use has not been made of women. Women are intensely practical; they are also good at finance. They are extremely careful of small accounts and attentive to detail. I think men must eventually realize this and make the most of it. They are already beginning to feel that women are not trying to snatch anything away from them, and they show themselves quite willing to discuss politics with women as equals.

"Probably one of the finest things the vote has done for women is to make them take a much greater interest in public affairs; and politics proves a great leveler. Interest in working for the same party or the same measure makes you forget social differences and puts you on the same footing. Politics makes for that neighborliness so much needed in great big New York. It is especially needed by women, many of whom are much hedged in and protected—privileged in a way. Politics throws them entirely on their own. When I go out to a dinner with my husband I am accepted largely on account of what I am through him. But when I go to a political dinner I am just myself.

"Women, really, have gotten more from enfranchisement than they have as yet given, I believe. But give them time, and they will have definite achievements to show for it."

The responses in this number of the symposium came by letter and through interviews secured by Eve Chappell and Frances Drewry McMullen.

We still have many more names waiting. Just picking at random, there are Jane Addams, Newton D. Baker, Mrs. John Pratt, Ada Comstock, Samuel Gompers, W. G. Shepherd, Maud Swartz, Helen Varick Boswell, etc., etc. Comments on the symposium are coming in too, and they will make good disputatious reading.

Keep within three hundred words, please, if you write us a letter.

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII

APRIL 19, 1924

Number 24

News Notes of the Fortnight

Summed up from many sources

The Dawes Report

THE event of the fortnight in international affairs is the publication of the long-awaited "Dawes report" on the financial condition and possibilities of Germany. Such a statement, based on actual investigations, has been the one hope of the reparations situation for at least two years. The report, submitted to the Reparations Commission after three months' work, was promptly accepted not only by that body but by all the allied governments concerned. Germany has just accepted in principle.

Several pages of small print are necessary to print the report, and in the nature of the material it is hard reading. A small minority, perhaps, understand it fully, and doubtless many points will open up under further study. But the main outlines may be summarized:

Under certain conditions Germany can pay. Her taxes on true wealth must be made as high proportionately as those of France and England—which they have not been.

Germany needs help for the first four years in order to make payments. In place of a moratorium, the report recommends a substantial loan—perhaps 800,000,000 gold marks, of which Americans and English would be expected to take half. In the event of this loan, Germany would pay smaller sums for the first four years—50,000,000 gold marks for the first.

After the four years she would pay annually 2,500,000,000 gold marks, and more if prosperity warrants—on a sliding scale.

The total amount of reparations is not fixed. Optimists say this leaves the door open for reduction in the amount if France should relent, but, on the other hand, it means the continuance of uncertainty. Germany will urge that a total be fixed.

The principal sources of German payments are to be German railways, mortgages on German industries, and general taxes. Germany will run her own railways, but for fifty years they will be

under international supervision. The industries are to be mortgaged for two and a half billions as security. If \$75,000,000 is not produced, the mortgage will be called. If there is a deficit from one source of revenue, it is to be made up from some other source.

Two billions in capital abroad are to be repatriated under German control.

A new German bank of issue should be established to help in stabilizing currency.

French and Belgian occupation of the Ruhr should be limited so there shall be no interference with Germany's industrial activities there, particularly with railroads and industries. German economic sovereignty, that is, should be restored; but withdrawal of military occupation is not suggested. This is another point on which Germany will urge changes.

Germany will not be required to pay the cost of armies of occupation, as in the past. Amounts paid count directly on reparations.

Generally, the reaction of opinion has been hopeful of the Dawes report as the beginning of real reconstruction. The whole plan hinges on the international loan, as the substitute for a moratorium. Weaknesses that have been pointed out are the lack of a fixed total and of a plan for a tribunal, less partisan than the Reparation Commission, to consider revision of the figures—e. g., for the fifth year, in case they should prove too high. The committee could not, perhaps, in the nature of its limitations, determine all these factors, but they are left for governments to work out.

The President to the Senate

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE last week broke his silence with a bombshell of a message to the Senate. It was a stern protest against the conduct of the Senate sub-committee investigating the Internal Revenue Bureau. Mr. Coolidge enclosed a letter from Secretary Mellon which complained of the demoralization of the work of the Bureau through the constant demands for evidence, and

charged that the sole present purpose of Senator Couzens, moving spirit of the committee, is to "vent some personal grievance" against Mr. Mellon.

The committee had been investigating tax returns of companies in which the Secretary of the Treasury is financially interested, to discover whether or not favoritism had been shown. Mr. Coolidge said the committee had been transgressing constitutional guarantees against unwarranted search and seizure in the process. He also pronounced illegal its action in accepting an arrangement by which Francis J. Heney, famous California prosecutor, was to carry on the investigation, with Senator Couzens paying the bill.

As soon as the Senate recovered from its amazement at the drastic message the Democrats launched a counter attack. They took the line that Mr. Coolidge really wants all the investigations stopped. The next day's development was the statement by Senator Watson, the chairman of the committee, who favors ending the inquiry, that Governor Pinchot was the force behind the attack on the Internal Revenue Bureau and that he had suggested the employment of Heney, planning an exposé of the Prohibition Unit in the Internal Revenue Bureau. Governor Pinchot admitted with alacrity that he had named Heney, and the fight is not over. Senator Watson is openly opposed to investigating prohibition enforcement at this time.

Election Straws

WISCONSIN, Michigan, Illinois and Nebraska have chosen their delegates to the national conventions during the past fortnight. In the course of these contests, except the first, Hiram Johnson in all cases lost, and President Coolidge won, on the Republican side. In Wisconsin it was a foregone conclusion that Senator La Follette should win.

On the Democratic side the Wisconsin primaries marked the first appearance of Governor Smith of New York as a candidate. In this state the presidential primaries and presidential preference

primaries are held at the same time, the former selecting the delegates and the latter serving as a check and imposing a mandate. Governor Smith's name did not appear in the presidential preference primary at all; and as his delegates, chosen in the primary, were much more numerous than those of either of his opponents, McAdoo or Reed, the mandate may be ignored.

In Michigan, Henry Ford won over Senator Woodbridge N. Ferris as Democratic nominee, but Mr. Ford's name was retained on the ticket only by a technicality and against his wish. Mr. McAdoo's name did not appear. In Illinois Mr. McAdoo had no opposition for presidential preference, but the organization slate of "no preference" delegates-at-large to the national convention swept the state. Nebraska gave a favorite son vote to Governor Charles W. Bryan. It is understood that Mr. McAdoo's manager will claim the favor of these delegates and that they will be disputed by other managers.

In Illinois, Senator Medill McCormick, isolationist, apparently lost the nomination for senator to Governor Charles S. Deneen, though final recounts are to be made.

Wheeler vs. Daugherty

THE sensational charge against the "prosecutor" of the committee investigating the Department of Justice, Senator Burton K. Wheeler of Montana (referred to elsewhere in this number), is taking a direction that looks bad for Mr. Daugherty. When Senator Wheeler was indicted by a Federal Grand Jury at Great Falls, Mont., on the charge of having accepted money as a retainer for representing a client before the Department of the Interior, Mr. Daugherty authorized the Associated Press to say that the Department of Justice had nothing whatever to do with the indictment. Senator Wheeler, in making his defense in the Senate, charged that the indictment was a Department of Justice frame-up. A few days later William J. Burns, Chief of the Department of Justice Bureau of Investigation, testified that agents of the Department, under Mr. Daugherty, had gone into Montana to make a case against him in the courts, and that he had himself reported to Mr. Daugherty Senator Wheeler's alleged service to his client.

A Senate committee, headed by Senator Borah, has been appointed to inquire into the charges against Senator Wheeler.

MacDonald Strikes a Snag

THE British Labor Government got a jolt in its defeat on the question of a rent bill. In addition to opposition parties, Premier MacDonald has to reckon with a wide division of opinion in his own ranks. The northern radicals—the "wild men of the Clyde"—have been boiling with impatience from the

beginning over the Government's moderation, and demanding some measure really Socialistic. To pacify this faction, the Government agreed to a clause whereby no tenant who was unemployed could be evicted for non-payment of rent, thus putting the loss on the landlord. The Liberals joined the Conservatives in opposition, and only a filibuster prevented defeat. On consideration, the Liberals got to the point of being ready to support non-eviction if the costs were borne by the community. The moderate Laborites and the Liberals could have carried this. But meantime the Government had decided on a proposal that the unemployed should not be evicted until they had had a chance to apply to the poor authorities for relief. The Liberals said this went too far in the other direction—and meant nothing. The Government stuck to it, however, and was defeated, 221 to 212. It was not considered, however, sufficient ground for resignation.

The Immigration Bill

THE Johnson immigration bill has just passed the House, 322 to 71. It includes the much-discussed Japanese exclusion clause, and if made law will nullify the "gentlemen's agreement" which is presumed to have the same effect. This clause was put through in

spite of the opposition of Secretary Hughes, whose latest move was to send the House the letter of protest he had received from the Japanese ambassador to the United States.

This measure fixes a yearly minimum quota of 200 and in addition two per cent of the number of foreign-born of each nationality in the United States as determined by the census of 1890, as against the present three per cent quota on the basis of 1910. An important feature is its provision that every immigrant entering the country shall have an immigrant certificate issued by an American consular officer—partly for purposes of selection, partly to prevent the immigrant's arrival after his country's quota is exhausted. Also, only ten per cent of any country's quota would be admitted in one month—twenty per cent may come now, and jam the port. The total admissible would be 169,083 instead of the 357,803 of this year, with higher proportions of Germans and British subjects.

Supported by the "Anglo-Saxon bloc," the bill is causing a great deal of hard feeling on the part of the southeastern and central Europeans.

In the Senate Committee an amendment was added to the bill restoring the "gentlemen's agreement." But, as this goes to press, the Senate has just defeated the amendment by a vote of 76 to 2. Indignation at the threat which it found in the Japanese ambassador's note seems to have been the leading motive.

Very Briefly

THE post of Commissioner General to Hungary, under the League of Nations loan plan, has been accepted by Jeremiah Smith, Jr., a Boston lawyer.

In 1922 Oregon adopted an initiative measure which made it impossible for children to be sent to private schools—a law passed under the influence of the Ku Klux Klan and the Federated Patriotic Societies. The Federal District Court of Oregon has declared this compulsory school law invalid.

Parading Ku Klux Klansmen killed two citizens of Lilly, Pa., in alleged self-defense. The Klansmen had burned its usual fiery cross, and the crowd had turned a fire hose on the parade. A murderous volley was the "defense."

The new Attorney General is Harlan Stone, former dean of Columbia Law School; he has a fine reputation as a lawyer, and is on record in opposition to the policies based on alarms over the Red menace.

The new Secretary of the Navy has announced a new naval oil policy—no leases or contracts to be made by the Navy Department without the personal approval of the Secretary of the Navy, unless they have been expressly authorized by Congress. In any event, leases would be made only after competitive bidding.

April 15, 1924.



The Duchess of Rutland, mother of Lady Diana Manners, is our cover artist, and the subject we chose is a favorite with her—her daughter. The Duchess is a born artist. Her first work was done when she was only five, and she has never had any training other than observation. But both her mother and father were artistic, and her childhood was spent in an atmosphere of art-love. Pencil portraits are her forte, and the speed with which she catches the likeness in sure, clear lines is unusual. Her present exhibit in New York has all been done since she came to this side with Lady Diana—brought here by her part in "The Miracle," which opened early this year.

Like most artists, the Duchess of Rutland appreciates all phases of artistic expression, and has experimented in sculpturing so successfully that the word "experimented" no longer applies.



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The
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Interlude



Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

A
Do-Nothing
Congress

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

April 10, 1924.

THE Dawes report on Germany's ability to pay the reparations account due the allied nations is a refreshing insert at the capital as I write, for it is the only incident—and a most important one—that is not involved with the presidential campaign. Before nightfall a dozen Democratic senators and two dozen radicals on the hill may have arisen in the Senate and cavilled at it in the sharp language which is the order of the day there. This morning it is virgin pure on its face value and provides a ray of hope for the world economic situation. Secretary Hoover, the only government official primed to make early comment upon it, says:

"The greatest single barrier to the economic recuperation of the world has been the unsettlement of German reparations, with all the malign forces that have flowed from it in unemployment, continued great armament, disturbance to world finance, instability of exchange—all in a multitude of directions. If the commission now secures a just and practical settlement, the whole world will benefit."

Our "Stability"

Washington awaited the Dawes report with tense interest. Little had been said about it, but the capital is full of government problems directly affected by the economic situation, and although pains had been taken to make sure that this commission of experts studying German finances for the last three months was entirely unofficial, nevertheless the effect of a settlement will be of as much significance as if it had been official. This "unofficial observer" nomenclature of participation in Europe's troubles does not compliment the intelligence of the average American, while it tries to fool the masses in so small a matter as the form or wording of the acceptance of these invitations from Europe which mean so much not only to the United States but to the world. Is American politics, as such, more afraid of its skin than that of Europe?

Here we turn ourselves inside out, call our activities any kind of queer and misleading names, for the sake of remaining in favor and in power. In Great Britain, Lloyd George, or the Laborites, take a stand and stick to it by its right name. Cabinets fall, ministries are replaced and the country pursues the expected course until the Lloyd Georges or the Laborites by another turn of the wheel are brought in again. It seems to break the heart of the American political party to contemplate relinquishing the reins of power to such an extent that it will go to any length to retain control. Retaining control is called our "stability." But are we actually more stable than those governments more quickly and easily responsive to public opinion, where the loss of a vote of confidence is sufficient to turn out a ministry in favor of another of different political policies? England, France, Italy and Germany have flopped three times to our once, yet when their representatives return with plans for peace, for the inauguration of great and far-reaching new foreign policies, such, for instance, as the ratification of the Versailles Treaty and the League of Nations, they can more easily find support, or instant rejection, than can American leaders.

It may be that the American mind is more concerned with men than with policies; that if, for instance, it considers Woodrow Wilson stubborn and self-sufficient, it decides to have nothing to do with his foreign policies. On the other hand, tradition and experience have held men as mere pawns in European politics. They go out like candles blown by the wind. Their policies are pre-eminent in the European public mind; not their personalities.

So Brigadier General Charles G. Dawes may find himself lauded in Europe for his indefatigable endeavor to straighten out the economic tangle and turned down at home for his presumption in setting himself up as an autocrat over world finance. No one can tell at this early stage. What General Dawes

has done has been to make concrete and workable what has been dangerously ineffectual, and give the Reparation Commission a plan which it can lay before the world, and the German government, as an impartial solution of the economic difficulties.

In the meantime Congress has become more involved in scandal and less in constructive legislation. Senator Wheeler, Montana liberal-Democrat, who has been acting as prosecutor for the Senate Committee investigating former Attorney General Daugherty and the Department of Justice, has suddenly been indicted in Montana for accepting a fee, after he had been elected a United States Senator, for which, it is alleged, he had agreed to use his influence in oil land cases before the Department of the Interior. This has aroused the Senate to a high pitch due to the assertion by Senator Wheeler's supporters that the whole case against him has been the result of a vindictive "frame-up" on the part of the Department of Justice under Mr. Daugherty, for which there is no foundation in truth or fact. Senator Walsh, the oil prosecutor, has moved a resolution (the Senate has just passed it) for the appointment of a Senate Committee to examine the charge against his colleague. If it is found that this is the result of a back-fire from the Department of Justice, it will furnish one of the real scandals and regrettable disgraces in American politics.

Will Anything Happen?

How much more of this sort of thing? What has happened to the original case against Mr. Fall? Or where is a new program of conservation of natural resources which is about the only good that could conceivably come from the investigation scandals?

No one closely studying the situation expected this short session of Congress to accomplish much—but few dreamed that it would so thoroughly sidetrack itself. Why did it meet at all? The

appropriation bills, made up from the national budget submitted to Congress by the President after long and painstaking study by the budget experts, could have been approved by the President—if there were any such legislative procedure—and the bills would have remained just as valuable to the nation, perhaps more so, for they would not have contained the addition of the occasional "pork" which Congress always reserves the right to insert according to the amount that the traffic at the time will bear. As for the rest of the legislative program, if it goes through, few will have any confidence that it was considered on its merits.

The High Cost of Home, with Radio

Take immigration, which is being debated in both houses this week. The subject has been brewing in Congress for the last ten years. It is of utmost importance and concern to every branch of American life. Hearings have been held year after year until the evidence piled up would reach from here to Chicago. The aim now is only to write something into the law which temporarily will carry it over for another year or so, when the subject will come up again ostensibly for the formulation of a real and more or less lasting policy. When men like Senator Gillett, and others, speak from the heart, you will find that they attribute considerable of the vacillation and inability of Congress to produce constructive results, to the irresponsibility of men elected to both houses these days. Cost of living may have something to do with it. Not many men with the intellectual capacity for adequate study and handling of great national problems, who do not have private means, can afford to come to Washington. It is always safer to ascribe some fundamental and homely reason, like the housing and feeding of a man and his family, for a complexity than to try to find psychological factors underlying the cause. Men move quicker because of the bread-and-butter urge than they do for reasons of blue sky and flowers. That is human instinct.

Life at the capital has become expensive and congested. Your correspondent reports the erection of a large sign in front of one of the numerous new apartment houses built for the accommodation of Congressmen and others in a thickly populated district:

APARTMENTS FOR RENT ONE, TWO AND THREE ROOMS WITH RADIO OUTLET

The normal attributes of a home: sun, air, bath, heat, space for children, and so on, are entirely out of the picture. A small number of rooms, presupposing no family, and a radio outlet for entertainment are assumed to suffice. Now, no woman pictures the perfect legislator here from the great broad country with all its problems as the kind of man who

In Congress

THE House during the fortnight has been engaged with the regular appropriation bills and debate on immigration legislation. The Senate has the immigration bill now for discussion, after which the bonus is expected to take precedence. Legislative progress has been as follows:

Introduced in the Senate

By Senator Pepper, Republican, joint resolution proposing a world peace conference.

By Senator Bruce, Democrat, Maryland, bill authorizing the manufacture and sale of 2.75 beer.

Passed by the Senate

Bill preventing a monopoly of radio communication and limiting licenses to a term not to exceed two years.

Joint resolution authorizing the President to appoint an army officer to be head of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

Bill, already passed by the House, appropriating \$7,000,000 for the development of roads and trails in national parks.

Bill proposed by Senator Pepper for the erection in Washington of a monument to the national game of baseball.

Bill creating the Utah National Park in that state.

Introduced in the House

By Representative Sabath, Democrat, bill creating a commission to study the immigration problem and extending the present restrictive law to December 31, 1925.

By Representative Parks, Democrat, bill prohibiting all immigration for five years.

Passed by the House

Legislation deferring for three years collection of charges due from Western settlers on reclamation accounts.

Appropriation bill for independent offices of the government, including large amount for the support of the Veterans' Bureau.

Bill authorizing the Shipping Board to expend \$25,000,000 to install Diesel engines in its ships.

Army appropriation bill carrying \$326,000,000.

Hearings and Investigations

Senate Committee investigating Texas land frauds continued hearings.

Senate Committee investigating the Department of Justice and former Attorney General Daugherty continued. Also Senate oil investigating committee.

House Committee continued investigation of the Shipping Board and Emergency Fleet Corporation.

Senate Interstate Commerce Committee heard representatives of the Western System Association of Shopmen objecting to the injection of the "Plumb plan in disguise" in railroad legislation. Also representative business men opposed to the abolition of the Railroad Labor Board.

Senate Committee continued investigation of the Internal Revenue Bureau calling upon Secretary Mellon for information.

House Interstate Commerce Committee heard witnesses urging general readjustment of freight rates.

Senate Finance Committee heard Secretary Mellon in executive session regarding the tax reduction bill.

House Ways and Means Committee held hearings on legislation prohibiting the importation of crude opium for manufacturing heroin.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee heard Representative Fish, of New York, in support of the House resolution appropriating \$10,000,000 for starving women and children of Germany.

House Committee on Education heard opponents of the Sterling-Reed bill for a federal Department of Education, who stated that such a department was unnecessary.

could accommodate his intellect and produce a constructive effect upon the nation's business in two rooms with radio outlet.

But these things are not to be changed in a day. The Presidential election will clear the air somewhat. Every woman who has a vote and does not use it at the coming election ought to pay into the conscience fund. What either party can claim or promise with any sense of expecting to be believed when the campaign keynotes are announced is beyond some of us. In making up the summary of the progress of Congress for the fortnight, the black and white result is illuminating. Few bills of any importance have been introduced in either house. Fewer still have been passed. The main activity of Congress, as will be seen by the list, is in the numerous committee rooms where the investigations are being held. A tabloid word-picture of the fortnight would read like this:

Senator Dill, Democrat, of Washington, wants Theodore Roosevelt, Assistant Secretary of the Navy, removed from office, bitterly attacking him. Senator Wadsworth, of New York, comes to his defense, declaring that no "decent man" would countenance an effort "to blacken the character of any official by innuendo and misstatements of facts."

Immigration bills are debated in both houses. Senator Shortridge, California, attacks the gentleman's agreement with Japan and argues for total Japanese exclusion. In the House, Chairman Johnson of the Immigration Committee declares that the United States should cease to be an asylum.

Tax Fight Coming

The tax reduction bill has been introduced in the Senate from the Finance Committee with the House compromise rates eliminated and the original Mellon recommendations substituted. Senator Medill McCormick says that a fight over it is impending and that it cannot go through the Senate without concession and modification; in other words, a compromise. Before the bill came to the Senate floor, the Committee voted to put a 10 per cent tax on mah jongg sets that cost over \$5. The Finance Committee is nearly ready to consider soldier bonus legislation.

In the House two members nearly had a fist fight. Representative Watkins, Democrat, of Oregon, resented a remark by Representative Gallivan, Massachusetts, and approached him menacingly, upon which other members intervened. This was all on the Democratic side.

Senator Pepper, Republican, Pennsylvania, went up into Maine and made what many thought was a pre-keynote speech, in which he minimized the present oil and administration investigations, implying that out of ten Cabinet officers only three have been proved corrupt or

(Continued on page 35)

Republican Candidate No. 1

By E. K. P. S.

This is not an article about the President, but about the principal candidate for the Republican nomination for the Presidency.

In an effort to help its readers follow intelligently the events of presidential year, the *Citizen* plans to publish sketches of the candidates for nomination in both major parties. Mrs. Stokes, the *Citizen's* treasured Washington correspondent, has consented to write some of these sketches and leads off with Mr. Coolidge. Our idea—and hers—is to present the facts of the candidates' public careers without prejudice or partisanship, leaving the readers to form judgments on the facts for themselves. Mr. McAdoo next.

YOU have heard some people say, with the air of teacher to pupil, that women voters not yet have progressed beyond the point of considering a presidential election other than a contest of men for high office. It is implied that the most elementary mistake that can be made by the electorate is to vote for a man as a man.

If the law of supply and demand, the theory of party government, and a number of other basic principles of American life, had developed along a straight course, there would be no need of attaching prime importance to their attendant details. But, like supply and demand, the law of government by party



Kadel & Herbert, N. Y.

Calvin Coolidge

The kind of Republicanism which the country gets today, when the Republican party is in power, depends more upon a man, or men, elected to carry it out, than upon the fundamental theories of the party itself. Likewise, the measure of difference between one party and another is more affected by the leaders in power than by the policies of the two organizations.

This is particularly true just now because progressive and radical elements so far have elected to work through the two dominant parties rather than to set up for themselves, either independently or through a third party. Out of the present political party *mêlée* may come purification of principles and policies sadly needed, but in the meantime it is more than significant to look into the personal records of men aspiring to the leadership through the presidency.

What kind of Republicanism will Calvin Coolidge formulate for the country? He has an advantage over the field. His

candidacy is based not only upon his public record, but upon what he has actually accomplished in the time he has been in the White House. However, allowance must be made for the extraordinary situation which made him President, carrying the problem of continuing a policy already formulated and laid down, rather than developing one of his own upon which he could take his stand before the country in any election. It is unfortunate and almost inhuman to present a man of the strait-laced Coolidge type with the scandals and immoralities which have cropped out since the death of President Harding, because, no matter how much humility, silence, disavowal and disgust were indulged in by President Coolidge, the inheritance attaches itself to him and he is put in the position of having to find a way out as if it all were something for which he personally were responsible.

This is only a fair concession to make. It is not a defense of the Republican administration, or of anybody. It would be due the Fiji Islander of the Cannibal Party had similar circumstances surrounded him. So the over-critical appraiser of Mr. Coolidge as a presidential candidate should picture him first as sitting atop a powder keg with others trying to light the fuses—and sitting there calmly indeed, considering the strain of the position. It is obvious, therefore, that the true picture of the man must be made before his present perilous position rather than during it. It is unsportsmanlike to take a man's measure as a constructive being when his mind is intent upon the preservation and protection of his allegiance.

The most illuminating flashes upon the man himself are contained in his own record in brief chronological form. It shows the consistency of his principles. For instance:

CALVIN COOLIDGE

Born July 4, 1872.

1891-1895—Student at Amherst College, to which he has been loyally de-
(Continued on page 32)



Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

Mrs. Calvin Coolidge

as a theory has become so involved in its own development that its backbone is all but obliterated, and at this stage it will do good rather than harm to study men first, and in relation to their party affiliations.



White Studios, N. Y.



White Studios, N. Y.

Young Ladies of the Stage

By Mildred Adams



TWO actresses now in New York are almost startling illustrations of the elixir of youth that lies in finding a congenial job early and sticking to it. Two others have very early discovered their own love for the same absorbing work, and just as Rose Coghlan and Mrs. Thomas Whiffen are now being interviewed as the "youngest old ladies of the stage" so Helen Hayes and Dorothy Stone may be interviewed sixty years from now.

Rose Coghlan, with her inimitable smile, and her air of a grande dame masking an impish urchin, has lived seventy-three years and played sixty, and you only have to look at her in order not to believe it. She played with Sothorn, reigned at the old Wallack's Theatre, bewitched audiences as *Lady Teazle* and her like. As lately as three years ago she played in "Deburau" and now she is under contract with movie people. In her spare time she is teaching dramatic art with the same intensity she has put into practising it for so many years. She made a face when she was asked for a picture. "Can't say that I enjoy having them taken any more. But this one"—



unpinning it from the wall—"was taken at the time I closed Wallack's Theatre. I dug that gown out of my trunk where it had lain since I wore it at the opening of the same theatre thirty years before!"

Young Helen Hayes, who starred first
(Continued on page 36)

In the left-hand corner is Mrs. Thomas Whiffen, next to her is Dorothy Stone. Rose Coghlan holds the middle of the page, and Helen Hayes the south-east corner.



Nicholas Murray, N. Y.

Kitchen Cabinets

By Carrie Chapman Catt



WHILE party brickbats, bootjacks and indictments are flying hither and yon with such frequency that almost anyone is liable to be hit, it may be well to sit down calmly in a quiet corner, if one can be found, and inquire the why of it all.

The first why is that presidential elections are at all times terribly upsetting to the male mind. The second why is that the normal symptoms are enormously aggravated after a war by the aftermath of problems too big for any government to solve. Mexico and Honduras burst into revolution and their presidential candidates' followers fell to killing each other by way of emphasizing their arguments. Cuba is threatening a revolution if the present president is re-elected, and indeed wherever a presidential election is coming on the usual disturbances on any political seismograph may be observed. Even South Africa, the only country of the thirty-two which were engaged in the war that has not changed its party and administration, is reported now, on the eve of a national election, as "simmering in revolt."

The premonitions of our own quadrennial contest would have included plenty of heat, wrath and excitement in any event, but the third why is that Senatorial investigations have introduced a new factor which has set the country to sizzling and political blood pressure is rising dangerously high. The truth is that Republicans and Democrats have each sinned rather more than their political license allows and it is good neither for them nor for the country. Let us see.

REPUBLICAN SINS

IT was noised about that Mr. Albert Fall, who had already resigned as Secretary of the Interior, was using a good deal of money and fresh suspicion concerning the naval oil leases was aroused. An investigation followed with Senator Walsh as prosecutor. Mr. Fall accounted for the money by the explanation that it was a loan from his friend, Mr. Edward McLean. Mr. McLean acknowledged that he had made the loan. Later it appeared that the loans came from two men to whom the leases had been made, Mr. Sinclair and Mr. Doheny. Other evidence indicated that there had been no loan, but bribes instead. Mr. Fall, himself, refused to

testify upon the ground that it might incriminate him.

At this point it became the duty of the Department of Justice to take up the case in the courts. A Republican, while in high office, had committed a most unpardonable crime, or a Republican had been terribly maligned. Mr. Fall should have been hastened to trial in order to exonerate him if innocent, or to invoke the extremity of the law's pun-

This is the first of a series of articles by Mrs. Catt on phases of "invisible government." Patronage, propaganda, campaign contributions and the press are on her list. Besides discussing the revelations that are being made in Washington, she has some remedies to suggest.

In this article she lists "Republican sins" and "Democratic sins," and then looks beneath to "Kitchen Cabinets"—an intriguing phrase if you know in advance what it means, and doubly so if you don't.

ishment if guilty. No known steps have yet been taken to carry out these demands of justice.

Meantime Mr. Forbes, Chief of the Veterans' Bureau, had been indicted in Chicago upon overwhelming evidence of apparent dishonesty obtained by an earlier Senatorial investigation, and awaits trial.

The Democrats then claimed that Secretary of the Navy Denby and Attorney General Daugherty passed the Senate in quick succession. Both gentlemen said they wouldn't resign and both did resign because Republican Senators asked the President to remove them. Thus two Republican Cabinet officers have been pushed from their high places under accusations ranging from mere incapacity to outright conspiracy to defraud the government. Out of the Veterans' Bureau files evidence appeared upon which two Republican Congressmen have been indicted.

Thus six Republicans rest under grave charges—all but Secretary Denby being accused of accepting money for political favors. So unprecedented a situation

should call for unprecedented behavior. Such a party should pledge fearless, frank trial for its men and carry out its pledge with speed and sincerity. Let these men or any one among them falsely charged be cleared from the nation's suspicion if possible, or punished a little more severely than ordinarily, since these men, if guilty, have sinned against their party as well as their country.

Instead, Senator Pepper in a so-called keynote speech announced that the appointment of Fall, Forbes and Daugherty had proved terrible mistakes and he then glossed over the undeniable facts and attacked the Democrats with the charge that the investigations were designed merely to inflict injury on the Republicans.

The Republican National Committee has issued meantime some unbelievable publicity statements. One charges Congress with doing wrong. "It has been a continuous performance of wind-jamming and ballyhooing. On the part of the Senate it has been a rather low type of vaudeville in which Heflin, Caraway, Harrison and other yowlers held the stage and monopolized the spotlight." This statement was outdistanced by still another under the caption of "What everybody should know about Senator Wheeler and his Montana gang." Whatever manner of man Senator Wheeler may be, straight or crooked, to attack him neither exonerates the man driven from the Cabinet by his questioning nor clears the skirts of the party.

The Republicans at this time seem unfortunate in their leaders and lacking in those qualities which, at this time, might restore confidence and win the country's admiration.

DEMOCRATIC SINS

THE result of the investigation of Mr. Fall seems to have gone to the Democratic head. They forgot what should be a common, national disgrace in the remembrance that he was a Republican. They have since danced jigs on the coffin's lid. After the Senatorial vote to extend the investigations to include an overhauling of the Department of the Navy and the Department of Justice, the Democrats should have given those committees the exclusive right to give and take evidence, while the Senate should have functioned as a lawmaking body. Instead, long and continuous speeches have been made on the floor introducing new and unfounded charges,

(Continued on page 30)

"The Lady Who Made Lobbying Respectable"

By

Catherine I. Hackett

THE first time I, as a newcomer to Washington, saw Mrs. Maud Wood Park, I knew neither her name, nor that she was President of the National League of

Women Voters.

It was a hot summer night in 1920. Tennessee had finally ratified the Nineteenth Amendment, and back from that hard-fought battle-ground had come the victorious suffrage workers. They met, with those who had directed the fight from Washington headquarters, with Washington officials and with hundreds of supporters, in a great victory mass meeting held at a local theatre. I had been asked to help out backstage, and incidentally was getting my first close-up of women who had been only names to me—Mrs. Catt, Mary Garrett Hay, Mrs. Upton, and others. I heard a voice at my elbow—a voice whose charm has always been one of its owner's greatest assets:

"Would you mind pinning up this wisp of hair for me?" And there, holding out a hairpin to me, was a radiant-faced woman in white, who was soon to face the great audience from the platform as leader of the meeting. Mrs. Park, experienced lecturer, astute politician, suffrage leader in those trying pre-Nineteenth Amendment days—who yet had enough of the "eternal feminine" to realize the importance of a hairpin!

The spirit of radiant joy and elation which she typified on that night of victory, which seeped across the footlights and permeated every corner of the theater, characterizes all her work for women. She has never lost that feeling of confidence, that assurance of success in work undertaken, and she has infused it into every branch of the organization she heads.

Sanity and moderation are the keynotes of her work. When Mrs. Park talks about her ideals for women, there is no bitter denunciation of "sex slavery,"

no battle cry for wholesale uprisings on the part of downtrodden femininity.

"What I want for women is that they shall be free from artificial restrictions, free to choose the career for which they are best fitted," is the way she puts it. "I think the question of so-called 'careers' is a purely personal one. There are no rules applicable to the problem of whether a woman can have both a 'career' and a home. It all depends on the woman. The important thing is that she shall have absolute freedom of choice.

"When it comes to the question of the woman who goes in for politics in the same way a man does, because she wants to feel that she has a part in governing the country, or because she wants certain changes in local or Federal government, that is different. To my mind, a woman can be a power in politics without neglecting her home. It's a matter calling for sanity and a sense of values. There is no more reason why a woman must drop all her other interests if she goes into politics than why a man must give up all his business connections.

"The present generation of American women have in their hands the tools to accomplish very definite things in a political way, but that does not mean that they are going to neglect their homes, husbands and children. We have had ages of practical training in 'making the best of things.' Now we have the chance to make things better, to initiate reforms and to build anew according to our own ideas. We must use our new power patiently and hopefully for that end."



Mrs. Maud Wood Park

Thus she strikes the keynote of the work of the League of Women Voters; the belief that as a rule the woman voter who takes politics "in her stride," regarding it as a natural phase of her life as a normal human being, is of more permanent value to the community than the woman who goes into it to the exclusion of everything else. "Keep your head, realize your responsibility in government, but don't let your pride in the ballot run away with your common sense," adjures the League.

Mrs. Park has watched woman suffrage win its way to "normalcy" since the days when it was considered a bit "odd" for a woman to ally herself with the suffragists, especially if her antecedents were quite regular and respectable. Her family were opposed to the "votes for women" movement. There was no pressure brought to bear on her from the outside, no sudden conversion to the cause. The inner questionings of the established order began when she was a girl of sixteen, one of the graduating class of Bishop Doane's boarding school at Albany. That school, one gathers from her reminiscences, was a bulwark of conservatism, to which parents sent their daughters in the belief that they would be raised in the ways of their fathers (said fathers at that time mostly pooh-poohing the idea of woman suffrage). But in this boarding school Mrs. Park took her first hesitant step along the way she has gone ever since. This is how she tells it:

"The graduating class was invited to spend an evening with the head mistress, shortly before commencement. As was

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her custom, she gave us a short talk on rules of conduct, intended to point the way to a successful and happy life. One thing which we were told, with much emphasis, started me thinking. 'Girls,' said our hostess, 'always remember to conduct yourselves and your homes according to your husband's wishes. Remember that he is the head and ruler of the household, and order your conduct accordingly.'

"Just at this point something in me rose up in rebellion. For the first time it occurred to me to question a social order which relegated women to a subservient position, to doubt the justice of a situation which was then generally accepted."

Two Young Suffragists

It was during her student days at Radcliffe that the idea planted in her young head at boarding school began to bear fruit. In those days, she explains, it took a bit of courage to ally yourself with the "votes for women" movement, whose advocates were looked upon as slightly "queer" and were pictured as militant females carrying umbrellas. Her public declaration of faith Mrs. Park still looks upon with pride. Its origin was a class in daily themes the subject of suffrage being assigned for one day's lesson. Out of a class of sixty, only Mrs. Park and one other student took up the cudgels for suffrage.

"My paper was very short, and I was quite proud of it when it was read to the class," says Mrs. Park, relating the incident. "I still think that I have never better expressed my *credo* than in that brief theme. This was it:

"I see no more reason why the men of my family should choose my political opinions for me, and express them in a vote, than why they should choose my hats and wear them, or my religious faith and occupy my seat in church."

"That was my first open revolt, and from that time I was marked as a suffragist."

One gathers, however, that the opposition regarded her with a good deal of respect, and that the small body of courageous souls who presently rallied around her were fortunate in their leader. She had made a brilliant record as a student, graduating *summa cum laude* in three years, and taking Phi Beta Kappa honors on the way.

Having crossed the Rubicon, she was not slow to turn her beliefs into action. A tea was given for the seniors, at which the president of the Anti-Suffrage Association sought recruits for her cause by passing around a paper to be signed by all present, as if it were a mere formality. Maud Wood was not at the tea, but found in it ready ammunition for the cause she had espoused.

"A group of my friends held an indignation meeting afterward, complaining that something had been 'put over

on the girls who were there, and that in common justice the other side of the question should have been represented. Mrs. Gillmore—now Inez Haynes Irwin—who was a special student at Radcliffe then, was an ardent suffragist. The two of us got together and organized a suffrage meeting for one of the sessions of the Emanuel Club. We got Alice Stone Blackwell, who was one of my earliest idols and still has my unbounded admiration and regard, to speak for woman suffrage. We couldn't find anyone who was willing to debate against her, so we stirred up the opposition to speak from the floor. That meeting was a lively one."

Thus was launched the career of Maud Wood Park. She joined the Massachusetts Woman Suffrage Association, and made her first political speeches under the tutelage of Miss Blackwell and the encouragement of Mrs. Mary Hutchison Page, the two most active members of the state suffrage association. Her marriage soon after graduation meant no cessation of activities for her.

"My husband came from a family who believed in woman suffrage, and was an ardent supporter himself, so I didn't have to convert him," she explains. "He

The President of the National League of Women Voters is another of those well-known women of whom too little has been known. We have a number of others "on our list"—and one of the stars, to appear in an early number, is Carrie Chapman Catt.

had no more thought of interfering with my work than I had of asking him to change his profession. I was asked once by a young Belgian who had come to America to investigate the suffrage movement, what my husband thought of my having work to do which took me outside the home.

"I explained to him that the only complaint ever made was when I had so many meetings during the day that I was too tired to be a 'good fellow' in the evenings. I shall never forget his look of amazement when I explained to him that 'good fellow' meant '*bonne camarade*.'"

"Why, in Europe we don't want our wives to be comrades," he gasped."

Mrs. Park's later career is well known—how she, with Inez Haynes Irwin, formed the College Equal Suffrage League, an effort to unite the forward-looking young college women of the country to help the suffrage movement. This organization, which started at a meeting attended by seventeen girls, became national in 1907, and lasted till 1915. The idea was largely the result of Mrs. Park's attendance at the convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in 1900, when she heard the

story of the pioneer workers in the cause, and realized for the first time "the sacrifices and toil which had gone into the fight in its early years."

Talk to anybody in Washington about Mrs. Park and it is a safe bet that before long the subject of her truly remarkable working capacity will be brought up. She is not contented to sit in her office and "pull strings" as the head of a great organization might be expected to do; the urge of her early years as a worker in the "dust and heat" is still too strong upon her. Wherever there is an important hearing on child labor, or education, or some other subject which the League is sponsoring, in crowded committee rooms, foggy with cigar smoke from senatorial cheroots, there you will find Mrs. Park, alert and watchful. If she is on the list of persons to be heard, committee members give a sigh of relief as she takes her place, gives her arguments for or against the pending bill in the most concise, clear-cut form, and withdraws. Whenever there is important debate in the Senate or House, there you will find Mrs. Park. And during legislative lulls, perhaps during the hottest days of Washington's torrid summers, you are apt to meet her in the corridors of the Senate or House office buildings hot on the trail of recalcitrant members of Congress who are blocking important measures.

They call her, here in the capital, "the lady who made lobbying respectable."

Her first experience in the gentle art of lobbying came when she was appointed congressional secretary of the National American Woman Suffrage Association, and had charge of the women campaigning for passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. When in 1920 the National League of Women Voters was formed to take the place of the old Association, she was chosen chairman by the board of directors, and as such has had the responsibility of placing before Congress the views of the organization.

Chairman of the "Clearing House"

Her experience and proved ability in matters legislative led to her election as chairman of the Women's Joint Congressional Committee, organized in 1920 as a clearing house for national women's organizations interested in Federal legislation. The function of the Committee is to keep a close watch on certain bills in which its member organizations are interested, to report back the progress of such bills, and to work, through legislative committees, for the passage of legislation endorsed by member organizations. The Committee never takes any action as an independent organization, but as a national "clearing house" it has come to exert tremendous influence indirectly. As head of this Committee, Mrs. Park keeps a watchful eye in, as her secretary expressed it, "every direction at once."

Is Woman Suffrage Failing?

A Symposium

"Now this is as it should be, this is fine," says a reader whose opinion we prize highly. "I'm referring to the discussions on woman's use of the suffrage which are appearing in the CITIZEN. This sort of examination into facts, pro and con, ought to arouse us women over the country to self-searching."

Which is exactly what we hope. That is why we have been collecting the opinions of a wide variety of men and women to print in successive numbers. In this number you find a war correspondent, a playwright, a suffrage leader, a social worker, a labor leader, a labor organizer, a laboratory worker and a senator.

The responses given here came by letter and through interviews secured by Florence Spencer Duryea, Mildred Adams, Mavis McIntosh, and Catherine I. Hackett.

William G. Shepherd

"Look Out for the Women"

Well-known war correspondent, who recently wrote "The Boys' Own Book of Politics," answered our questions by letter.

THE woman's vote has introduced many new topics of conversation into our home; it has made newspapers and editorial pages count for something; it has given us additional mental ventilation as a family—which is even better for my two sons than it is for their parents.

"I know that the power to vote has increased the dignity of many women I know. It has astonishingly lessened sex resentment among women everywhere, I believe. They are becoming as quiet as the Irish.

"Political parties have to be better whenever the spotlight is turned on them; never before in our history have political parties and their methods been more relentlessly scrutinized than they are today—by women.

"I hear women cussing bad politicians wherever I travel; bad politicians didn't used to be any of their business. Criticism of bad politicians and bad politics I consider one phase of a discussion of public affairs—a fundamental phase.

"Do they vote independently? Do they? My vote in the 1920 election was cancelled, rendered void and useless, because my wife was born in a Republican family and voted accordingly. We have, however, since that date, discussed the oil scandals and other matters with considerable enlightenment on the subject of blindly following party.

"Woman influence is the one thing—and I know this from talking frequently with party leaders in Washington—that they are most afraid of. They don't tell this to the women, however. 'Look out

for the women'—that's the signal in big politics today. The big thing that women are doing in politics today, the disquieting thing, is not voting; it is—



Zona Gale
Author and playwright

investigating. That's why their influence is feared. Just so long as women keep on respectfully asking questions of politicians about their methods women will be powerful."

Zona Gale

"The Trouble Lies Deeper Than Sex"

ZONA GALE, novelist and playwright, and active in Wisconsin politics, said, "Your question about what difference the women's vote has made to the country at large reminds

me of something that has happened at home, in Portage, Wisconsin. Five years ago the town installed a new sewage system. And now people are saying, 'What good has it done? I don't see that Portage is any healthier. All that money, and still we have diseases!' Questioning the 'difference' that woman's suffrage could make in such a short time is much the same, I think.

"For myself, it has increased my self-respect, as I believe it has that of every woman who is really aware that she has a vote of her own to cast. And a great number of women do realize their new relation to public affairs. Discussion of matters of national importance has been enormously stimulated since women have had the vote.

"I don't see how political parties could be made better simply by admitting women. The trouble lies deeper than sex. It lies as deep as human greed. And it seems to me that women cannot want their influence in politics to be feared. That's surely the wrong attitude, even though by working in it they could accomplish anything of real value. Women didn't want to enter politics as reformers, but as workers. It is certain that men politicians are fully aware, in most instances, of the influence of the woman vote; but this influence is a valuable and desirable thing, not a club.

"There will be legislation passed because of the work of the women voters which will improve the conditions of women workers in factories and shops; and legislation which will deal with other problems of women. This is inevitable, and it is from the woman's point of view that such legislation will receive its power. But these things take time.

"Of course I would not give up my vote. Few women would, I think, even

though some may scarcely know they have it. However, as they do become more aware of their power, and learn not to expect their vote to bring about

think it's of much use to me or anybody else. If women who think would go into politics, they might do something, but they're not there now."



Florence E. Allen
Judge

miracles, but to work with it, for better conditions of living, its value to them will be multiplied."

Mrs. Mary P. Scully

"If Women Who Think Would Go Into Politics"

Mrs. Scully worked in a needle factory, became forewoman in a shirtwaist and dress factory, and because of her success in the famous "shirtwaist strike" became the first woman organizer for the American Federation of Labor.

"OF course the women haven't done anything as voters," Mrs. Mary Scully stated emphatically. "Why should they?—all the leaders have quit, and the women who are now trying to be politicians came away from the fireside when suffrage was accomplished and they don't know anything about politics. The politicians go to the women and hand them a lot of directions, and the women accept whatever they give them. They do not even ask why they were not consulted or why they were not included in the caucus. Women never use their initiative in politics. If you ask them anything, they say, 'Well, I'll ask the men.' The women are simply pawns."

"If you want to teach politics to women, don't hold your meetings in the great hotels. The commoner will not find her way there, and it is the commoner that you want to reach—it is the Italian and Polish families with fourteen and fifteen votes in almost every family that ought to be reached, and they should be taught by people they can understand. I don't mean language, because the second generation can speak English, but people who have worked at machines and in factories and know what their problems are."

"The politicians all gather around them married women who never have been very far away from the kitchen stove and have taken the word of their husbands as law and gospel. I would hate to give up my vote because I worked so hard to get it—not that I

Florence E. Allen

Judge of the Supreme Court of Ohio, and the only woman on a state Supreme Court bench.

"I BELIEVE that women are discussing political and governmental matters much more than formerly, but not nearly so much as they should, of course. I do see, however, a very great gain in that direction. In the state of Ohio I think our interest in governmental matters is greatly stimulated by the jury service, to which the women now are eligible and which they have undertaken for the most part in fine spirit."

"For my own part, I believe that the participation of women in the courts



© Fernand de Guedre, Chicago
Jane Addams
Social worker and author

alone, not only as attorneys, prosecutors and judges, but as jurymen, has immeasurably raised the tone of the administration of justice. This is particularly marked in the criminal courts, and in my opinion, if no other result had come out of the enfranchisement of women but that of their participating in the work of the courts, the extending of the vote to us would have been amply justified."

Edythe Rochelle

Miss Rochelle, a trained laboratory worker in a dentist's office, pictures a state of mind which she says is by no means uncommon among girls of her acquaintance.

"I FEAR I am a bad example of a backslider. I used to march in suffrage parades on high-heeled shoes—address envelopes, distribute literature, and talk myself hoarse for suffrage. I was extremely ardent, but now that we have the vote, I don't use it very much and all my interest has lapsed."

"The reasons? Well, of course, it is true that at that time I was at leisure and now my time is filled with work. But the rest of it, I suppose, is just plain indifference—the lack of a cause to fight for and with that, a kind of sense of hopelessness. Perhaps it would be different in the small towns where politics are tied up closer to the home, but here I sort of feel that there's no use, it's all cut and dried, and I can't affect the result. Another thing—the influence of the men I associate with is altogether negative. I could name any number of men, between twenty-six and thirty-five, who never think of such a thing as voting. Before the last election I was speaking to a young electrical engineer, perhaps thirty-three, whose home is in Boston. 'I suppose you will be going to Boston next week,' I said. He looked blank. 'What for?' he said. 'Why, to vote,' I answered. 'Oh,' he said, 'I should say not. I haven't voted for years.' There is practically no young man of my acquaintance who takes any interest in political affairs and they won't even respond when some girl tries to introduce a subject of public interest. This applies even to what's happening in Washington."

"I guess in my case it's a combination of indifference, impersonality and the bad example of men."

Jane Addams

"What More Can You Ask Than That They Study?"

Miss Addams, head of Hull House, Chicago, is beyond doubt the leading American woman in social work.

"WHY don't you ask if suffrage in general is failing?" asked Jane Addams with a twinkle. "It is a mistake to think of the extension of suffrage to women as an isolated phenomenon. It is merely part of a movement which has extended over centuries, in which the vote was given first to nobles, then to freemen, and so on. In the entire history of the movement there never



Mary P. Scully
Labor organizer

was a group so well prepared for suffrage as the women were. Preparation was the keynote of the pre-suffrage campaign, and after that was over they

seemed to redouble their efforts. Everywhere I go I'm asked to speak in citizenship schools, study clubs, lecture courses on government. What more can you ask of a large body of new voters than that they study the ballot and study the institutions and offices which it affects?

"It may be that we need governmental changes; perhaps our ballot is too long, perhaps public responsibility is too much subdivided. Women are trying to find out, they're bringing fresh and enthusiastic brains to work over those and kindred problems with which men have struggled for so many years.

"At Hull House we find that suffrage is having a marked effect on the wives of working men. They are more interested in political matters, more alive to problems. They ask more questions. There are three or four hundred of them in a single club, and they're always seeking people who will talk to them about politics. Not how to vote—they shy off from that kind of advice—but how the city is run, why taxes are imposed, and what becomes of the money, what the county does and where the state's responsibility begins, and other matters of public interest. We don't know how they're voting in specific instances, but we are sure they are learning what their own vote means.

"I think that the influence of woman suffrage is even perceptible in the work for international peace. To the women it has given a more vivid sense of participation in international affairs, for it is easier to realize you are a citizen of the world if you are actually a citizen of your own country. To the whole movement it has brought an added impetus, because it has made more human beings politically conscious, and therefore eager to think and study and write about world peace.

"I've been watching women vote around the world, even in India and Burma. Eastern women take it more naturally, more simply than we do. You see, during the long years of the suffrage campaign we actually set up barriers to knock down. That is, we pointed out and emphasized all the disabilities of women, all the things they were forbidden to do. We made people conscious of them in order to work up more energy against them. Consequently every time a barrier goes down, the whole country talks about it. On the other hand, voting was quite outside the thought of the eastern women. It came to them without any particular discussion, and hence without any moral or religious taboos against it. So women went out and voted as simply as their husbands did.

"It will take America longer to achieve that same simplicity of viewpoint. After all, there are only two real classes of voters, those who vote intelligently, and those who do not."

Samuel Gompers

The president of the American Federation of Labor says, "Woman suffrage does not need any justification."

"IT cannot be said that woman suffrage is a failure because it has brought no drastic changes to society as a whole. I have from my early youth been an ardent advocate of woman suffrage because it is right and just, but I have never expected and do not now expect that giving women the vote would bring about the millennium.

"The most notable effect of the victory of suffrage, as evidenced in the past four years, was the removal of the question from the field of politics, once and for all. Settling the question, taking it beyond the possibility of political discussions and maneuvers, has had a salutary effect on national politics.

"I see no evidences that women have worked the miracles which some people seemed to expect from woman suffrage. It is not a question of being disappointed in the results, because I looked for no startling results. I wanted women to have the ballot not for what they might accomplish with it, but because it was their inalienable right to have it. Viewed from this angle, there can be no question of whether or not woman suffrage has justified itself. It does not need any justification.

"I do not believe that the majority of women vote as their husbands vote, nor do I believe that they are any more interested or more capable than men to vote on certain kinds of public questions. They need education on economic and social questions, and so does the man voter. They are interested in social and welfare legislation just as men are interested. There is no fundamental difference between the man and the woman citizen, so it is fruitless to look for certain specific changes to be brought about by the woman voter.

"Woman suffrage is its own justification because it is right in principle."

Alice Stone Blackwell

Suffrage leader and for a long time editor of the "Woman's Journal," which her father and mother founded, Miss Blackwell's opinion is of great value. She answered by letter the questions we put, asking what difference suffrage had made to her; what effect it has made in the country; whether the political parties are better for women's entrance; whether they vote independently and whether men politicians fear women's influence.

"WOMAN suffrage has done good, but not so much as we hoped and expected.

"The difference to me personally has been that it has relieved me from a great burden of work in trying to get the ballot, and has left me free to devote time and strength to other pressing questions. On the other hand, it has made it necessary for me to look into the qualifications of candidates, and into the merits

of measures submitted to vote, more closely than before. It has brought me largely increased respect, and also requests from various prominent men to use my supposed influence with the women voters for their re-election.

"The vote has undoubtedly brought women increased influence and respect, and has also led a multitude of them to study into public affairs. This has been evident both among the women I know and in the country at large.

"I do not know whether the political parties are better or not.

"Women do discuss public affairs, and many of them vote independently of their husbands.

"The politicians unquestionably are afraid of women's influence, and try much harder than formerly to find out what women want.

"The main difficulty, with women as with men, is the lack of clear-cut issues between the two great political parties, and the control of all the chief sources of public information by the corrupt interests, which distort the news, and fill the newspapers with propaganda instead of facts."

Samuel M. Ralston

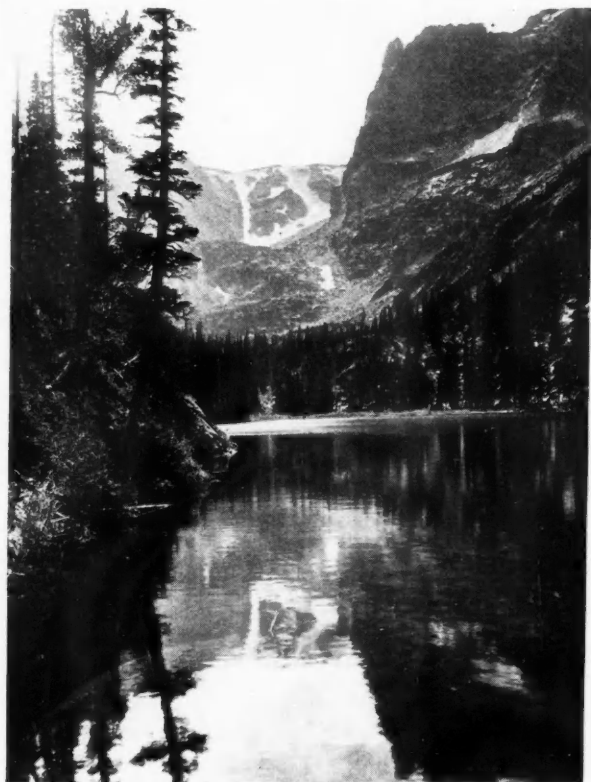
The Senator from Indiana says the question is like "Is Marriage a Failure?"

"THE women themselves are the answer to the question," said Senator Ralston, whose name looms large in political circles as the possible Democratic presidential nominee.

"Is woman suffrage a failure? Certainly not. The inquiry is as uncalled for as the other question which has been suggested by the unthinking—'Is marriage a failure?' Of course there were extremists on both sides before suffrage was adopted, some predicting disastrous results from it and others claiming that it would bring about a sort of revolution in political reform. Neither prediction has been realized.

"I have not seen any injury resulting from the adoption of woman suffrage or heard any complaint or mention of such injury; and it would be strange if, in a space of four years, there should be any great manifestation of either benefit or injury from this cause. If there had been any such manifestation anyone could see it, and there would be no cause for your question.

"I do believe, however, that there has been already some elevation in the moral tone of our political life, and especially in the direction of protection of the home. Women have, in general, divided very much as men divide, according to their political bias. But I think it may fairly be conceded that, on the average, woman is more devoted to her home and her children than man is, and when their welfare is in question she is more apt to stand for her personal interests, without regard to party consideration."



Odessa Lake

Our Heritage of Beauty

IT is a pity that a trip to at least one of our national parks can't be thrown in with the attainment of citizenship. They are American — expressive of our big spaces, our vast resources, and of our too - often injured ideal of keeping such beauty and power for all the people. It is our business as citizens to guard our policy of park conservation.



Photo taken by J. E. Haynes, St. Paul

Old Faithful
in Yellowstone

THE scenes on this page picture parks that have been conserved; but every once in a while someone launches a new attack. At this moment there are two bills before Congress affecting Yellowstone National Park which the National Park Service considers contrary to the conservation policy. But there are also two measures for the extension of the National Parks—one for the proposed Roosevelt-Sequoia National Park in California, which contains two magnificent canyons. It is being opposed by local irrigation districts, and a campaign of education must apparently be the next step.

In Rocky Mt. National Park



Photo taken by John King Sherman

In the Yosemite



SO far the Western states have all the national parks, except for one on Mount Desert Island, Maine. But recently Secretary Work appointed a committee to make a thorough study of the Southern Appalachian Mountains in order to select the most suitable site for a national park. The committee has had its first meeting—and is searching for a region that will measure up to the high standards of the great parks of the West. That our national park system is the finest in the world is no idle boast. It is our business to keep this precious heritage—preciously.

All photos by courtesy National Park Service,
Department of the Interior

Editorially Speaking

American Service Abroad

THE unique service which can be rendered by Americans, sitting not as "unofficial observers" but as directly responsible for the solution of baffling problems between the governments of Europe, has been demonstrated twice recently. First, by Norman H. Davis, who as chairman of a commission of three appointed by the League of Nations to determine the sovereignty of Memel, helped bring about a settlement of a dangerous dispute which for five years has seriously threatened the peace of Europe, and now by General Dawes as chairman of a committee of experts on which were two other Americans to determine the capacity of Germany to pay reparations and to devise a practical plan for re-establishing her finances.

Mr. Davis relates that after the report of his commission had been accepted the Lithuanian Prime Minister told him that it would not have been accepted if the chairman had not been an American, that he could never have believed that his government would have accepted a decision so adverse to their wishes in the matter, but, he said, "My country could not afford to have America think that we are not eager for peace."

The report of General Dawes' committee brings the first hope of a genuine peace between the allied nations and Germany that has appeared since the Armistice. That the report was unanimous is credited not to the unusual skill or business ability of the Americans but to the fact that they gave a balance and disinterestedness which carried great weight.

The report is now before the allied governments and the government of Germany, and its reception has been most encouraging. Naturally it is a compromise and does not meet the desires of any one of the conflicting nations. It is a great pity that the stabilizing influence of the United States is not to be continued in the discussion of the acceptance of the report and the putting of its provisions into operation. There, more than ever, will disinterested help be needed which only the United States is in a position to give.



Halve the Number, Double the Salary

"ONE-HALF as many public officials, twice as well paid and three times as carefully chosen," is a slogan which we remember seeing in the *Saturday Evening Post* some years ago. Mrs. Stokes recalls it when on page 8 she writes, "Men with the intellectual capacity for adequate study and handling of great national problems, who haven't private means, can't afford to come to Washington." Five thousand dollars a year is the salary of a congressman in the lower House, and it is also the salary of a senator. As income goes for a successful man, it was small twenty-five years ago. Since the war it has dwindled about forty per cent in purchasing power. The affairs of the United States Government today are the biggest affairs in the world. Congress controls the expenditure of three or four *billions* of dollars. To manage this gigantic corporation wisely would take all the resources of the best brains and wisest minds in the country. Such brains and experience can seldom be bought for \$7,500 a year.

It is not likely that government service could ever pay as well as private business, or that it would need to, for there is an altruism in many men which makes them prefer the honor of government service to the larger financial returns. But such disinterestedness rarely goes so far as to make men willing

to sacrifice the welfare of their families, and if our business in Washington is going to command adequate talent for its management much larger salaries will have to be paid than are given now. Also a smaller Congress would be a more workable body. Five hundred men make an unwieldy House.

Double the salary of Congressmen, cut their number in two, and then elect them by proportional representation. How about this for a slogan?



Wanted—"A New Deal"

A PLEA for "a clean sweep and a complete new deal" in national politics is the theme of an invigorating speech made before the American Hardware Manufacturers' Association by Pierpont B. Noyes, former United States Rhineland Commissioner. It is a plea which, one cannot help believe, is becoming more insistent and must have an answer. Mr. Noyes' protest is against not only corruption—that, of course—but against the "ineffectiveness and paltriness and cowardice" of current politics. "We are all tired of the haggling and bargainings which make of great issues, like taxation and the soldiers' bonus, footballs in a game for partisan advantage." Mr. Noyes thinks it is time for heroic remedies—"not simply a housecleaning at Washington, but a wholesale hiring and firing." He wants a real leader, regardless of party, and a platform that deals frankly and with a businesslike sincerity with all the big questions—tariff, liquor, the farm problem, the labor problem (which he thinks Washington mistakenly considers all settled!)—and he wants a foreign policy in place of "isolationist nonsense."

"My one desire," says Mr. Noyes, "is to call attention to our desperate need of new men and new policies to replace the pusillanimous shilly-shallying and incidental corruption which has settled down like a plague on the government of this country."

It is a complaint that every visitor to Washington brings home—the impression of ineffectiveness; of words, words; of party and personal considerations outweighing real values. But if the new deal is to come it must be demanded, and many voices must be added to that of Mr. Noyes.



Our Bootleg Aristocracy

OPPOSITE the park on Fifth avenue he was walking, in pearl-gray clothes perfectly fitting, an overcoat folded over his arm, a great black pearl in his cravat—a resplendent vision of masculine fashion noticeable in these days of careless dress among men. He stopped with a wide smile and held out his hand to a man approaching. "Dontcher remember me? I'm ———, dontcher know?—bartender at ——— Club in the Adirondacks back in the good old days. Doin' fine since prohibition, soaking it away for fair; cleaned up a couple of million already. Say, don't you want something? Just tip me the word and I kin get you any kind of booze you like."

This is not an isolated case; his kind are many. Big fortunes are easily won in a short time in the bootlegging business and the bootlegger is the type of man who stops at nothing. He is ready to commit any kind of violence, even murder.

It is a new aristocracy of wealth that is being built up since prohibition and the money is being made with the direct help

of men and women who think of themselves as the better element in the community.

This is another serious side to the lack of enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment and one little considered. Wealth means power and prestige in the United States as everywhere else. Can we tolerate a new aristocracy of the class which is now engaged in the bootlegging business?



"What Can I Do?"

THE series of articles by Schuyler C. Wallace of Columbia University, which were concluded in the last number, have attracted much attention, and women in clubs and discussion groups have used them as a basis for serious study. Dr. Wallace has raised in this series one question after another concerning the fundamentals of our government system, presenting both sides, and using definite concrete illustrations. Every one of these problems should mean something to the woman citizen in the way of responsibility—for understanding and for action. It would be a good thing to turn back to the first article and follow through with a "What can I do?" question. First of all, one can take the time to do the further reading Dr. Wallace has indicated, and then plan to get such subjects before one's club group in its fall program.



Bobbed Hair

The day of the accusation "short-haired women and long-haired men" as applied to advocates of woman suffrage or any kind of feminism has completely gone by, at least as far as short-haired women are concerned. Formerly, a short-haired woman was supposed

to be she who had cast aside all feminine charms, but now bobbed hair has come to be the badge, not of strong-mindedness, but of the wielder of feminine wiles.

To be sure, a great variety of women have succumbed to the lure of short locks, and many have sacrificed their hair because they believed that thereby much time and bother would be saved, and some of these have found out too late, alas, that short hair often takes more time to dress properly than does long hair. But the possessor of bobbed hair *con amore* is she of the enameled skin, the plucked eyebrow, the carmined lips. She wears a hat like a helmet, from under which she peeks at you with one eye; her skirt is so tight she can hardly put her foot up on a street-car step; every age-old feminine lure is hers. She is ages away from her emancipated sister, yet here in this modern world they are side by side—the latest development of the clinging vine and the free, independent-thinking, serious-minded, twentieth century woman.

The strong-minded woman of the past almost never wore her hair short, in spite of popular belief; but now the whole gamut of femininity is covered by the bobbed head. The question is, is short hair going or coming? Will every woman be wearing short hair in a few years, as is predicted by some, or is it a passing fancy, and will bobbed hair soon be disappearing with tucked-up ends?



Where's the World Court Proposal?

THE League of Nations Non-Partisan Association recently asked Senator Lodge, as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, what he has done with the World Court. The original Harding-Hughes proposal, which was endorsed by President Coolidge, the Lenroot substitute proposal, and even the Pepper resolution introduced recently (for reasons that smell of politics), seem to be lost in silence. That first proposal, which Mr. Harding was defending in the

course of the speaking trip that cost his life, amounted to a promise of action. The Non-Partisan Association and all friends of the Court want its fulfillment. It is not a partisan measure, and it has the support of about forty national organizations that are not concerned about its political label. For fourteen months it has been in the hands of the committee, and all who think that is long enough might—tell Senator Lodge.



Women's Clubs and Bolsheviks

SEVERAL of our readers have sent us pages torn from the March 15th and March 22nd issues of the *Dearborn Independent*, asking to have their protest recorded. The articles are entitled, "Are Women's Clubs 'Used' by Bolsheviks?" and "Why Don't Women Investigate Propaganda?" They are anonymous, signed "By an American Citizen"—which leads one of our readers to comment, "The man who writes thus, yet fears to sign his name, is the kind that would beat his wife, isn't he?"

The theme of these articles is that almost all women's organizations are being subtly poisoned by Red propaganda, and that the innocent rank and file don't know they are caught in Bolshevik toils through their "radical leadership." A full-page chart purports to show, as nearly as we can make out, a system of interlocking directorates of women's organizations—with the heading, "The Socialist-Pacifist Movement in America is an absolutely fundamental and integral part of international socialism." The author criss-crosses most elaborately, linking up very dissimilar organizations. Our correspondent who refers to the articles as "solemn and funny" seems to us to have the right of it.

The "Women's Bloc," many will be surprised to learn, practically dictates our legislation. The word "non-partisan" is plainly used as an accusation. "Pacifist and welfare propaganda" are united in one mouthful; the Sheppard-Towner act comes in for a full measure of horror, as one of the ways of carrying out the women's "big idea," which is "to centralize the control of all things possible in the Federal Government," and thus destroy constitutional government.

One of our readers, deploring this attack in a magazine usually liberal and progressive, quotes a letter referring to the articles as "a deep-laid plot to break up solidarity in the women's organizations for the promotion of world peace, child welfare and human betterment." No—not a plot, any more than the women are in a plot. Just an expression of the terrible fear that in one form or other has ridden all the world since the war—of the solemn bogey business that exaggerates, sees simple individual convictions the result of "Propaganda" and distorts everything with suspicion.



ARE pique and pride good motives for legislation? Secretary Hughes has been strongly opposed to the cancellation of the "gentlemen's agreement" with Japan. Japan has been willing to consider a revision of the agreement. At the most, the difference between the effect of the "gentlemen's agreement" and the exclusion would amount to only about 240 persons a year. After the House voted for Japanese exclusion, the Senate Immigration Committee introduced a soothing amendment retaining the agreement. Then came a letter of protest to Mr. Hughes from the Japanese ambassador, which made the Senate wroth over the threat they fancied it implied. They promptly defeated the amendment by a vote of 76 to 2, and there was much proud talk about upholding our country's sovereign right to decide for itself who should be admitted. Certainly we have that right, but its assertion for the sake of 240 persons and the satisfaction of a resentment are surely not worth a grave offense to international friendship.

What the American Woman Thinks

The Panacea Illusion

By Maud Wood Park

President, National League of Women Voters

NOTHING is so soothing to the human soul as faith in a panacea. The world is too much awry to be regarded by the naked eye without flinching. For the sake of comfort one must believe that somewhere there is a universal remedy for all ills, and that if humanity, or the small part of it which makes a nation, will only do this or that, adopt this political plan, that philosophy, the other reform, every crooked path will be made straight, every pitfall and gin removed, every stumbling block swept away, and we can sleep quietly of nights knowing that there is a definite remedy for all that disturbs us.

I have believed at times that to be thus panacea-minded is to be feminine-minded but I begin to see that my view was short-sighted. Taking into account that the housewife through the ages has been accustomed to end her week with all the house cleaned and ready for Sunday, I have thought that she must be the more easily affected by the panacea complex, the belief that somewhere there is a new broom that will infallibly sweep clean. Looking at the matter more carefully, in the light of complaints made because after four years of Federal enfranchisement women have not brought about the millennium, I conclude that faith in a panacea is not feminine but human and that perhaps because of her very experience with ages of new brooms which never sweep so clean that there is not after-work for the dust-pan, woman is the less inclined to the obsession.

As a matter of record, woman suffrage has been anything but a failure. To find within four years after the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment something like eighty women members of state legislatures seems to me a very satisfactory achievement. I can imagine nothing worse for the country than a sudden substitution of inexperienced women for men in all public office, and I know nothing safer than making haste slowly.

As to the things women have really accomplished since the vote was given them, women find the list most encouraging. Because women voters asked it, each of the two major political parties

included in its 1920 platform a plank approving measures to secure the independent citizenship of married women. On September 22, 1922, President Harding signed the bill which makes citizenship of women independent of marital status and thus removes the greatest single Federal disability of women left after enfranchisement. I was able to report to the Congress of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance in Rome, in May, 1923, that no fewer than 287 measures supported by organized women voters had been enacted in state legislatures and thirty measures the same voters opposed had been defeated. Women have concerned themselves especially with laws relating to the legal status of women, education, efficiency in government, living costs, social hygiene, women in industry, child welfare, and other related subjects and we feel that the enactment of these laws is a wholly satisfactory proof that the enfranchisement of women has meant considerably more than a mere increase in election totals. It has meant distinctly improved conditions for women and children.

What women saw in woman suffrage was not a panacea, but a help, for women as a sex are content to advance a little at a time. Women believed that experience had given them something of value to contribute to the cause of good government but they had no idea that there was in them any instinctive wisdom which would enable them over-night to straighten out tangles over which generations of men had worked in vain.

Making the world over must be a slow process and four years is too short a time in which to arrive at a verdict concerning so tremendous a thing as the enfranchisement of twenty million women.

Women who worked for enfranchisement were not deceived into believing that the moment the vote was given them all the women in the country would rush to the polls. It has never been pretended that desire for enfranchisement was unanimous and, so far as I am aware, no other forward step has been delayed until the demand for it was voiced by the whole people. The strong conviction on the part of suffragists was that there would be enough women ready and willing to vote, as soon as they were enfranchised, to lend material aid to work for good government and in this we were not mistaken. There was another strong conviction that women who had no interest in suffrage as a theory could be roused to an interest

in voting as a fact and in this, also, our belief was sound.

Because these things were in the minds of the women who worked for suffrage we have no fault to find with this stage of the outcome. We did not look forward to a time when women should govern in a millennium, relieving men of all responsibility, but to a time when men and women together should be able to make a better world of the very real earth on which we live. We have no magic lamp to rub, no superior genius which can achieve perfection in four short years. We have no gifts but the habit age-old training has given us of sticking at things and of being content to go ahead slowly. We have no panacea to offer. We have only the simple remedies of earnestness, good will, patience, and the profound conviction that the more we can learn about the practice and the theory of government the more valuable our help as voters will be.

On to the Conventions

By Emily Newell Blair

Mrs. Blair, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, tells of the increase in the number of delegates to the Democratic National Convention this year. The Republican party has similarly increased its number—though without trying to designate that any special number shall be women. They say that, with every Republican delegate having a full vote, as against the half-vote of the added Democratic delegates at large, the Republican women will come out as well as the Democratic in the results. The proof lies in the outcome of the primaries and state conventions—already both parties have a number of women on their lists of chosen delegates.

In any case, Mrs. Blair's exhortations to women to get into the convention applies to all parties. It is already almost the last minute, and only quick action will serve.

THE number, great or small, of women delegates and alternates in the forthcoming national party conventions will be an authoritative test of women's interest in politics and of the recognition given them by the major parties.

Speaking for the Democratic party, I can say that every effort has been made to encourage women to seek election as

delegates to the national convention. Fifty per cent of the way has been cleared for them—that is, the door of opportunity has been opened.

By a resolution adopted last January, the Democratic National Committee recommended to the states that they increase their delegations-at-large from four to eight members and that the four extra be women, each of the eight delegates-at-large to have one half-vote. If every state adopted the resolution there would be a minimum of 192 women on delegations. Even without this resolution, women were eligible to contest for place upon the delegations-at-large, just as they were eligible to contest for delegations in the 435 congressional districts—the national convention being composed of delegates-at-large from each state and two delegates from each congressional district. The resolution was intended to make it easier for women to become elected delegates-at-large because the contest to choose four from the whole state is very severe, and also to encourage women to contest in the congressional districts.

Twenty states immediately moved to adopt the recommendation of the Democratic National Committee—the first two being Arkansas and Virginia. Twelve states have since elected their delegates: in Maine five of the eight delegates-at-large were women and in New Hampshire one delegate-at-large was a woman and five alternate delegates-at-large were women. Maine also elected a woman delegate on its second district delegation. Arizona has elected four delegates-at-large, one alternate delegate-at-large; Kansas, four delegates-at-large, one district delegate and three alternate district delegates; North Dakota, two delegates; South Dakota, no women on primary ballots; Rhode Island, four delegates-at-large, four alternate delegates-at-large, and three alternate district delegates. Returns are not in from the other states.

Women themselves must be responsible for the other fifty per cent of the way to the Democratic national convention, because the number of women delegates who sit in the convention will largely depend upon the number of women who offer themselves as candidates to be delegates, and upon the interest of women voters in electing them to that position.

In 1920 there were 96 women delegates and 202 alternates to the Democratic convention in San Francisco. But most of these women, except from the suffrage states, perhaps, were placed there by men, because in those states where delegations were elected at the primaries only men had the vote, and in the states where delegations were elected by conventions the women delegates were there at the invitation, or on the suffrage, of party men. In neither case did women have a legal right to cast votes for delegations, but party men, thinking it expedient—doubtless in view

of the impending passage of the suffrage amendment—either voluntarily opened conventions to women or placed women on many of the "slates."

But in 1924 women are eligible to vote in all primaries and to vote for the delegations to the state conventions, and even to go themselves to these conventions as delegates. Under these circumstances it cannot be expected that women will be placed upon the delegations to state or national conventions unless individual women show sufficient interest to announce as candidates, and women members of the party express enough interest to vote for women delegates.

If, therefore, women wish to meet this opportunity offered them by the resolution of the Democratic National Committee they must become active immediately in their states, ascertain the method of selecting the delegates and take part in the selection.

Following April 1, sixteen states were scheduled to hold Presidential primaries. It is to be hoped that many women will file in the primaries for election and that voters will support them. In sixteen additional states primaries to elect delegates will be held.

It is well to emphasize the fact that only by participating in pre-convention activities can women voters have any part in the selection of their party's Presidential nominee. In many states they may do this by participating in their township, precinct, county or ward meetings and in the twenty-nine states where delegates to the national convention are named by state conventions, women can influence the decision by becoming delegates to the state conventions.

In the sixteen states which elect delegates by primaries the women can vote directly for the delegates of their choice. In the twenty states that hold Presidential primaries (eight have already been held) they may express their choice of the nominee.

Freedom of Speech Again

By Cornelia James Cannon

Mrs. Cannon says: "Boston is putting itself on the map in a way that brings no credit to it, but it is right that the rest of the world should know, so here are a few words winged with shame!"

ANY one reading this heading will be tempted to turn away, bored, with the thought, "Why does any one waste time writing about an old accepted doctrine like that? Why not equally well write about the attraction of gravitation?"

The truth of the matter is that freedom of speech, like any other kind of freedom, requires eternal vigilance for its preservation. The most recent and glaring attack on its validity has oc-

curred in the last place where such an assault should be either expected or allowed to pass—in Boston, which still boasts its preëminence as the Cradle of Liberty, though the child formerly rocked there is apparently being threatened with a padded cell. In Boston in March, Mrs. Sanger was announced to speak on "The Need of Birth Control in America" in a rented hall, under the auspices of the School of Social Science. Mayor Curley sent word to the hall that its license would be revoked if the meeting were held, and, although an audience gathered in anticipation of a meeting, no meeting could be held.

It would be hard to convince Mayor Curley that by such action he has both injured his own reputation as an impartial and law-abiding executive, safeguarding the rights of the citizens, and has also done a real disservice to the Church to which he belongs by making its displeasures and social doctrines the criterion of community privileges.

Neither Mayor Curley nor his Church would have found America the haven it has been to them unless the liberty they are trying to deny to those who do not agree with them had been guaranteed to them by our federal and state constitutions and preserved for them by our administrators and courts.

The real issue at stake is not the wisdom or unwisdom of the idea of birth control. It may or may not prove a valuable method of meeting the menace of an overpopulated world; but any individual or group of individuals which makes its own personal convictions the basis for judgment as to what may or may not be publicly discussed is making this world a poorer place for us all to live in. We had far better err the other way and let the fire eaters have their say, and the fanatics inveigh against everything we hold sacred, because in the long run decency and sanity are bound to win out, and we have meanwhile preserved that liberty without which neither decency nor sanity can achieve its greatest victories. We would not profit from an undue prolongation of infancy, even under the solicitous guardianship of a Mayor Curley, who wishes to protect us from every danger to our unripe intelligence and limited discretion. We must individually and collectively learn to walk alone, and develop of ourselves the discriminations we are not willing to depend upon any self-constituted moral mentor to regulate for us.

We are adults, of varying degrees of intelligence, to be sure, but probably as well able as Mayor Curley to decide what is good for us to discuss and as competent to decide on the merits of the matter presented.

Shall we lie down under the challenge such effrontery presents, or shall we show some of the fighting blood of our forefathers?

The Woman Voter

[This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.]

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Federal Measures the League Supports

ENCOURAGING progress of the proposed child labor amendment in the Congress is the most important report to be made on the legislative program which the League is supporting.

The House Judiciary Committee reported to the House, March 31, its approval of the resolution (H. R. 184), introduced by Representative Foster of Ohio. Fifteen members of the committee voted for the resolution, while six, among them Chairman Graham, of Pennsylvania, opposed it. Majority and minority reports were submitted.

Republican leaders have given assurance that the House will have an opportunity to vote on the resolution at a very early date.

S.1337-H.R.3923: Sterling-Reed bill, creating a Department of Education with its head a member of the Cabinet, etc. Opponents of the measure were heard March 26, April 2, and April 9 before the House Education Committee.

H.R.6896: Lehlbach bill, abolishing the Personnel Classification Board and transferring its duties to the U. S. Civil Service Commission. On April 4 the House Rules Committee authorized a special rule to give privileged consideration to the bill.

Other bills, supported by the League, the status of which is without change:

World Court resolution, embodying the proposals of President Coolidge and the late President Harding, with reservations by Secretary Hughes.

S.790-H.R.685: Curtis-Graham women-prisoners' bill.

S.3713-H.R.7450: Capper-Bacon bill, providing aid to states for the physical education of children.

S.J.Res.15: Jones amendment to the Constitution, providing for suffrage in the District of Columbia.

S.1408: Fess amendment to the Smith-Hughes Act, to increase appropriations for home economics.—ANNE WILLIAMS.

THE Lincoln (Massachusetts) League began its spring work with a party for all the town's young people between the ages of 19 and 23, their fathers and mothers, the new residents of Lincoln, the school teachers, the school committee, and the selectmen. Mrs. Lewis Jerome Johnson made an address on the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship, ending with an appeal for the World Court. Dr. Alfred Worcester, of Waltham, talked on the origin and history of the New England town meeting. About eighty persons came and the entertainment has aroused great interest in League work.

The Twenty-five Dollar Prize List

IN the competition for the best reference list purchasable for fifty dollars and the best list costing twenty-five dollars, lists were submitted in pairs, each bibliographer contesting for both items. The list of Miss Agnes Doherty, winner of the first prize, follows:

I. General Reference Books and Pamphlets

Nation

Statistical Abstract of the United States, 75c; *Statistical Atlas*, \$2.50; *Abstract of the 1920 Census* (when issued), \$1.50. (Through the courtesy of Senators or Representatives it may be possible to obtain the foregoing publications free, in which case Munro's *Government of American Cities* can be purchased.)

Bureau of Education, *Bulletin No. 74*. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1919, 25c.

House Manual; Senate Manual; Congressional Directory; the Congressional Record. From your Senator or Representative, without charge.

Reports of Federal Departments and Bureaus, e. g., Commissioner of Education; Commissioner of Immigration; Civil Service Commission; Federal Trade Commission, etc. Obtainable gratis from the various departments, Washington.

Bureau of Education. Send for *Bulletin No. 32*, 1923, or later list. List of publications free. Many pamphlets on education; many leaflets on education; *City School Leaflet*, No. 4 (Per cent of municipal funds devoted to schools); *Statistical Circular*, No. 1; (Per capita costs of schools); *Kindergarten Circular*, No. 10. (Some experiments in pre-school education.)

Department of Agriculture. Many free bulletins; send for list. Secretary of Agriculture. *Farmers' Bulletin on Food and Nutrition*.

Department of Labor. Publications of Women's Bureau. Free. Bulletins: No. 3, *Standards for the Employment of Women in American Industry*; No. 14, *A Psychological Basis for the Shorter Working Day for Women*; No. 16, *State Laws Affecting Working Women*; No. 27, *The Occupational Progress of Women*; No. 28, *Women's Contribution in the Field of Invention*; No. 30, *The Share of Wage Earning Women in Family Support*; No. 31, *What Industry Means to Women*. Washington: Department of Labor.

Institute of Government Research. Service Monographs of the U. S. Government; a series of studies by a non-partisan independent institution. No. 22, *The Women's Bureau*. Washington: Institute of Government Research, 26 Jackson Place, \$1.00.

State

Illinois Constitutional Convention. *Bulletins*. Springfield, 1920. Free. *Legislative Manual or Blue Book*; a volume of laws of a legislative session; copies of ballots, bills, calendars and journal of each house. Free. Map of State, showing representative and senatorial districts. Free. National Municipal League. *The Model State Constitution*. New York: National Municipal League. 25c.

Reports of state departments, boards, commissions. Free.

County

Copies of legal blanks, documents. Free. Map of the county showing townships or local divisions. Free. Reports of county officers and boards. Free.

City

The city charter and ordinances. Free. Maps of the city,

showing wards and precincts. Free. Reports of municipal departments. Free.

Financial Statistics of Cities. Annual. Washington: Government Printing Office. From your Congressman.

General Statistics of Cities. Annual. Washington: Government Printing Office. From your Congressman.

Copies of legal blanks, ballots, various town documents. Free.

The World Almanac. Annual volume of statistics. New York: the World. 40c.

BYINGTON, M. F. *What Social Workers Should Know About Their Own Communities.* Third ed. rev. New York: Russell Sage Foundation. 10c.

National Municipal League. *The Model City Charter.* New York: National Municipal League. 50c.

Summaries of Current Economic and Financial Conditions New York Chase National Bank; occasional bulletins. Gratis. New York.

Irving Bank. Columbia Trust Company. *Economic Conditions* (monthly). Gratis.

New York National City Bank. *Economic Conditions* (monthly). Gratis.

II. Outlines for Study

Books

DAVIDSON, CHARLES. *Active Citizenship.* New York: Wilson, 1921. 50c.

MOLEY, RAYMOND, in collaboration with HELEN M. ROCCA. *The Outline of Government in the United States.* Washington: National League of Women Voters. 50c.

III. Social Sciences or Social Studies, Including Politics

EDIE, L. D. *Principles of the New Economics.* New York: Crowell, 1922. \$2.75.

HAMILTON, W. H. *Current Economic Problems.* Rev. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago, 1922. \$4.00.

JENKS, J. W. and SMITH, R. D. *We and Our Government.* New York: American View Point Society of Boni and Liveright, 1922. 223p. \$2.00.

JOHNSON, J. F. *We and Our Work.* New York: American View Point Society of Boni and Liveright, 1922. 301p. \$2.15.

MUNRO, W. B. *Government of American Cities.* New York: Macmillan, 1920. \$3.25.

OGG, F. A., and RAY, P. O. *Introduction to American Government.* New York: Century, 1922. \$3.75.

Pamphlets

ANDREWS, J. B. *Labor Problems and Labor Legislation.* New York: American Association for Labor Legislation, 1922. 30c.

CHAFFEE, ZACHARIAH. *Freedom of Speech in War Times.* Cambridge: Dunster House Book Shop. 40c.

DAWSON, EDGAR, editor. *Outlines of Responsible Government.* New York: National Municipal League. 20c.

JUDD, C., and MARSHALL, L. C. *Lessons in Community and National Life.* Series A, B and C. Department of the Interior Bureau of Education. Washington: Government Printing Office. Series A, 25c; series B and C, 15c each.

MOLEY, RAYMOND. *Parties, Politics, and People.* Washington: National League of Women Voters, 1923. 35c.

SMITH, R. H. *Justice and the Poor.* New York: Carnegie Foundation for Advancement of Teaching, Bulletin 13, 1919. Free.

IV. International Relations; Foreign Policy

BRYCE, JAMES. *International Relations.* New York: Macmillan, 1922. \$2.50.

CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE. *American Foreign Policy.* No. 17. Washington: Carnegie Endowment, Division of Intercourse and Education, 1920. Gratis.

CURTIS, LIONEL, and KERR, PHILIP H. *America and the International Problem.* No. 183. New York: American Association for International Conciliation, 1923. 5c.

The Permanent Court of International Justice. Boston: World Peace Foundation. 15c.

The United States and the Permanent Court of International Justice. New York: 407 West 117th Street, May, 1923. 15c.

The Fifth Annual Convention

THE stage is all set at Buffalo, and next week the curtain will rise on the most interesting production of the League year, the annual convention. Each of the four earlier conventions has had a quality and a significance all its own and the fifth will be distinctive because, like the first, it is held on the eve of a national election, and because, unlike the first, it is held by an organization with four successful years behind it, a going concern with proved plans and a tested program.

The work of the convention will begin at 9:30 Monday morning, April 21, when the Board of Directors, which is made up of the six national officers and the seven regional directors, will meet in a three-day pre-convention session. On Thursday morning the Executive Council, which consists of the Board of Directors, the chairmen of national standing committees, and the presidents of state Leagues or their alternates, will meet "to consider and recommend programs and methods of work."

Thursday afternoon will be given up to open conferences of the six standing committees and the two departments. The list of speakers at the various conferences, all held simultaneously, is alluring and includes such personages as the Assistant Attorney General, Mrs. Mabel Willebrandt; Miss Grace Abbott, chief of the Children's Bureau; Professor Harper Swift, of the University of Minnesota; Mrs. Katherine Cook, of the Bureau of Education; Mrs. Florence Kelley, of the Consumers' League; Edward P. Costigan, of the Tariff Commission; Dr. Louise Stanley, of the Bureau of Home Economics; Dr. Ernest Freund, University of Chicago; Dr. Ruth Boynton, Minnesota State Board of Health; Dr. Mollie Ray Carroll, Goucher College; Miss Jane Addams, of Hull House; Miss Elizabeth Christman, International Glove Makers' Union; Miss Fannia M. Cohn, Ladies' International Garment Workers; Mrs. Ida Clyde Clarke, editor, and other men and women equally authoritative.

The convention proper opens on Friday morning and like all other conventions presided over by Mrs. Maud Wood Park, will begin promptly. Reports, including the presentation by Mrs. Elliott Cheatham, director of the third region, of the amended constitution, will be the chief business of the opening session. The afternoon will be devoted to an organization conference, with Miss Marguerite Wells, director of the fifth region, in the chair, and among the leaders of discussions, Mrs. R. L. DeNormandie, Mrs. C. H. Haworth, Mrs. J. B. O'Hara, Mrs. J. C. Layne, and Mrs. W. H. Thompson.

The feature of the Friday evening session will be the president's address. Miss Gertrude Ely, director of the second region, is to preside, Mrs. F. Louis Slade, president of the New York State League, is to present the state greetings, and Mrs. William Hibbard, director of the fourth region, will respond. There will be greetings from associate members and the unusual feature of greetings from the Toronto League, delivered by Mrs. John Bruce.

The subject for the Saturday morning session is "Carrying Out the League Program"; and Miss Belle Sherwin will preside. On the topics included in "Laying the Foundation for Efficient Government," the speakers will be: Mrs. Robert C. Morris, Ohio; Miss Kate Carlisle, Michigan; Miss Gladys Harrison, Minnesota; Mrs. James E. Cheesman, Rhode Island; Mrs. James Morrisson, Illinois; Miss Belle Sherwin—"Bricks and Mortar" is her subject—the heads of national standing committees, and Miss Ruth Morgan, who will talk of the beginning of international co-operation to prevent war. State luncheons followed by caucuses will fill the afternoon, and bulletin editors and press chairmen will dine together.

Saturday evening there will be a mass meeting with the

governors of five states in the second region as guests, and Sunday there will be another mass meeting when, for the first time in two years, Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt will address the League in convention. The other speakers of the afternoon are Senator Walsh, of Montana, and Representative Hamilton Fish, of New York.

Monday begins with a session of action on plan of work, action on incorporation and on amended constitution, and the resolutions committee report, by Mrs. True Worthy White, of Massachusetts. A conference on politics in practice fills the afternoon, with Mrs. Solon Jacobs in the chair. Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, of Texas, will discuss the dividing line between the League and political parties; Mrs. John M. Kenny, of Tennessee, will open the discussion of women as delegates to party conventions, Mrs. Gifford Pinchot will start the ball of law enforcement rolling, and Mrs. Jacobs will talk of methods of legislative work.

A banquet at which the "twelve greatest women" of the United States have been invited to be guests of honor is set for Monday evening. Several great women who were not included in the League's necessarily limited and much-discussed list will be guests also and are expected to make brief talks. Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, vice-chairman of the executive committee of the Republican National Committee; Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee, and Mrs. Helen H. Gardener, Civil Service Commissioner, are expected, and other famous women with them.

Tuesday the ends of convention threads are gathered together, the elections committee reports, the women who served on the commission to European women last summer will report, resolutions will be adopted and unfinished business attended to. This is really the last session of the great convention, but the Executive Council will meet Wednesday, April 30, and every state president is expected to remain for that meeting.

The newly elected officers who will meet with the Council are the president, third vice-president, and secretary, who, according to the League constitution, must be elected in the even-numbered years and hold office for two years, and the regional directors, who are elected by regional delegates at each convention and serve but for a year unless re-elected.

The Ballad of East Hartford

Give ear, ye Leaguers old and wise,
And eke ye Leaguers new;
A Tale of fair East Hartford Town
Would I unfold to you.

The League in fair East Hartford Town,
As many Leagues have done,
Besought a Speaker, Monday night,
From seven-and-twenty-one*.

But scarcely was the Speaker found
And scarce her Subject known,
When Bells rang out with urgent Sound—
Miss Corning at the 'phone.**

"No Speaker send! No Speaker send!
Though fair or foul the Weather,
Town Meeting comes that Monday night,
We're going all together."

So Publick Men who went that Night
For Honor or Intrigue,
Could see arranged a Goodly Sight,
The Whole East Hartford League.

If all the Leagues would do the same
How wide the Work would reach!
All Honor to East Hartford's Name,
They practice what they preach.

GLADYS M. GUILFORD

THE recently elected president of the North Carolina League is Miss Gertrude Weil, of Goldsboro. Mrs. Mary O. Cowper, of Durham, is the executive secretary.

*Headquarters. **President East Hartford League.

An Unprecedented Compliment

ON March 19 the House of Representatives of South Carolina paid Mrs. Richard Williams, retiring president of the state League and chairman of the steering committee of the Woman's Legislative Council, a compliment any woman in the world would be proud to receive. It was in the form of a concurrent resolution adopted in the House and sent to the Senate, and reads:

"WHEREAS, Mrs. Richard Williams, of Greenwood, * * * has been of invaluable assistance to the members of the General Assembly in furnishing them with reliable and trustworthy information upon the important and progressive legislation proposed and sponsored by women's organizations introduced and enacted at this session of the legislature and

"WHEREAS, By her courteous, amiable, and dignified manner in presenting this information she has won the confidence, high regard, and sympathetic friendship of the members of the General Assembly and deserves the cordial endorsement of the organizations she represents as well as that of the entire people of the state, now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, By the House of Representatives, the Senate concurring, that the General Assembly does hereby express its approval of the tactful and painstaking manner in which Mrs. Williams has presented these important matters to the general assembly, and we do hereby extend to her and her co-workers our sincere thanks for the great help they have been to the members of the legislature in their endeavor to deal properly and intelligently with these progressive measures."

League Women and League Work

LARGE public gatherings have been seized upon by the California League as proper occasions for the distribution of dodgers, of inexpensive paper printed boldly with "When, Where, and How to Register," in large type and specific instruction beneath the heading, "Register and Vote," equally striking, at the bottom of the broadside. Quantities of the same sheets were distributed in districts where registration is below normal. The March issue of the California League's *Bulletin* was devoted to discussion by the chairman of League standing committees of the National League's tentative program. New items in that program are printed in red and the California League called special attention to these by asking every local League or "center" to hold a "red ink day" in March to talk over the National League program and send criticisms or endorsements to state headquarters so that the state delegation will go to the Buffalo convention thoroughly informed of California's attitude on all the new proposals.

THE annual convention of the North Dakota League is to be held at Grand Forks, May 14-16, and the president of the state university has appointed Miss Beatrice Olson, dean of women, the faculty member to co-operate with the League in holding a two-day school of citizenship in connection with the meeting. Grand Forks has a recently organized League with Dr. Margaret Peake, president; Mrs. J. A. Poppler, vice-president; Miss Mary MacCumber, secretary, and Mrs. Laura Boyle, treasurer. The May festival at the University of North Dakota begins on May 16 and ends on May 17 and, as it draws visitors from all parts of the state, the Grand Forks League believes it will prove to be an inducement to many women to attend their first League convention. Miss Olson is so enthusiastic about League work that it is likely a university League will be organized because of her interest.

MRS. ANN WEBSTER, chairman of the National League Committee on Social Hygiene, spent one March day in St. Louis and these are the things she did, with St. Louis League women: addressed the police on the interest of women in police administration; visited three criminal courts; visited

the municipal clinic; visited League headquarters; spoke at a luncheon on the relation of the League's program in social hygiene to social agencies; drove about city inspecting playgrounds, the municipal outdoor theatre and the bear pits; attended a conference tea at the Women's College Club; spoke at a dinner given by the St. Louis League and the Missouri League, and attended an after-dinner conference. It was 11:59 when she started for Chicago and by a singular coincidence the Pullman porter was humming, "When you come to the end of a perfect day."

IN an eloquent letter, signed by Mrs. A. J. McGuire, chairman of the Committee on Political Relations, the Minnesota League has appealed to all local League chairmen to do all they can "to get strong women of all parties to help in arranging and conducting their party primaries, and to stand for delegates in their district." The letter details work to be done before the primary or caucus, with the most practical directions for doing it. The voters' primer of questions and answers on party caucuses and conventions, issued by the Minnesota League, is not only a *vade mecum* for Minnesota voters but an admirable model for Leagues in other states to follow. No point is left uncovered in the series of "Steps in the Nomination of the Presidential Candidates for 1924."

THE Cincinnati League has worked out a plan for citizenship schools in the various Cincinnati suburbs and has put it into operation with great success. A committee of women from the local community arranges a program for its school and the Cincinnati League provides speakers. The local women pay for the printing of the program and use it in the newspapers to advertise the school. The local committee is expected to raise money by serving a luncheon to all the women who come to the school. The school at Price Hill, held recently, brought out three hundred women, many of whom joined the League immediately afterward.

THE Memphis (Tennessee) League is greatly pleased at the success of its school of citizenship which began March 10. It was managed by Mrs. E. E. Hauck, the League's legislative chairman, and several women's organizations of Memphis co-operated in carrying out plans. Among the notable talks given were one on Republican candidates for the Presidency, one on Democratic candidates, and a discussion of the Constitution of the United States, by Mr. S. W. Jones, of the Memphis Law School. The League carried on a successful membership drive simultaneously with the school.

THE District of Columbia League is using its exceptional opportunities and inviting members of the Diplomatic Corps to speak at meetings in the cause of international friendship. The speakers at the first meeting of a series, March 18, were the ministers from the three countries comprising the "Little Entente" and at the second meeting, a week later, the speakers were: the Finnish Minister, Dr. Aström; the minister of Esthonia, Dr. Antonius Piip; the chargé d'affaires of Lithuania, Mr. Kazys Bizauskas, and the former secretary of the Latvian legation, Mr. Arved Kundzin.

EARLY in March, the Girls' Club of Meriden, Connecticut, gave a competitive vaudeville program and offered a prize for the best "act." The Meriden League won it—fifty dollars, it was—with a sketch entitled "That Old Sweetheart of Mine." Riley's familiar poem was recited by a young man in clever middle-age make-up, who addressed himself to a portrait of a lady in the costume of the '60's. At the conclusion of the verses the portrait "came alive" and the two characters danced a delightful old-fashioned *pas de deux*.

EVERY woman who attends the fifth annual convention at Buffalo will find the souvenir program well worth keeping. Printed in the usual League combination of buff and blue it will bear on the cover page a design illustrative of

League aims and purposes and the designs will be the best that Buffalo art classes can supply. The Erie County League offered a prize for the best design submitted and all the young men and women who are studying in the Buffalo Art Students' League and in nine local schools of high-school rank were eligible to compete.

MRS. ROBERT A. TAFT, first head, and now honorary president of the Cincinnati League, has been giving almost daily talks on "Our Taxes and Where They Go" in citizenship schools, and before clubs and other organizations in the League's work of giving the citizens of Hamilton County a clear understanding of the present tax situation. Mrs. Taft has also had a large part in compiling data for the Cincinnati League's new booklet, "Know Cincinnati," which is dedicated to "You, a Citizen of Cincinnati."

MRS. E. L. STEENROD, of the Dayton (Ohio) League, will attend the Buffalo convention as the winner of the prize offered by the Ohio League for the member who secured the largest number of new members in the recent membership drive. Mrs. Steenrod added fifty names to the membership list in the third congressional district of the state, a district which outdid all the rest in the drive. Dayton is the chief city of the district and the local League increased its membership by 350.

NUMBER II of "Little Libraries" has been issued by the Committee on Education of the National League and may be obtained from national headquarters. Its titles include books, magazines, surveys, Bureau of Education publications, and booklets from various sources. In size and in style—it is printed on durably stiff cardboard—it is a duplicate of Number I, which was compiled for the benefit of rural school board members. The price of the bibliographies is two cents each, \$1.80 the hundred.

FOLLOWING the custom established last year, the Kansas League printed the program of its annual convention on its official letterhead so that the names of officers were always conveniently at hand. The convention was held in Wichita, March 20-21, and the principal speaker and out-of-the-state guest was Mrs. James Morrisson, of Chicago, treasurer of the Illinois League, and a member of the commission of five the National League sent to talk with European women, last summer, about what American women can do to further the cause of world peace.

THE dates set for the school of government and politics which is to be conducted by the Leagues of the fourth region in co-operation with the University of Michigan are July 21-26. The program, as at present tentatively framed, calls for discussions of state administration, political parties, international relations, legislative and social progress, and methods of teaching government. The teaching staff will be drawn largely from the faculty of the university summer school.

THE South Carolina League executive board held its first meeting since the annual convention, in Columbia, on March 20 and made ready for its year's work. The newly elected officers are: Mrs. E. A. Dunovant, of Edgefield, president; Mrs. John Gary Evans, of Spartanburg, vice-president, and Mrs. R. D. Wright, of Newberry, recording secretary. A delegate to the fifth annual National League convention is Mrs. Foster McKissick.

A BRANCH of the Wayne County (Michigan) League has just been organized at Wyandotte, with Mrs. Walter C. Lambert for president; Mrs. Henry Roehrig and Mrs. Jerome Bishop, vice-presidents; Mrs. Frederick Van Alstyne, recording secretary; Mrs. Robert E. Johnston, corresponding secretary, and Mrs. Charles Crosby, treasurer.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

Suffrage Discussed

SUFFRAGE is now under serious consideration in three countries. In England, Mr. W. M. Adamson, secretary for Scotland, introduced a bill in Parliament on February 29 providing that women may vote at twenty-one, instead of at thirty, as now. This bill is very much like the ill-fated measure which was done to death in its committee stages after a triumphant second reading in 1921. All possible pressure is being brought to bear so that the path of the bill may be smooth and the four and a half-odd million British women between twenty-one and thirty may come into their own.

The Minister of the Interior of Hungary has withdrawn from his suffrage bill the paragraph depriving women of their municipal eligibility to the city Parliament of Budapest. This means not only that women may be elected again in Budapest, but that in future they may be elected in other towns of Hungary. The women of Hungary are rejoicing, as it was through their effort that the paragraph was taken out.

The Grand National Assembly in Turkey has passed a measure, granting every Turk who has reached the age of eighteen the privilege of a vote in the Parliamentary elections. There is still uncertainty in reports received as to whether women as well as men are meant.

The Women's Planks

BOTH Democratic and Republican women are at work to frame planks on social welfare legislation for the national platforms.

In the Democratic party, Cordell Hull, head of the National Committee, has appointed Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt, of New York, as chairman. Mrs. Roosevelt and her selected committee will submit to the Resolutions Committee, on June 24, a woman's platform of legislation, combining the requests of all women's organizations of the country. In this way it is assured that a woman's platform of social legislation will go to the Resolutions Committee.

Among the Republicans, the twenty-nine women members of the National Committee's subcommittee on policies and platforms are also making suggestions for planks in the 1924 platform. These women, prominent in the work of women's organizations, are consulting leaders in club, civic and political groups to find out what Republican women want in their platform.

Coming Events

NATIONAL Garden Week—April 20-26.
Third Annual Convention of the American Association of University Women—April 21-25, Washington, D. C.

Fifth Annual Convention of the National League of Women Voters—April 25-29, Buffalo, N. Y.

Eighth Biennial National Convention of the Y. W. C. A.—April 30 to May 5, New York City.

Fourth Biennial Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom—May 1-17, Washington, D. C.

International Women's Congress—May 20-27, Copenhagen.

Seventeenth Biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs—June 2-13, Los Angeles, Cal.

Ninth Biennial Convention of the National Women's Trade Union League of America—June 16-21, New York City.

The Conventions

A FEW words about all these conventions—

Details of the program of the League of Women Voters' meeting are to be found in the *Woman Voter*, pp. 23-24. As this is written, final points of the program are being worked out; but the main outlines are settled, and a fine company of splendid speakers is assured.

The A. A. U. W. promises an interesting program with every moment filled. Among the speakers will be Miss Johanne Stochholm, secretary of the Danish Federation, who is now teaching at Bryn Mawr; Mlle. Marguerite Mes-toulet, president of the French Federation, exchange professor at Barnard College; Mrs. Walker Vaughan, president of the Canadian Federation; Princess Borghese of Italy and Miss Picton Turbervill from England.

The Y. W. C. A. convention and the congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom are drawing many delegates from other countries. Some were mentioned in the last CITIZEN, and we'll have more to say about them later.

Meantime, as this goes to press, a convention of the Women's National Committee for Law Enforcement has just been concluded. The convention discussed primarily the enforcement of prohibition. A resolution was passed that the political parties be asked to include in their party platforms a plank against any change in the definition of intoxicating liquors as it now stands in the Volstead act. It recommended the transfer of the enforcement personnel to the civil service, stricter penalties for law breakers, a stronger coast guard and a more careful regulation of permits, with a more accurate estimate of the alcohol needed for industrial purposes

A Candidate for Congress

MRS. A. H. HOFFMAN, who for six years has been county superintendent of schools of Polk County, Iowa, which includes the city of Des Moines, has announced her candidacy for Congress. Mrs. Hoffman is the first woman in her Congressional District to seek this nomination. She is running against a strong opponent, Cassius C. Dowell, a member of the last five Congresses, but because of her prominence the race looks interesting.

Mrs. Hoffman was the second woman to be elected to the Des Moines School Board, and the first to be elected its president. She has been actively identified with the Iowa State Teachers' Association and with the National Education Association, and has been active in the City and County Federation of Women's Clubs, Chamber of Commerce, Women's Rotary Club and other civic organizations. She was a member of the Citizen Committee which prepared the course of study for the public schools of Iowa.

A British Peace Contest

AN Imperial Competition is being organized in Great Britain to stimulate thought and study upon the question of Peace. Thirty-eight prizes, which total about ten thousand dollars, will be awarded for the best plan based upon the proposition, "How can peace and prosperity be restored in Great Britain and in Europe through International Co-operation?" All plans must be submitted by British subjects, whether at home or abroad, by June 28.

Ellen Duane Davis

THE political and civic life of Philadelphia has sustained a severe loss in the death, on March 4 last, of a widely known Democratic woman, Mrs. Ellen Duane Davis, wife of Dr. Edward P. Davis, personal friend and physician of Woodrow Wilson.

Mrs. Davis was descended in direct line from Benjamin Franklin, being the great-great-granddaughter of the illustrious statesman. Her maternal grandfather, William J. Duane, was Secretary of the Treasury during part of the administration of Andrew Jackson. Her mother, Mrs. E. D. Gillespie, will live in the history of Philadelphia for her notable civic service, particularly the permanent establishment of the Pennsylvania Museum and School of Industrial Art and the introduction of orchestral music to Philadelphia.

Mrs. Davis felt keenly the traditions of family usefulness in public welfare as a personal obligation for her own day and generation. Her record shows activity in many lines: in the societies of colonial descendants, welfare work of the Episcopal Church, particularly the Girls' Friendly Society, the State Grange, the Red Cross and the Liberty Loan campaigns of the world war; in a long participation in the struggle for suffrage and in political work after the victory was won.

In 1920 Mrs. Davis accepted the leadership of the Women's Democratic organization in Philadelphia. In the same year her name appeared on the ballot as presidential elector-at-large, the first woman in Pennsylvania to be so honored. She was the first woman elected to serve on the Democratic City Executive Committee. In 1922 she was the candidate of her party for election to Congress, developing a splendid campaign. Her defeat at the polls—the natural lot of the minority candidate—she accepted as none the less honorable in the discharge of her patriotic duty and the service of her party.

About a year ago Mrs. Davis suffered a physical breakdown, but her interest in politics never failed. She frequently left her bed to attend meetings of importance, accompanied by her nurse. At the time of her death she was actively identified with the Democratic Citizens' Committee, the Luncheon Club, the Democratic City Executive Committee and the Women's Central Democratic Club as vice-chairman.—M. H.

Government Bulletins

THE housekeeping bulletins issued free by the Department of Agriculture are in great demand, according to a Department report. During the year ending July 30, 1923, 488,000 copies of *Baking in the Home* (No. 1136) were distributed, 245,000 *Removal of Common Stains* (No. 861), 172,000 *School Lunches* (No. 712), 137,000 *Housecleaning Made Easy* (No. 1180), 109,000 *Home Laundering* (No. 1099) and 104,000 *Floors and Floor Coverings* (No. 1219).

A Women's Center

AT the British Empire Exhibition—April to October—there will be a small building to serve as a center for women who want information about international work. The British Overseas Committee of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance is responsible for the building.

Republican Magazines

REPUBLICAN women edit and publish at least seven different magazines throughout the country. They are: *The New Jersey Republican*, *The Republican Woman*, published in Pennsylvania; *The Woman Republican*, issued by the New York Women's State

Executive Committee; *The Republican Woman*, published by the Illinois Republican Women's Club; *The Elephant*, official organ of the Republican Women's Club of St. Louis; Mrs. Florence

Riddick Boys's section of *The National Republican*, and an infant, *The Massachusetts Elephant*, which has only recently been born. Mrs. Frank B. Hall, of Worcester, is its manager.

General Federation Notes

By Lessie Stringfellow Read

AS the Biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs at Los Angeles, June 2-13, occurs on the fourth or election year, tremendous interest centers in the election, in which a president will be chosen to succeed Mrs. Winter, and which will determine an entire new administration for the next four years. Thirteen states having voted in all their clubs in direct membership, entitling each club to a voting delegate at the convention, a spirited club membership campaign from now until June among remaining states which desire a large voting body is expected to be waged. The nominating committee will report June 10 and balloting will be permitted that day and the following. The report of the election will be announced from the platform June 12 at noon.

DURING the Biennial Convention an "administration dinner" will be given under the chairmanship of Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, president of the Federation. The date is June 5. Everyone who has been a member of Mrs. Winter's board of directors during any part of her four years of administration will be invited, and it is hoped that this group will form a permanent organization.

MRS. C. S. SELOVER, of Cleveland, Ohio, director in the General Federation of Women's Clubs for her state, has accepted the office of chairman of resolutions at the convention, which was left vacant by the resignation of Miss Mary Garrett Hay, of New York City, whose health is such that she does not expect to attend the Biennial.

CLUBS of Porto Rico, Hawaii and Alaska do not like to be listed as "foreign." It is to be proposed, therefore, at the June Biennial, to amend the by-laws to provide that all clubs of American women living in dependencies or possessions of the United States, not already represented on the board, shall be reclassified as "insular" instead of "foreign."

Proposed amendments will provide further that one director be added to the General Federation board, to represent the insular clubs. Since such clubs are widely scattered in various parts, and since therefore it would be almost impossible for them to elect a director, the amendment will provide that the insular director be elected by the board, "but

shall have particularly in mind the interests of that group."

Another suggested amendment to the by-laws has to do with permitting past General Federation presidents to be made members of the board of directors.

A SPECIAL bulletin on relations of this country with the Latin Republics is being prepared by Mrs. E. O. Leatherwood, vice-chairman of the General Federation of Women's Clubs' Department of International Relations. A bulletin on relations with Mexico is being prepared by Mrs. Lee Joseph, of Texas, also a member of the Department.

MAY 11-18 has been named as Better Homes Week, to be observed by Better Homes in America, Inc., recently reorganized with Secretary Herbert Hoover as president. Mrs. John D. Sherman and Mrs. William Brown Meloney are among members of the board. President Coolidge is chairman of the Advisory Council.

Better Homes in America will this year conduct home demonstrations in cities, towns and villages, and hopes to make each local home demonstration a community affair, wholly divorced from commercial interest. Mrs. Sherman, chairman of Education in the General Federation, says:

"The aim is to induce the citizens of the community to buy, rent or borrow a house which is particularly adapted for demonstration purposes because of its location and its architecture. Such houses should be furnished and equipped in a tasteful, economical and consistent manner to make an exhibit of a well-balanced home as educational as possible.

"During Better Homes Week the committee will open this house for public inspection, and demonstrations of architecture, furnishings, equipment, garden, home music, home libraries and home play may all be part of the program.

"You can cooperate in this admirable educational movement either by volunteering to act as chairman of the local Better Homes Committee in case no chairman has yet been appointed, or by suggesting one or more women who would be willing to serve as local chairman."

Mrs. Sherman may always be reached at General Federation Headquarters, 1734 N Street, N. W., where she will remain through Garden Week.

The Bookshelf

ROSE MACAULAY'S "*Told by an Idiot*" is as sophisticated, as free of illusions as its title. It is a brilliant and moving story of three generations, which says that life in its essentials is always the same, that only the mechanics and the terms change, and that the unconquered human spirit is the only thing of value in the whole show. Otherwise life is, as the author of her title said three hundred years before her, "A tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing." Miss Macaulay has won greater depths of understanding than she had when she wrote her clever "*Potterism*." This book has a range of characters, a philosophy, a sort of four-dimensional sense that are amazing and fascinating.

It is this same unconquerable human spirit which Frank Swinnerton pictures in "*Young Felix*," the story of a youth whose "personal motto should have been something in a dead language meaning 'Happy in Disaster.'" He is a most engaging young person, from the age of two to thirty-odd. Something of a poet, more of an artist, he wanders through a series of appalling disasters with his sense of deep humor unbeaten. You love him, you fear for him, you are exasperated by him. It is this quality of inviting your personal participation that lifts Mr. Swinnerton's books out of the class which contains Arnold Bennett, who is quite as good a reporter. You hold your breath, suffer and rejoice with Swinnerton's people. He has, in addition to the power of meticulous observation, a quality of understanding and interpretation which raise his talents to the level of genius.

Louis Hemon won high place for himself with his exquisite "*Marie Chapdelaine*." People who loved its slow simplicity, lucid calm, and sense of eternal values will want to read the collection of his stories and sketches called "*My Fair Lady*." They have many of the same rare qualities. Not short stories in the mechanical sense, they are rather portraits of minds and emotions under stress, told in the simplest and most moving terms. They make one realize again how true an artist was lost when young Louis Hemon died.

"*Graven Image*" is Margaret Widder's story of appalling self-righteousness in an entire family. It is a kind of abnormal egotism which causes its own people more suffering than it inflicts on outsiders. Miss Widdemer has made al-

most a laboratory study of its effects on people of various temperaments, and has woven this into a skillful and interesting novel.

Samuel Hopkins Adams says he wrote "*Siege*" to portray "the conflict of the old-type woman representing authority, tradition, acceptance of stated standards, with the new woman reaching for freedom, without necessarily knowing what to do with it, intolerant of restraint, with her own specialized self-respect, eagerness of vision, and demands upon the world she lives in." His statement of purpose shows how completely characters can take a novel out of its author's hands. Actually he pictures a conflict between two women whose characteristics are amazingly alike and whose terms are different. He puts directed cooperation in a battle against feudalism and the same qualities win the battle for the newer concept that won it for the older in its own age.

"*Enchanted Aisles*" is the kind of a book it should be to bear such a name. Essays, sketches, memories which give the impression of being tossed off like soap bubbles, are the work of Alexander Woollcott, who has told New York each morning for several years just how much he enjoyed, or deplored, the play of the



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NEXT in our picture row of women novelists is a young Englishwoman, Beatrice Kean Seymour, whose three novels have already given her a place among the worth-while moderns. Mrs. Seymour belongs to the much discussed younger generation, and had a chance to watch it from a point of vantage during the war—as secretary to a well-known newspaper proprietor. Presently she married William Kean Seymour, poet and critic, and began writing, with occasional Zeppelins for accompaniment. Each of the three novels, "*Invisible Tides*," "*Intrusion*," and "*The Hopeful Journey*," has had a cordial reception.

Mrs. Seymour, for all her mature experience, has, her friends say, "an abounding presence of youth about her," and the picture says so even before one knows the bobbed hair is flaming auburn.

night before. Characteristically, he divides his book into Enthusiasms and Resentments; but the former are in the majority, and the latter are enthusiasms by inversion. He cheers for a delightful and variegated group of people ranging from Mrs. Fiske and John Drew to an old Briton woman who adopted all the doughboys in her town by the extralegal and eternally binding method of feeding them free. The book is a gay pattern of witty mosaic which provides many-sided amusement. M. A.

Here is an extra shelf of books—"Economics for Women Citizens"—reviewed for the CITIZEN by

WINIFRED CHAPPELL

"THE COMING OF COAL," by Robert W. Bruere (Association Press, \$1.00): "Instead of millions of tons of raw coal moving slowly along through bottle necks and through congested freight yards, there will be the silent rush of uncoupled electrons hurrying to the centers of production to do the work of man. Instead of spreading dirt and noise and ugliness, these new carriers of cosmic energy will be high harps for the wind." The quotation gives some notion of the idealism of this fascinating little book in which is packed about all that the layman needs to know concerning the "coming" of the use of coal—and incidentally, as the quotation indicates, of its partial yielding to electric power.

Coal is already in the consumers' limelight; the development of electricity, and whether it is to be publicly or privately owned, will come into the purview at this session of Congress. Women should have a voice in determining the issues involved, for they are primarily consumers' issues. This little handbook will prepare the way for their intelligent speaking. 113 pages.

"*The Control of Wages*," by Walter Hamilton and Stacy May (Doran, \$1.50): The orthodox economists long taught that wages follow "the law of supply and demand" and many business men still profess to rely on the inerrant character of such a "law." Here are two economists who have ventured to ask whether wages are not subject to control; and furthermore to analyze the whole complex structure of modern industry to ascertain at just what points "increments" may perhaps be subtracted from some other fund and added to the wages of the worker.

The story is like a lightning flash across the prairies of modern economic organization, lighting up unexpected cracks and crannies. Who would have suspected that there were so many points in the industrial machine at which some change might be made in the interest of fairer distribution without wrecking the whole? From the standpoint of the radical this is a mild book. But it is

Told by an Idiot, Boni Liveright, 1924. \$2.00.

Young Felix, Doran, 1923. \$2.00.

My Fair Lady, Macmillan, 1923. \$2.00.

Graven Image, Harcourt Brace, 1923. \$2.00.

Siege, Boni Liveright, 1924. \$2.00.

Enchanted Aisles: Putnam, 1924. \$2.50.

fair and constructive and short—and very readable. 180 pages.

"*The Control of Industry*," by D. H. Robertson (Harcourt, Brace & Co., \$1.25): This book will take the reader into the technical field of economics—"Large Scale Industry," "The Organization of Marketing," "The Capitalization of Industry," "Finance and Industry." It does not hesitate to raise questions, as other chapter headings show: "A Survey of Capitalism," "Industry and the Consumer," "Collectivism and Communism," "Workers' Control," "Joint Control." After such surveying of the field, it ends on a note of hope: "If we are neither false to our vision nor immoderate in our hopes, we need not despair of witnessing the slow growth of something worth calling Freedom in industrial affairs." 165 pages.

"*The Prospects of Industrial Civilization*," by Bertrand Russell, in collaboration with Dora Russell (Century Co., \$2.00): A mind-widening book! Starting with the coming of the machine and the civilization that has built itself about that set of events that we call the Industrial Revolution, it carries the reader away into the centuries that lie ahead. The author sees on the one hand the dark possibility of the total breakdown of our modern organized life, the reversion to primitive forms, the necessity of beginning all over again; on the other hand, the development of new alignments of nations, of great self-sufficing "land empires" in which offensive war becomes antiquated and defensive war unnecessary; and out of which may grow eventually an internationally organized world. He sees underneath a huge struggle between industrialism and humanity with the latter winning only if mankind adopts a liberal socialism and a thoroughgoing internationalism. 287 pages.

"*The Decay of Capitalist Civilization*," by Sidney and Beatrice Webb (Harcourt, Brace & Co., \$2.00): This is, I suppose, a radical book. But its radicalism is based on fact, not theory. I have seen somewhere, to be sure, a review accusing the authors of making generalizations without supporting data. It is an odd charge to be laid against these two persons. Their work for a generation has been nothing if not the collection of data bearing on the present industrial system. This book is the result. The pent-up wrath generated by all these years of direct contact with poverty and squalor, inequalities of livelihood and opportunity, the limitation of personality, sectional and world wars, bursts forth in this little book—which the woman citizen will perchance want to discuss with her business-man husband. For we women are not ostriches that we must needs put our heads in the sand and refuse to see what is clearly visible. Capitalist civilization is not in a wholly stable condition. 236 pages.

Married Women's Citizenship

AT the Ninth Convention of the International Woman Suffrage Alliance, held in Rome last May, the Committee on the Nationality of Married Women—formed in 1920 at the instigation of Miss Annie Furuhjelm, Finland—made a comprehensive summary of the laws in different countries. While not giving it in detail, we are publishing the status of a woman after marriage.

Austria: Native woman loses nationality upon marriage with an alien; foreign woman marrying an Austrian becomes an Austrian.

Belgium: Native woman may retain nationality after marrying an alien, provided she declares her intention within six months after marriage; foreign woman takes husband's citizenship.

Bulgaria: Native woman loses nationality except when husband's country will not allow the wife to nationalize; foreign woman becomes Bulgarian.

Canada: An act was passed in 1919 giving women the right to their own nationality after marriage, but it was later repealed.

Chile: Native woman does not lose nationality; foreign woman does not become a Chilean.

China: Native woman loses nationality upon marriage with an alien, or if native husband becomes naturalized in another country during married life, unless husband's country will not let her become naturalized.

Congo: Native woman not considered; foreign woman becomes Congolese by marriage if she has lost her nationality by this act.

Denmark: Before 1898 native women kept own nationality after marriage with an alien. Now take the nationality of their husbands, except when the country of the husband will not permit. Bill now considered to give independent citizenship for residents.

Ecuador: Principle of the law is that a native woman follows the nationality of her alien husband, but if she resides in Ecuador after marriage she may choose her own nationality.

Estonia: Native woman loses nationality unless within two weeks after marriage she notifies the nearest police officer or, if abroad, the nearest Estonian Consul of her intention to retain her nationality; foreign woman becomes an Estonian.

Finland: Native woman takes the nationality of husband; no exceptions.

France: Native woman takes the nationality of alien husband unless his country will not permit, in which case she remains French. Bill now considered to give independent citizenship.

Germany: Native woman loses nationality; foreign woman becomes a German. If both the husband and wife are German and the husband changes

his nationality during marriage, the wife may retain her own nationality.

Great Britain: Native woman loses nationality; foreign woman becomes British.

Greece: Native woman loses nationality; foreign woman becomes Greek, providing the marriage ceremony is solemnized according to Greek law.

Honduras: Native woman loses nationality, but can regain own nationality independent of her husband; foreign woman becomes a Hondurian, unless she explicitly states that she wishes to retain her own nationality.

Hungary: Native woman loses nationality, with no exception; foreign woman becomes Hungarian upon marriage.

Italy: Native woman loses nationality, providing the husband possesses citizenship which by virtue of his marriage he can grant her; foreign woman becomes Italian.

Latvia: Native woman loses nationality; foreign woman becomes Latvian. Both cases without exception.

Lithuania: Native woman takes the nationality of alien husband.

Monaco: Native woman loses nationality, unless her husband's country will not grant her nationalization; foreign woman becomes Monacoan without exception.

Netherlands: Native woman takes nationality of husband.

Norway: Native woman takes nationality of husband; foreign woman becomes a Norwegian.

Panama: Native woman loses nationality; foreign woman becomes a Panaman. Both without exception.

Paraguay: Native woman takes the nationality of husband; foreign woman becomes a Paraguayan. Both without exception.

Persia: A woman takes nationality of husband.

Poland: Native woman loses nationality; foreign woman becomes a Pole.

Portugal: Native woman loses nationality, unless husband's country will not grant her nationalization.

Russia: Native woman does not lose nationality; foreign woman does not have to become Russian by marriage.

Salvador: Native woman takes nationality of husband; foreign woman becomes Salvadorian. Both without exception.

Serbes, Croats, Slovenes: Native woman loses nationality; foreign woman takes the nationality of husband.

Siam: Native woman loses nationality if by husband's national law she acquires his nationality upon marriage; foreign woman becomes a Siamese.

South Africa: Native woman loses nationality. Bill is being proposed to change this law.

Spain: Native woman loses nationality; foreign woman becomes a Spaniard. No exception to either law.

Sweden: Native woman loses nationality; foreign woman becomes a Swede. No exceptions to either law.

Switzerland: Native woman loses nationality, if marriage not valid according to laws of two countries, or if husband's country refuses to grant wife nationalization. Foreign woman becomes Swiss without exception.

Turkey: Native woman not considered. Foreign man who marries a Turkish Mussulman woman must become a Mussulman and change his baptismal name to Mussulman names.

United States of America: Native woman retains her citizenship upon marriage with an alien; foreign woman does not acquire husband's nationality unless she so desires. Passed September 22, 1922.

Uruguay: Nationality of women, like men, dependent entirely upon country in which born.

Argentina, Brazil, Japan: Stranger marrying a woman of the country is naturalized by the act, regardless of his preference.

It is interesting to note that in Monaco a woman married to an alien cannot regain her nationality after her husband's death, except by favor of the reigning sovereign. In Esthonia, Ecuador and Honduras if a native woman wishes to regain her nationality during the life of her husband she can do so by declaring her intentions and passing through the required steps of naturalization. In twenty-three countries this privilege is granted only upon the dissolution of the marriage.

In the next CITIZEN—an important article reporting what the Foreign Language Information Service has found out about the effect of the Cable Act on the Immigrant Wife.

Kitchen Cabinets

(Continued from page 11)

not against the officers being investigated, but against Republicans in general. Senator Caraway so far forgot himself as to speak of the President of the United States as "Careful Cal." Senator Walsh, to whom the country owes much for his long-suffering, conscientious service in prosecuting the oil investigation, shrank into only a Democrat when he sent a message to his Montana constituents denouncing the Republicans as a party. Neither party is composed exclusively of saints—or sinners. There are probably as many Democratic thieves as Republican and vice versa. In fact, the record of both parties should make them mod-

estly humble when the question of graft is mentioned.

The fact that Secretary Daugherty's witnesses were not permitted to be heard and that his counsel was given small chance at cross-examinations has spread the impression that the hearings have been unfair and one-sided. Not enough direct testimony has been obtained to indict either of the two Cabinet officers, yet they go out of office under serious charges and no opportunity may arise for legal defense. That makes a cheap political victory.

The next attack is upon Secretary Mellon. The President, in a special message to the Senate, protests with vigor. Meanwhile, Senator Wheeler has been indicted in Montana upon charges similar to those his committee has been making against Daugherty. Democrats denounce it as a Republican "frame-up" and the situation indicates that once again "Greek has met Greek." Both parties in the Senate are caucusing to plan policy and procedure, and clearly both parties have overreached themselves in an effort to draw party advantage out of a very sad national calamity. Each party will appeal for support on its side of the controversy, but patriotic citizens should allow no influence to obscure the fact that there are permanent weaknesses in the Washington situation which demand correction. These are not Republican weaknesses nor yet Democratic weaknesses—they are flaws in the American system.

MEANTIME, the investigations are very upsetting to the public peace of mind. The vast majority of our population are served by newspapers much too small to carry the daily proceedings of affairs so voluminous and interminable as are these, and the big majority of the minority that has access to newspapers containing complete reports do not have time to read them. Yet the stories spread and grow ever larger and larger as stories do, until the public is irritated and distressed because it knows there is something it ought to know, yet can find no way to know it. The thing that arouses the most furious ire of the average American is that "somebody is putting something over on him" and he has that feeling now verging on the danger point.

Never was there a time when citizens have needed a clear, unbiased interpretation of a situation quite so much as now, and never was there a time when they are less likely to get it, since party leaders with the unfailing instinct of self-preservation—the Republicans to keep in, the Democrats to get in—are already engaged in the kind of combat that adds confusion worse confounded to the already befogged public understanding.

As a matter of calm fact, it is of small importance to the generation fifty years hence whether Republicans or Democrats

win the election of 1924. The nation will undoubtedly survive either administration as it has done before. What really counts is that the investigations have most undeniably revealed some things "rotten in Denmark" and the real question of consequence at this time is whether that rottenness is to be cut out fearlessly and thus the danger removed of a recurrence of the present malady, or whether it is to be concealed and forgotten.

An undeniable revelation is that a so-called "Kitchen Cabinet" has been serving the administration in Washington. The probable fact is that every administration since the Civil War has had its Kitchen Cabinet. It is a good title. The grand personages who sit at a banquet table partaking of delicate foods are carefully protected from the smell and sight of the kitchen where they were prepared. Appetites are better so. Thus kinds of objectionable political service, out of sight, hearing and smell, have been dubbed Kitchen Cabinets. From time to time during the last half century the door between the respectable uppers and the questionable unders has been torn open and the public has never approved what it saw. Whole administrations have passed without a whiff of the unclean air from this political underworld seeping out, and "we the people" have fondly believed that Kitchen Cabinets were no more. In truth, they have probably been there all along, tongue in cheek and thumb on nose in contempt for "the people," while getting what they wanted in their own snooping and underhanded way.

Kitchen Cabinets are composed of little men with little souls, with no visible means of support, who live by droppings from the political table. Their claim to recognition is political regularity. They have fetched and carried and labored early and late in the great campaign. They promise continued usefulness. The victors are thus under obligations to them. They capitalize their regularity and loyalty by drawing dividends in the form of political favors. They are political trustees who do political errands and manage to get pay for them. They push small men for small appointments and make them pay for it; they look up evidence and shade it for a consideration; they work their party for any interest willing to pay for it. They will beg, borrow, steal or engage in financial intrigue, and may be depended upon to tell a skillful lie for a fee.

Did you ever see hanging around a court-house a group of professional jurors? Well, they may serve as a good sample taken from a Kitchen Cabinet. Do you know any man who has a mysterious business in Washington? He probably is serving somewhere in the scullery. Some of these men may bask in the sunshine of the smiles of the High Ups, and, if so, they make poor sinners

Why Sarah Field Splint wears Cantilever Shoes

Cantilever Stores

Cut this out for reference

Akron—11 Orpheum Arcade (Main & Market)
 Albany—Hewett's Silk Shop, 15 N. Pearl St.
 Allentown—H. Mayer, 907 Hamilton St.
 Asheville—Pollock's
 Atlanta—126 Peachtree Arcade
 Atlantic City—2019 Boardwalk (near
 Shelburne)
 Baltimore—325 North Charles St. (2nd
 floor)
 Bangor—John Connors Shoe Co.
 Berkeley—The Booterie
 Birmingham—Parlor City Shoe Co.
 Birmingham—219 North 19th St.
 Boston—109 Newbury St. cor. Clarendon St.
 Bridgeport—1025 Main St. (2nd floor)
 Brooklyn—516 Fulton St. (Primrose Bldg.)
 Buffalo—641 Main St. (above Chippewa St.)
 Butte—Hubert Shoe Co.
 Cedar Rapids—The Killian Co.
 Charleston, S. C.—J. F. Condon & Sons
 Charleston, W. Va.—John Lee Shoe Co.
 Charlotte—222 North Tryon St.
 Charlotte—30 E. Randolph St. (Room 502)
 Chicago—1050 Leland (near Broadway)
 Chicago—835 E. 61st St. Cor. Drexel Av.
 Cincinnati—The McAlpin Co.
 Cleveland—1705 Euclid Ave.
 Colorado Springs—Wulff Shoe Co.
 Columbus, O.—104 E. Broad St. (at 3rd)
 Dallas—York Bros. Co.
 Dayton—The Rike-Kumler Co.
 Denver—224 Foster Bldg.
 Des Moines—W. L. White Shoe Co.
 Detroit—41 E. Adams Ave.
 Duluth—107 W. First St. (near 1st Av. W.)
 Elmira—C. W. O'Shea
 Erie—Wescher Co., Erie State St.
 Evansville—310 So. 3rd St. (near Main)
 Fall River—D. F. Sullivan
 Fort Wayne—Mathias App's Sons
 Fort Worth—Washers Bros.
 Grand Rapids—Herpolsheimer Co.
 Hagerstown—Bikle's Shoe Shop
 Harrisburg—26 No. 3rd St. (2nd floor)
 Hartford—Trumbull & Church Sts.
 Houston—205 Foster Bank Commerce Bldg.
 Huntington, W. Va.—McMahon-Diehl
 Indianapolis—J. A. Acres & Co.
 Ithaca—Rothschild Bros.
 Jacksonville—Golden's Bootery
 Kalamazoo—The Bell Shoe House
 Kansas City, Mo.—600 Altman Bldg.
 Kingston—E. T. Stelle & Son
 Knoxville—Spence Shoe Co.
 Lancaster, Pa.—Boyd's, 5 E. King St.
 Lexington, Ky.—Denton, Ross, Todd Co.
 Lincoln—Mayer Bros. Co.
 Long Beach, Cal.—536 Pine Ave.
 Los Angeles—505 New Pantages Bldg.
 Louisville—Boston
 Lynchburg—Isbell-Bowman Co.
 Madison—Family Shoe Store
 Memphis—28 N. Second St.
 Milwaukee—Brouwer Shoe Co.
 Minneapolis—25 Eighth St. South
 Mt. Vernon, N. Y.—A. J. Rice & Co.
 Nashville—J. A. Mens & Sons
 Newark—897 Broad St. (2nd floor)
 Newburgh—G. A. C. Van Beuren
 New Haven—153 Court St. (2nd floor)
 New Orleans—109 Baronne St. (Room 200)
 Newport, R. I.—Sullivan's, 226 Thames St.
 New York—14 W. 40th St. (opp. Public
 Library)
 Norfolk—Ames & Brownley
 Oakland—516 15th St. (opp. City Hall)
 Oklahoma City—The Boot Shop
 Omaha—1708 Howard St.
 Pasadena—378 E. Colorado St.
 Paterson—10 Park Ave. (at Erie Depot)
 Peoria—Jefferson St. (Lehmann Bldg.)
 Philadelphia—1932 Chestnut St.
 Pittsburgh—The Rosenbaum Co.
 Plainfield—M. C. Van Arsdale
 Portland, Me.—Palmer Shoe Co.
 Portland, Ore.—353 Alder St.
 Poughkeepsie—Louis Schomberger
 Providence—The Boston Store
 Reading—Sig. S. Schwirmer
 Richmond, Va.—Seymour Sytle
 Roanoke—J. Bachrach Shoe Co.
 Rochester—257 Main St. E. (3rd floor)
 Rockford—D. J. Stewart & Co.
 St. Joseph, Mo.—216 N. 7th (Arcade
 Bldg.)
 St. Louis—516 Arcade Bldg. (opp. P. O.)
 St. Paul—43 E. 5th St. (Frederic Hotel)
 St. Petersburg—W. L. Tillinghast
 Sacramento—208 Ochsner Bldg., K near
 7th
 Saginaw—Goeschel-Kulper Co.
 Salt Lake City—Walker Bros. Co.
 San Diego—The Marston Co.
 San Francisco—Phelan Bldg. (Arcade)
 Santa Barbara—Smith's Bootery
 Savannah—Globe Shoe Co.
 Schenectady—445 State St.
 Scranton—Lewis & Reilly
 Seattle—Baxter & Baxter
 Sioux City—The Pelletier Co.
 Sioux Falls—The Bee Hive
 South Bend—Ellsworth Store
 Spokane—The Cress
 Springfield, Mass.—Forbes & Wallace
 Syracuse—121 West Jefferson St.
 Tacoma—255 So. 11th St. (Fidelity Trust
 Bldg.)
 Toledo—LaSalle & Koch Co.
 Topeka—The Pelletier Store
 Toronto—7 Queen St. East (at Yonge)
 Trenton—H. M. Voorhes & Bro.
 Troy—35 Third St. (2nd floor)
 Tulsa—Lyon's Shoe Store
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The Advantages of Foot Comfort Recognized by a Woman Who Has Built a Successful Business by her Knowledge of Other Women's Needs

SARAH FIELD SPLINT, who is known to millions of women through her articles in the magazines, has made a life study of the requirements of American women. Her success lies in her ability to understand what women really need for their comfort and happiness, and what aids to homemaking they can best use. Some of the largest manufacturers in the country seek Miss Splint's advice on fashion, correct usage and domestic science.

Like other women noted for their accomplishments, Miss Splint recognizes that the flexible support, ease and freedom of the Cantilever Shoe contribute much toward sustaining one's energy during an active day. She has this to say:

"Whether a woman is baking a pie, writing a magazine article or planning a charity ball, I believe that Cantilever Shoes will help her. Before I wore them, I never knew how splendidly alive one's feet could feel in shoes with flexible arches. It is certainly gratifying to find helpful comfort in shoes that have such pleasing lines as Cantilevers."



An exceptionally comfortable last in black suede or black kid

In the Cantilever Shoe, your feet will feel natural, young. The flexible arch co-ordinates with the foot action, giving springy support and assuring beneficial exercise to muscles upon which the strength of the foot depends. The arch of the Cantilever Shoe is lasted with especial skill, making it fit the hollow of the foot. This distinctive feature of the Cantilever Shoe gives the foot extra support on the inner and weaker side and yet the sole is flexible from toe to heel. Women who have weak arches find the Cantilever Shoe an aid in strengthening the structure of the foot.



Sarah Field Splint

PHOTO BY NICHOLAS MURRAY

Chief of the Division of Home Conservation of the United States during the World War. Consultant to manufacturers of women's products. Head of the Departments of Food and Household Management, McCall's Magazine.

The natural lines and pleasing toe of the Cantilever Shoe add to your comfort and pleasure. Your toes are uncramped. Your foot is free. The heel of the shoe is set to distribute the weight of the body evenly over the foot, so that it carries you buoyantly and without strain. You can walk and work with more enjoyment in this helpful shoe.

There are a variety of attractive Cantilever styles that will look well with your favorite costumes. Oxfords that give your feet trim, graceful lines; strap pumps in tasteful patterns; and snug, serviceable boots for rainy April days. Fine leathers and excellent workmanship accentuate the good looks of all Cantilever models. Moderate heels in different heights contribute to the comfort and good health influence of these shoes.

At the nearest Cantilever store, you are welcome to try on a pair. In every community, one dealer is selected to sell Cantilever Shoes (except in New York and Chicago, where several stores are located in convenient parts of the city). If you do not find a nearby dealer in this partial list, write to Morse & Burt Co., 8 Carlton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y. They will send you the name of the Cantilever dealer nearest you, and enclose an informative booklet on feet and shoes.

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Cantilever Shoes are worn by prominent women everywhere and are officially endorsed by Leading Women's Colleges, Women's Clubs, Public Health Authorities, Physicians, Osteopaths, Directors of Physical Education, Editors and other authorities.

think it worth dollars to engage their influence. Even the Most High must not repudiate them, for they are regulars. No one knows just what they do, or how many irons any one may have in the fire, for the Kitchen Cabinet is unorganized. Each member is there to get something for himself by his own hook or crook; yet the sum total of their effect upon an administration is unclean and their very existence highly discreditable to the honor of our nation.

There is a reason why the Kitchen

Cabinet of the Harding-Coolidge administration may be larger and more audacious than others of late—because a new source of corruption has come into politics, and that is the enforcement of prohibition. The wets are determined to bring prohibition to an end by making a failure of enforcement. The effective way to do it is obviously to put wet men where dry men ought to be. So bootleggers and rum runners doubtless pressed into the Kitchen Cabinet in such large droves that the crowd burst the

door from its hinges and revealed the horrid, revolting things within.

Let it be remembered that a Kitchen Cabinet is not a disease; it is a symptom. It will disappear with its causes. Some of these are obvious. The parties will do well in the coming campaign to pledge themselves to end this malicious underground influence by the removal of the causes. If they don't, women will have to add this burden to their task or the nation must wait until consciences have grown more courageous.

Republican Candidate

(Continued from page 9)

voted ever since, leading in movements and incidents that would benefit the institution and its graduates.

1895-1897—Studied law while employed in the legal offices of Hammond & Field, Northampton, carrying out a family policy of frugality and economy, and substituting hard work and application for expenditure of his father's hard-earned savings. Admitted to the bar after twenty months' study and work with Hammond & Field.

1899—Entered politics in a small way as member of the Northampton City Council, thereafter becoming chairman of the Republican City Committee. In those days in New England it was assumed that every God-fearing, safe-and-sane young man with family pride, entered the Republican party. Only daring liberals, whose parents "feared" for their ultimate end, sided with the Democrats.

1900-1901—Made city solicitor for the city of Northampton.

1903—Made Clerk of Courts, Hampshire County, Massachusetts.

1905—Married.

1907-1908—Elected a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, gaining a place on the Banking and the Judiciary Committees. He fought for an anti-monopoly bill, voted for woman suffrage, declared himself in favor of the direct election of United States senators, voted for pension bills for widows and children of firemen, raised the pay of public school teachers, and otherwise allied himself with progressive legislation, although he was known in the Massachusetts House as a champion of the financial and business interests of the state, having become a director in one of the Northampton banks.

1910-1911—Mayor of Northampton.

1912-1915—Elected a member of the Massachusetts Senate. Became chairman of the Senate Committee on Agriculture, also chairman of the Railroad Committee.

1914—Made President of the Senate, to which office he was elected again in 1915.

1916-1918—Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts after an active campaign in which his name had been tentatively

put forth as candidate for Governor; but he was unwilling to take that step and preferred to aspire to the humbler position as a fitting advance in his career. His speeches in the campaign were said to have been highly partisan but on the whole mainly extolling the Republican candidate for Governor rather than the personal fitness of Coolidge for the office of Lieutenant Governor.

1919-1920—Elected Governor of Massachusetts. According to precedent in the state, the Lieutenant Governor is slated for promotion unless unusual circumstances attend the situation. President Coolidge himself considers the two outstanding features of his administration as Governor, the handling of the police strike of the city of Boston and the reorganization of state departments, and consequent new appointments, as a result of the findings of the State Constitutional Convention. Government departments and bureaus were reduced from 118 to 20. It is of passing interest that he vetoed a state beer bill calling for an alcoholic content of 2.75.

The police strike incident has been in question recently because opponents have thought that the friends of the President gave him too much credit for the settling of it. The Boston police declared their intention to affiliate with the American Federation of Labor, which the authorities considered wrong, whereupon the police walked out leaving Boston unprotected. Governor Coolidge called out the state militia to keep order and refused to reinstate the striking policemen, winning the issue for the city. The sensible view of the matter is that Governor Coolidge, the Mayor and all the officials of the city cooperated to bring about the result, strengthened and upheld in a large degree by the firmness of the Governor.

1919—First mentioned for the Presidential nomination, for which his friends contested in the Republican convention at Chicago in 1920, making little headway for their candidate, who previously had issued a statement from Boston in which he declared that he was not a candidate for the Presidency.

1920—Nominated by the Republican convention as candidate for Vice-President with Warren G. Harding, which nomination Mr. Coolidge accepted.

1921—Elected Vice-President.

1923—Made President of the United States upon the death of President Harding.

1924—Candidate for the Republican presidential nomination.

During this steady, and it might seem carefully thought out and premeditated, rise in American politics, Mr. Coolidge has changed but slightly in his general attitude and conception of public affairs; perhaps his record has shown less deviation than that of many other public men. His principles of small beginnings, restraint, study rather than talk, loyalty to chiefs, have been consistently apparent.

Many of his friends differ upon one point, however, and that is his progressivism. Some point out that he began his political life as a progressive, in keen sympathy with the under-dog, leaning toward the side of the laboring man, and that his gradual development and affiliation with business and corporate interests changed his viewpoint until he became a conservative in legislation and politics, which is his political calibre today. They cite his implied decision upon social legislation when he delivered his address upon taking office as President of the Massachusetts Senate, in which he said, supposedly apropos of the great wave of social legislation sweeping not only the state of Massachusetts but the country—"Don't hurry to legislate. Give administration a chance to catch up with legislation."

Now for the record for the last year, or since his elevation to the Presidency. What manner of man has it proved him to be? With the reservations in mind mentioned above, his year in office has shown Mr. Coolidge above all things to be cautious. His decisions have been extremely deliberate and thoughtful. He has not been assertive as his gubernatorial record might lead one to expect. He has been satisfied to go along with the stream around him, in an atmosphere of study, and familiarizing himself with the problems before him. He has adopted what now looks like a deliberate plan of making ready for another term of office of four years, when he could throw off the shackles of inheritance and establish his own record. He has developed no particular specialty, no



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emphatic policy by which he is known throughout the country, unless it is the personal one of restraint and deferred judgment.

His attitude toward Congress has been one of middle ground; that is, neither conciliatory nor antagonistic. His relation to the Republican Party has been consistent with his entire political record—regular. As presiding officer of the Senate, he studied the men before him, rendered just decisions when called upon, otherwise he submerged himself almost to the point of obscurity. As a member of President Harding's cabinet, so invited by the President, thereby establishing a new precedent, he made

little contribution, officially or personally. His policy of self-effacement and loyalty to his chief was as strictly carried out as Vice-President of the United States as it was as Lieutenant Governor of Massachusetts.

During his year in office he has not made any definite moves toward establishing a new foreign policy for the United States, with the exception of statements which have shown his inclination; for instance, his endorsement of the membership in the Permanent Court of International Justice. His emphasis, if it could be called that, has been upon domestic issues. His one emphatic stand has been his persistent opposition to the proposition for a soldier's bonus not only on the ground that it should not be undertaken without assurance of the funds with which to pay so large an amount, but as a wrong principle. He has consistently supported the tax reduction plan put forth by the Secretary of the Treasury. His noteworthy initiation, undoubtedly, has been his plan for the amelioration of the difficulties of the agricultural districts, and his leadership in the formation of a credit corporation of business interests for the purpose of farm relief.

The other definite index of the President lies in the character of his appointments, only one of which has been ad-

versely criticized, namely, that of his executive secretary, former Congressman C. Bascom Slemp, of Virginia, whose reputation has been purely political. However, the President apparently wanted and needed a political expert, which was what he obtained in Mr. Slemp. The recent appointments to the Navy Department and the Department of Justice are considered eminently sound, as are the designation of the new ministers and ambassadors which have fallen to his selection. The President's course in accepting the resignation of Secretary Denby, following his statement assuring full investigation of the facts before action, and the somewhat similar situation in the case of Attorney General Daugherty, has not been so universally approved.

The keynote of the Coolidge campaign is yet to be heard. At present one of his closest political advisers is Senator George Wharton Pepper, of Pennsylvania, whose advice has not as good a market in Washington today as it had when he became Senator, partly for his stand upon the question of increasing the Southern delegation of Negroes in the Republican conventions, partly for his general trend toward conservative and reactionary politics, instead of bringing a broader and more forward-looking vision into party councils.

Every Child an Athlete

By *Gulielma F. Alsop*

COLLEGE PHYSICIAN AT BARNARD

PHYSICAL equipment is one of the essential equipments for living. It can only be gained by an actual participation in athletics and sport.

In spite of the wave of post-war depression and a chaotic or absent spiritual life, the individual who plays a brisk game of tennis, takes a cold plunge, puts on fresh clothes, eats a good dinner and sleeps the whole night through, has a perfectly fundamental and satisfying sense of well-being.

But the power to achieve this can only be gained by long training. No adult can decide to play tennis and do it with either success or pleasure over night. First, he must have an athletic body, made up of elastic, strong, well-coordinated muscles, and second, a genuine liking for the game. No one can be at the same time a reluctant and a successful sportsman. This training must begin in childhood and last throughout life.

Athletics should never be considered a luxury, a self-indulgence, nor limited to any special time of life or to one sex. By athletics, such as rowing, swimming, riding, skiing, skating, dancing, all the muscles of the body are kept in a state of active life. This vivid muscular life, upon which depend circulation, respira-

tion, digestion and excretion, fills the body with exuberance and vitality. It imparts a sense of living as an integral part of this earth. It remains throughout life as a fundamental satisfaction—only if, however, the body is always kept in trim.

For a grown-up, sedentary adult suddenly to become athletic requires an adamant will power and resolution. Everyone should be trained in childhood to be athletic.

In the second form of athletics, that is in competitive games, as tennis, baseball, football, basketball, golf, etc., a very definite set of characteristics is developed. A child learns to mix with other children under definite rules and regulations. He has to subdue his own wilful desire to "the rules of the game." He learns to take orders, to accept decisions. He learns to play for the glory of the team, not for himself. He learns ultimately to be a "good loser." All these, on the character side, are some of the most essential equipments for living.

From a doctor's point of view, then, the great education needed in childhood and adolescence is the athletic education. As much pains and effort and money should be expended on dancing or swimming lessons for the child, in getting a much desired pony, in arranging for



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some club at which to play basketball or baseball, as on the child's schooling.

To one especially preoccupied with the health of women and girls, both psychological and physiological, the two aspects of the athletic life—the actual muscular vitality and power, and sportsmanship are outstanding necessities in feminine training.

If for the man muscular fitness may determine his success in battle—so also for the woman muscular fitness will determine her success in childbearing. Wars are sporadic but children are always with us. The woman's muscular fitness in the inexorable crisis of her life determines the ease and success of the birth of her child. Even in our civilization, nature demands a muscular equipment from women.

Aside from motherhood, a whole horde of neurasthenic, psychoasthenic women would never have become so if in their childhood they had had a thorough athletic training. It is with the greatest difficulty that a muscularly fit woman becomes neurotic. Without good muscles successful health is impossible and good muscles are acquired and kept by "sport" begun in childhood.

A Line on the Movies

By Laura L. Laedlein

THE HOOSIER SCHOOLMASTER—A boys' and girls' story of the days of the little red school-house, and the old-time schoolmaster who was "the glass" and "the mould," more or less, for a country community of school children and their families. He centers a plot of night thefts, suspicion and trial. He also centers a belligerent spelling-match. A Hodkinson picture, from the novel by Edward Eggleston, and directed by Oliver Sellers.

A SOCIETY SCANDAL—Whether or not the sides of the triangles of the picture and the play exactly coincide when superimposed the one upon the other, we do not know, but in the film the dramatic plane figure is not very well drawn, and the final episode is improbable. Moreover, the production is marred by taste in clothes not at all doubtful, and not particularly in character. Both Gloria Swanson and Rod La Rocque do better work in better plays. A Paramount picture, from Alfred Sutro's play, "A Laughing Lady," and directed by Allan Dwan.

YOLANDA—A fairy tale of history, in the days when men wore large simple adjectives, and Charles the Bold of Burgundy pledged his princess daughter to the neighboring prince who seemed most likely to keep the international fences up. She adventures in the old masquerade of royalty in not quite rags and peasant pigtailed, and gets back her own royal ring from him by way of her own plebeian finger. The medieval best families and their social obligations, the

jousting to find the will of God, the castles and the costumes are well done in the key of idealized conventional history. Any age's picture, with plenty of interest. Marion Davies as the Princess Mary-Yolanda in beautiful gowns. A Cosmopolitan picture, from the novel by Charles Major, and directed by Robert G. Vignola.

PIED PIPER MALONE—A good legend gone wrong, and the opportunity lost for a pretty story. Scenario and direction may flip a coin for responsibility. The story of an excellent young man driven from home because the community thought he was drunk on Sunday. The town children's interest in him would be much more plausible if he had been. The broad theme is not unduly sentimental, but it is sentimentally done. We doubt that mentally lively children will approve it. A Paramount picture, by Booth Tarkington, and directed by Alfred Green.

Washington

(Continued from page 8)

incompetent and that the Democratic Party misbehaved in unearthing the scandals. He returned to the Senate to introduce a joint resolution proposing a world peace conference while the House, during the consideration of the army appropriation bill several days before, had turned down an amendment requesting the President to negotiate with other nations for a conference to further discuss limitations of land armaments.

The House has received a favorable report from the committee considering the Norris constitutional amendment, which has passed the Senate, providing for inauguration of the President and convening of a new Congress in January following an election. The House Judiciary Committee has favorably reported the child labor constitutional amendment.

Senator McKellar, Democrat, has burst his oratory in trying to prove to the upper house that Secretary Mellon is unfit to hold office as Secretary of the Treasury. He was not supported by the rank and file of Democrats, including the minority leader, Senator Robinson, so the tirade has stopped and the accusation rests.

The Senate Interstate Commerce Committee is in the throes of battle over contending factions, liberals who want the Railroad Labor Board abolished, as well as the so-called guarantee features of the present transportation act, and representatives of business interests who are against the Howell plan for the substitution of national adjustment boards for the present system. Former Representative Esch, now a member of the Interstate Commerce Commission, told the House Committee to go slow in consideration of a general revision of the freight rate structure in view of the

resulting disruption to business which would be inevitable.

The House Committee investigating the charges against the two members, Representatives Langley and Zihlman, accused by a grand jury of serious liquor violations, has been carrying on its work behind closed doors.

Senator Pepper at last has received favorable action upon his resolution authorizing the erection of a monument in Washington to the national game of baseball. Senator Pepper has been a target for artists and art commissions who desire monuments until this monument business has become one of his legislative specialties.

Lastly, in the field of foreign relations, the Senate, notably without quibbling,

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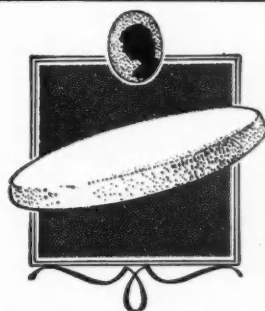
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has passed legislation authorizing the President to extend invitations to foreign governments to hold a world conference in the United States on the chicken question—the Third World's Poultry Congress.

Your Investments

The Federal Reserve System

By Eleanor Kerr

THE weakness of the currency system of any country is likely to lie in the fact that the actual coined money and bank notes may be insufficient to care for the fluctuating volume of business. Such a limitation in the supply of currency was largely responsible for the panic of 1907, and at that time the United States Government took active steps in the investigation of currency systems and finally evolved the present Federal Reserve System, which went into effect in 1913.

A Federal Reserve Bank is really a bank for banks, in the same way that the ordinary commercial bank is a bank for people generally. A genuinely elastic credit and currency system has been evolved through an arrangement whereby the Federal Reserve Bank may issue

currency in the form of loans to its member banks, thus increasing the supply of actual money when needed and when it is no longer needed, as it comes back into their hands through the payment of loans, they may decrease currency in times when business is not so active.

The Federal Reserve System acts as a reservoir of credit. The entire country is divided into twelve reserve districts, the twelve Federal Reserve Banks being located at Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Richmond, Atlanta, Chicago, St. Louis, Minneapolis, Kansas City, Dallas and San Francisco.

Any local commercial bank may be a member of the Federal Reserve Bank of its own district. All national banks are members, but it is optional with state banks and trust companies. The member banks are stockholders in the Federal Reserve Bank of their district, and each is obliged to keep with the Reserve Bank an amount of money which bears a certain proportion to its deposits. This is called its reserve, and often consists of gold.

One of the great services that the Federal Reserve System renders to banks is the rediscounting of commercial paper. The elasticity of the system comes largely from this. Commercial banks make loans to their customers—for instance, if a merchant wishes to buy a large order of materials for which he probably does not possess cash to pay, he will borrow from his local bank, giving a thirty, sixty or ninety days' note for it. The bank in turn can rediscount this with the Federal Reserve Bank, receiving money which it can in turn lend out to other customers. As the bank will probably wish to have at least part of this loan in actual currency, the Federal Reserve Banks are permitted by law to issue bank notes.

As can readily be appreciated, when business is very active business men and manufacturers borrow largely from their local banks. The banks in turn rediscount many of these loans with the Federal Reserve Bank, which issues additional currency as it is needed to take care of the increased business activity.

When a deal has been put through successfully the business man pays off his loan at the bank, and the bank in turn pays off its loan from the Federal Reserve Bank which receives back its currency or equivalent credit.

This flexible system has successfully operated through the greatest strain which was probably ever put on any banking system, that of the war years from 1914 to 1918, when the sale of our Liberty Loans was largely financed through this system, and through the years of deflation and movement toward normal conditions which succeeded the Armistice.

The Federal Reserve Board at Washington acts as the unifying body for the twelve banks. It is made up of seven members, five of whom are appointed by the President, together with the Secretary of the Treasury and the Controller of the Currency. This board approves the rediscount rates established by the directors of the various Federal Reserve Banks before they can be put into effect, and through this control very greatly influences general money and business conditions. It has various other duties, including that of deciding what classes of loans the banks may make.

Each of the individual banks is autonomous as far as the conduct of its affairs is concerned, so long as it complies with the regulations of the system, and in turn the commercial banks which are its members may conduct their own affairs in any way they see fit, so long as they are not contrary to the general regulations to which they have agreed in becoming members of the Reserve System.

Since the Federal Reserve System has been in operation we have had few bank failures due to a "run." In other words, we have not had what used to be a rather frequent occurrence—the failure of a perfectly solvent bank, due to its inability to obtain the actual cash with which to pay off the demands of all its depositors when made at practically one time.

Young Ladies of the Stage

(Continued from page 10)

in "Dear Brutus" and lately in "To the Ladies," fell in love with the stage at a very early date. She asserts solemnly that she has been playing all of fifteen years, and she looks as though that first rôle must have been in somebody's arms. But she claims she walked on herself, at the age of six, in a Washington theatre whose owner was a family friend. His stock company needed a child, and he borrowed small Helen for the part. That first appearance sealed her fate forever. She talked, played and dreamed theatre. Her parents, wisely, allowed her just two weeks of theatre a year, a grand orgy of summer stock-playing between the close of school and the beginning of the family vacation. "Nothing

The Foreign Born Voter

Nearly 3,000,000 of our citizens are foreign-born women. Leagues of Women Voters are not "getting out the women's vote" if this portion of it is neglected. Do you know the background and psychology of your foreign-born neighbors? Do you know what they read in their own newspapers?

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PRIZE CONTEST

The *Woman Citizen* will give the following cash prizes for the best essays on *Is Woman Suffrage a Success or Failure in Your Town—Why?* written by girl students in any High School or Private School of same standing:

First Prize, \$50.00 Second Prize, \$25.00 Third Prize, \$10.00

The essays must be from 600 to 1,000 words in length.

The writer must not sign her essay, but her name and address and the name of the principal of the school must be placed in a sealed envelope accompanying the manuscript.

Essays must reach the office of the *Woman Citizen* by June 15, 1924.

Judges: Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, Miss Olive M. Jones, Dr. Schuyler C. Wallace.

During this contest special class room rates of 5 cents per copy will be given for ten copies or more of the *Woman Citizen* sent to one address.

Address Prize Contest, the *Woman Citizen*, 171 Madison Ave., New York

could make me leave the stage," she declared with a vigorous shake of bright blonde curls. "I'll play as long as they let me walk on."

The other "youngest old lady," Mrs. Thomas Whiffen, has a bright and lovable intensity of personality that is absolutely ageless. She has been playing fifty-nine years, most of that time in America. She was the original *Little Buttercup*, when "Pinafore" made its first appearance here. Her present rôle is the three hundredth in which she has delighted audiences. She is playing *Granny Bradley* in "The Goose Hangs High," and while some declare that she is too young for the part the general feeling seems to be that her talents and experience make up for the years she lacks. You can't expect great age from a woman who is only seventy-nine.

Seventeen-year-old Dorothy Stone was practically born an actress, although this is actually her first year on the stage. Her father is Fred Stone, famous since the "Wizard of Oz" days, and her mother a musical comedy star who was the *Lady Lunatic* in that most successful show. Young Dorothy was theatre-bound from the beginning. She imitated her father, followed his steps, repeated his jokes, and practised his stunts. She made her début this year in her father's show, "Stepping Stones," and she has the great joy of being featured on Broadway in the musical comedy hit of the season. With beauty, grace, charm and talent, she combines a habit of hard work and a devotion to the stage that indicate she has found her congenial job early, and will hold it and her youth by staying with it.

Our Readers Say—

YOU invite free discussion of Dr. Wood's article on the education of women, which impressed me deeply. I think it is so true that woman has within herself an untried source of strength and ideals, that it is foolish to mimic men. Let her express herself, and her power will be glorious, real, instead of the weak imitation it is bound to be when expressed through the medium of man's standards.

The world has glorified force. It is time for us to glorify service, the thing the Master brought to us as the greatest thing of life. The world is waiting for just that.

MARY McMULLEN.

Washington, D. C.

ALL around me I hear that woman suffrage is a disastrous failure. The whole thing is nonsense, or, to put it more scientifically, these wholesale statements about the failure of woman suffrage are a dangerous mental commodity of the American people. They are snapshot judgments based on no adequate background. The fact is, no one is reading books that build up in their minds the historic process of reform. People read headlines going up and down in the subway; they buy a newspaper to get their morning ideas; they buy another newspaper and get some other ideas for the afternoon. Then, worn out with the day's work, they take up a magazine in order to read themselves to sleep.

This process is generating mentalities that

do not stay long enough with any idea to know anything about it. What we need is a consecration to reading books, and more books. What women need today to show the men the difference between business and villainy is a background of how villainy has been overcome, of how reform has come to be, of what long, slow processes reforms are. . . . If women would only read the history of the eighteenth century, or the history of the Reformation, or the history of the passing of idolatry in the Old Testament, they would come to see the woman suffrage amendment as it is—not a fiasco, but a beginning of a long reform that releases the qualities that women carry in excess to be used for good government.

ELIZABETH TILTON.

Cambridge, Mass.

AS an influence towards world peace I conceive that nothing is more important than a knowledge of our neighbors' desires and efforts in this direction. It is chiefly because of a profound distrust of one another

that the nations continue to arm, and our distrust of Europe stands always in the way of our participation either in the League of Nations or the World Court.

I suggest, therefore, that organizations of women set about organizing study groups, with the purpose of learning of peace movements in other countries, and every activity that is leavening the world today with the leaven of good will.

If our newspapers could feel a demand from the public for news of this kind, and would shift their emphasis from the acts and pronouncements of European governments to this groping of a large portion of the people after some means of international accord, the American people would soon find themselves in a different mood toward Europe, I believe. If the different governments should find that their people had grown too intelligent to be stampeded into hatred of their neighbors, other means than war would have to be found for settling international difficulties.

HARRIET B. BRADBURY.

Columbus, Ohio.

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The Digest was written by Mrs. I. W. Gleason, who has taught Parliamentary Law for eighteen years in different organizations, and for the past six years she has taught private Parliamentary Law classes at which both men and women are admitted. From these classes many pupils have graduated and have received parliamentary diplomas. Mrs. Gleason is National Superintendent of Parliamentary Law of the W. C. T. U. and Parliamentarian of Southern California. She is at present parliamentarian of seven different organizations. The Digest is based upon Robert's Rules of Order Revised. Prices, Revised Edition: Cloth cover \$2.00; paper cover, \$1.50. If your book store does not carry the Digest, send direct to the author,

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OUR OWN DINGBATS

WE Dingbats are delighted to get a back seat, not only out of a perfectly nice feeling of hospitality toward Mr. Putnam, who is in our usual corner, but because we won't feel so conspicuous at the League of Women Voters Convention, for which this magazine is bound. ♦ ♦ ♦ Maybe the ladies who disapprove of us won't find us in this unfamiliar spot. ♦ ♦ ♦ Mr. A. B. See, who disapproved of women's colleges so hard a while ago, has broken out again. He has sent several women's organizations and publications a manuscript depicting the awful evils of this day and age that are due to suffrage. ♦ ♦ ♦ Some of the things he mentions are sad, if true, and some of them are true; but we seem to feel that Mr. See makes rather a large assumption in regarding them all as effect and the vote as cause. ♦ ♦ ♦ There's something in Logic about that kind of argument. ♦ ♦ ♦ We can't remember its name, but we try very hard to remember not to do it. ♦ ♦ ♦ The real question is, do we get to see Niagara Falls when at that convention? ♦ ♦ ♦ We have seen them only once, and that long ago. ♦ ♦ ♦ There is one thing about it—if we don't go we shall conclude it is all for the best because no second view could come up to our memory of our first one. ♦ ♦ ♦ But no power on earth would induce us to clamber around under that sheet of mighty wetness on a narrow ledge, and we aren't overly enthusiastic about the little steamer that used to poke its nose over the edge of eternity. ♦ ♦ ♦ The radio is certainly taking us to more political meetings than we could possibly find time for if we went by foot instead of ear. ♦ ♦ ♦ Of course, the effect is questionable. ♦ ♦ ♦ Perspective staggers when by twisting a dial we can hear the same act denounced and praised in the same evening. ♦ ♦ ♦ But maybe the worst of it is hearing eight-tenths of the defenders of our various political liberties say "gover'munt." ♦ ♦ ♦ We heard the other day of a rural juror (male) whose tests are alarmingly simple. Someone asked him how he made up his mind on cases—whether he was more influenced by judge or by evidence. ♦ ♦ ♦

"No, I don't go by the judge, and I don't go by the evidence," he answered. "I just says to myself, 'What's the prisoner doin' here if he ain't guilty?' and I bring 'em all in guilty.'" ♦ ♦ ♦ We are terribly afraid this is a true story, and we wish we knew whether women serve on juries in that state. ♦ ♦ ♦ Anyone who can slip us the information as to what language is used by the legislative body of Guernsey without letting Ruth Kimball Gardiner know about it will receive honorable mention. ♦ ♦ ♦ R. K. C. once knew a person who lived on Guernsey, and is a little set up over it. ♦ ♦ ♦ She has "stumped" us. ♦ ♦ ♦ Don't overlook that hopeful item about international relations mentioned by Mrs. Stokes: The easy agreement on our country's taking the initiative for a world conference on—armament? No. Opium? No. Poultry! ♦ ♦ ♦ A friend of ours who dresses modishly asked not long ago for some "nude" stockings. ♦ ♦ ♦ She was favored with an unadmiring glance and told the current phrase is "atmosphere." ♦ ♦ ♦ Well, why not? On the whole, we like it better. ♦ ♦ ♦ "London Opinion" tells about an announcement made by the referee at a boxing match: "Ladies and gentlemen, I regret to announce that the big fight is off tonight, as the contestants have quarreled." ♦ ♦ ♦ Being on our way to a hotel, we are interested in a word we just met—"Joe McGee." ♦ ♦ ♦ It appears that is the correct bellboy phrase for the non-tipper. ♦ ♦ ♦ We are surprised at its delicacy. ♦ ♦ ♦ We seem to be collecting new expressions. The other one is "onion snow," of which we hope there won't be any this spring, even though we have no mind toward onions. ♦ ♦ ♦ An unwary gentleman has written us suggesting a directory of men's opinions on bobbed hair for the guidance of spinsters, maids and widows. ♦ ♦ ♦ We have taken him up on it, and are planning a symposium headed "Not that it is really any of their affair, but—" ♦ ♦ ♦ We judge this gentleman is emotionally opposed. ♦ ♦ ♦ What a very big space this double Dingbat column is!

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP

Statement of the Ownership, Management, Circulation, etc., required by the Act of Congress of August 24, 1912, of *The Woman Citizen*, published fortnightly at New York, N. Y., for April 1, 1924.

County of New York }
State of New York } ss.

Before me, a notary public, in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared Mrs. Raymond Brown, who having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that she is the Business Manager of *The Woman Citizen* Corporation, publishers of *The Woman Citizen*, and that the following is, to the best of her knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management, etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, to wit:

1. That the names and addresses of the publisher, editor and business manager are:

Name and Post Office Address:
Publisher: The Woman Citizen Corporation, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

Editor: Virginia Roderick, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

Managing Editor: None.

Business Manager: Mrs. Raymond Brown, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

2. That the owner is: The Woman Citizen Corporation, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

Miss Mary Garrett Hay, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y.

Mrs. H. B. Wells, 46 West Ninth Street, N. Y.

Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, Dorchester, Mass.

Mrs. Raymond Brown, 55 East 76th Street, N. Y.

Leslie Woman Suffrage Commission, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y., members of which are:
Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt, 171 Madison Avenue, N. Y., President.

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3. That the known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 per cent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages, or other securities are: None.

4. That the two paragraphs next above, giving the names of the owners, stockholders, and security holders, if any, contain not only the list of stockholders and security holders as they appear upon the books of the company but also, in cases where the stockholder or security holder appears upon the books of the company as trustee or in any other fiduciary relation, the name of the person or corporation for whom such trustee is acting, is given; also that the said two paragraphs contain statements embracing affiant's full knowledge and belief as to the circumstances and conditions under which stockholders and security holders who do not appear upon the books of the company as trustees, hold stock and securities in a capacity other than that of a bona fide owner; and this affiant has no reason to believe that any other person, association, or corporation has any interest direct or indirect in the said stock, bonds, or other securities than as so stated by her.

MRS. RAYMOND BROWN.

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 31st day of March, 1924.

EDWARD GOLDEN, Notary Public.
(My commission expires March 30, 1926.)

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII

MAY 3, 1924

Number 25

News Notes of the Fortnight

Summed up from many sources

The Dawes Plan and the Powers

THE Dawes plan moved along smoothly and briskly at first. All the Allies accepted it in principle, and to the general relief and satisfaction the German Government's reply was an unconditional acceptance of the report as "a practical basis for a speedy solution of the reparations problem." On April 17 the Reparations Commission formally approved the report, recommended it to the Allied and the German Governments for adoption, and asked to be informed what steps they intended to take to bring it into operation.

Both Great Britain and Italy sent acceptances and indicated that they were ready to go ahead with the necessary measures. The French Government's answer calls for delay, caution. It argues that the allied governments should not act until the Reparations Commission has put the Dawes recommendations into "practical form" and the German Government has made arrangements to put the plan into operation. Belgium's reply, as has been the case more than once before, splits the difference. It wants more specific details drafted by the Reparations Commission, but it is not so insistent about them. The basic difference between London and Paris is an old familiar one: France wants penalties for German failure to keep any undertakings, and Great Britain doesn't want to draft penalties now. Nor does she wish to promise co-operation in further exploitation of the Ruhr if this should follow some German default. It is understood that the French have no slightest intention of giving up what they have in the Ruhr until the plan is in operation.

Meantime, President Coolidge recommended the Dawes plan—unofficially, of course—in his Associated Press speech, and spoke for American participation in the German loan which is a fundamental of the plan. Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan has been consulted in Paris by members of the Reparations Commission about America's taking a share in the loan, and

Very Briefly

IN the plebiscite taken by Greece as to whether she should be governed by a republic or a monarch, the vote went for a republic by a large majority.

At the primary election held April 22 Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania was defeated as delegate-at-large to the Republican National Convention. The Republican machine, resenting what it considered Governor Pinchot's lukewarmness toward the President as candidate, "demonstrated" full strength against him. The contest also took the form of a wet vs. dry struggle.

Senator Medill McCormick of Illinois, according to final returns, lost the senatorship at the recent primary.

Theodore Burton of Ohio has been chosen as temporary chairman of the Republican National Convention—the man who will sound the keynote speech. Mr. Burton is a moderate. The President was supposed to be considering one of the liberal group, to help hold them in line.

The League of Nations subcommittee of the Temporary Mixed Commission for Disarmament is in session, to discuss the control of private manufacture of arms.

Mr. Morgan is reported to have given the impression that the loan can be floated if a genuine reparations settlement is secured.

Affronting the Japanese

THE Senate promptly passed the immigration bill, 62 to 6, containing the clause for Japanese exclusion which it had already passed separately. That first vote, it will be remembered, followed the letter of protest from Ambassador Hanihara, in which the Senate had imagined it saw a threat. A day or two after it had passed the whole bill, another letter written by Ambassador Hanihara to Secretary Hughes was made public. It explained that the objectionable phrase "grave consequences" was not intended to imply menace, but referred to the inevitable damage to friendly feeling between the two countries. To this damage, the tone of part of the Japanese press already testifies, by the way, though other papers seem somewhat soothed by the general condemnation of the Senate in our papers. The

Senate is being urged to change its action, as it could do. If it does nothing President Coolidge is in a hard position. The measure has now passed both Houses and he will soon have to decide whether or not to veto it. On the one hand is the overwhelming action of Congress, on the other the policy of the Secretary of State, who has opposed the Japanese exclusion clause as a profitless insult, from the first. Also there is the political consideration of the West Coast's vote to be taken into account.

As this is written, there is some prospect of a solution. It seems there is just enough difference between the Senate and the House bills on the exclusion section so that the committee may, if they wish, at least modify the time when the exclusion provision shall go into effect. Meantime the President and Secretary Hughes are at work on a compromise plan.

The Senate also adopted the Reed (Pennsylvania) amendment limiting the admissible immigrants after July 1, 1927, to 150,000 a year.

Against Child Labor

THE "good news" of the fortnight is good enough to be mentioned once more in this issue, in addition to its two other appearances in connection with its announcement at the League of Women Voters' Convention in Buffalo.

It is the passage by the House of the child labor amendment to the Constitution—by a vote of 297 to 69, or 53 more than the necessary two-thirds. Efforts were made to weaken the measure—particularly to reduce the age from eighteen to sixteen, but as passed the bill (whose author is Representative Foster, of Ohio) is in the form endorsed by the women's organizations of the Joint Congressional Committee and provides that Congress shall have power to limit, regulate, or prohibit, the labor of persons under eighteen years of age—which does not necessarily mean, of course, *prohibition* in all cases. The amendment, if passed, will be an enabling act, not a

statute, and will have to be followed by legislation. States will be free to fix higher, but not lower, standards. The bill was supported by 167 Republicans, 128 Democrats, one Socialist and one Independent. The opposition was directed by Chairman Graham of the Judiciary Committee, Representatives Garrett of Tennessee, Sumner of Texas and Montague of Virginia. In argument against it state rights were stressed and the claim was made that states are remedying child labor conditions "by leaps and bounds"! Manufacturers' opposition was conspicuous, and certain rural interests tried to secure the exemption of children working on farms.

Election Straws

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE already has more than enough delegates to secure his nomination. Oklahoma and Florida have recently lined up with instructed delegates, and New Jersey gave its entire thirty-one delegates to him, leaving none for Hiram Johnson.

Governor Alfred H. Smith, of New York, was made a candidate by the New York Democratic convention, Wisconsin having been the first to enter his name in the presidential list. He has said that he will not be an active seeker for the nomination, but at present he leads in the number of instructed Democratic delegates.

Nominees for Vice-President are of greater importance than usual this year. Because if there should be a third party of sufficient strength to carry six of the Middle West or Western States there would be no election. The choice would then go to the House of Representatives. But it would vote by states, not as individuals, and in many states the two major parties are matched in numbers. It is conceivable that the House also could not elect. In that case the presidential nominees' names would be dropped, and the names of the vice-presidential nominees would go to the Senate for a decision.

Mr. Daugherty Answers

FORMER Attorney-General Daugherty came out last week both in a press statement and in a speech with a defense—a month after he left office. He attacked the Brookhart-Wheeler investigating committee in a wholesale way, and developed the amazing theory that he has been hounded by the Soviet Government of Russia, via this Senate investigation. Just what connection he intended to convey as existing between his refusal to give over the Department of Justice files and the machinations of the reds was not very clear; but at any rate he charges redness is rampant, and finds complete cause-and-effect relation between visits of senators to Russia and the inquiry into his work.

On this part of his defense Mr. Daugherty got precious little sympathy

from the press. The lack of opportunity for him to present evidence, and the criticism of the Committee's handling of its evidence, are another matter, and come in for much condemnation.

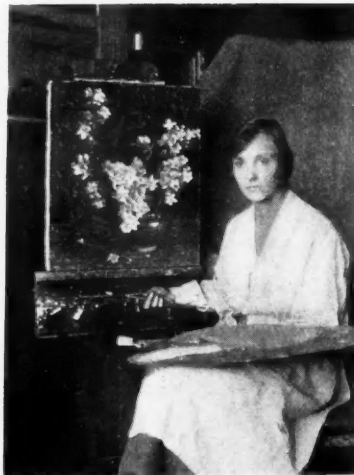
Liberals Oppose Labor

LLOYD GEORGE has several times recently attacked the Labor Government, and has probably set out to dislodge it. In other quarters a Liberal revolt against Labor is growing. The Liberals, without whose votes the Labor Government would not be in office, claim that the Laborites have ungratefully worked in the constituencies against the election of Liberal members of Parliament, and they are resentful.

With the presentation of the first Labor budget to the House of Commons a crisis for the MacDonald government may arrive—budgets there, as here, being a very controversial subject.

A Chance for the West

SOME city or county in one of the Eleven Far Western states is to be awarded the fourth in the series of five-year child health demonstrations conducted by the Child Health Demonstration Committee, associated with the American CHILD HEALTH Association for the supervision of the Commonwealth Fund Program.



In the spring of the year thoughts naturally turn to flowers, and since Dorothy Ochtman's chief interests are flowers and still life, we have chosen her "Japanese Print" for our cover for this issue. Miss Ochtman is a graduate of Smith College. She spent two years doing graduate work in History of Art and Archaeology at Bryn Mawr. Part of her training she owes to her artist father, Leonard Ochtman. In 1921 she was awarded the Julia A. Shaw prize at the winter exhibit of the National Academy of Design.

Miss Ochtman is a member of the National Association of Women Painters and Sculptors, the Painters and Sculptors Gallery Association, the New York Society of Painters, and the Greenwich Society of Artists.

The city or county must be between 20,000 and 75,000 population and be located in Arizona, California, Colorado, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington or Wyoming. The winning city or county will receive assistance by the Child Health Demonstration Committee in safeguarding the life and health of its mothers and children.

The committee is already conducting three demonstrations: one at Fargo, N. D., in the Middle West; another in Rutherford County, Tennessee, in the rural areas of the South, and the third in Athens, Georgia, to meet Southern urban problems.

Senator Lodge Answers

THE League of Nations Non-Partisan Association has been corresponding with Senator Lodge. Theme—delay in getting the World Court proposal acted on. Senator Lodge's reasons, given in his reply, are the twenty-three other treaty proposals that the committee had before it, which they considered required immediate action, while the World Court did not. But, at any rate, a hearing is about to be held before this committee at which the Non-Partisan Association, the Federal Council of Churches, the League of Women Voters and others will present their case.

Attacks

SENSATIONAL attacks have been made during the fortnight on both President Coolidge and Secretary Hoover. Secretary Norris, of the Committee on Agriculture, has in his possession a telegram from a former correspondent of the *Dearborn Independent* in which he quoted President Coolidge as having said last October that he was "trying to deliver" Muscle Shoals to Henry Ford. The implication is that this had a relation to Mr. Ford's withdrawal of his name from the presidential lists last December, and stood in the relation of cause to effect. Unconvincing on the face of it, the statement has been considered of sufficient importance to draw a denial from the White House.

The attempt to "get" something on Mr. Hoover was made through an article published in the Hearst press which claimed that the salmon fisheries of Alaska had been turned over for exploitation to powerful private corporations controlled by a friend of Mr. Hoover's. Mr. Hoover, like the President, has taken the trouble to make a denial, pointing out that these charges have already been investigated by a House committee and "proved foolish." His recommendations were responsible for a bill passed by the House to restrain the destruction and exploitation of the salmon fisheries—a bill which is now before the Senate, and practically certain to pass.

April 29, 1924.

The
Soldiers'
Bonus



Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

The
Japanese
Question

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

April 24, 1924.



WASHINGTON is surpassingly beautiful these spring days. The White House grounds are the stuff pictures are made of—velvet-green with

masses of pink and white magnolia and beds of purple hyacinths and the stalwart and beautiful columns of the mansion in the background. At night the portico lanterns filter through the green and white like some far and low-hanging heavenly radiance. This is the Washington the country likes to picture. For the moment, never mind that the White House itself is so small that if a President were elected with a large and growing family, some of it would have to be boarded out for lack of housing space. And never mind the stale air of the capitol and its politics.

Now and then an old croak in the Senate or the House, who cannot get out, wails that the present session will not be over until midsummer. But the golfers in Congress know better—or hope for the best. Senator Kendrick emerged with a little Easter spirit the other day when he got action on his bill admitting to this country three little Russian waifs who were being held at Ellis Island because the Russian quota had been exhausted. Their parents had died of starvation. The Senate voted aye, let them in.

The Senate as I write has just passed the legislation granting a soldier bonus to veterans of the World War in the form of insurance certificates. What the President will do now will determine considerably the backbone of his convictions. He has stated since his succession to office that he was unalterably opposed to a bonus. He has not qualified his opposition by the fact that he was against it because he did not see how it was going to be paid for, as did President Harding, but flatly announced his disfavor of the principle involved. This has been his one outstanding emphasis, as I

In Congress

THE Senate during the fortnight has been engaged principally in discussion and passage of the soldier bonus legislation. In the House, appropriation bills have had the right of way. Noteworthy bills introduced and acted upon have been as follows:

Introduced in the Senate

By Senator Copeland, Democrat, a cash and insurance bonus bill as a substitute for the pending Republican legislation.

By Senator McKellar, Democrat, bill prohibiting contributions to presidential and congressional campaigns by corporations and firms, and limiting those of individuals and candidates.

By Senator Walsh, Democrat, Massachusetts, bill amending the election laws prohibiting payment of deficits for national political organizations or candidates by groups or individuals "seeking to obligate political parties."

By Senator Howell, Republican, bill to establish competition in railroad rates, limiting the power of the Interstate Commerce Commission to the fixing of maximum rates.

Passed by the Senate

Resolution appropriating \$1,500,000 to fight the foot and mouth disease in California.

Immigration restriction bill, by a vote of 62 to 6.

Soldier bonus bill, by a vote of 67 to 17. Cash option amendment defeated.

Introduced in the House

By Representative Voigt, as a substitute for the McNary-Haugan bill pending, legislation creating a corporation to sell grain abroad; the government to furnish a capital of \$50,000,000.

By Representative Dyer, Republican, resolution for an investigation by the House Judiciary Committee of prohibition enforcement.

By Representative Berger, Socialist, resolution giving Congress the power, by a majority vote in both houses, of calling a convention to amend the constitution.

By Representative Moore, Democrat, legislation putting the House on record as in favor of participation by the United States in the World Court.

Passed by the House

Resolution appropriating \$10,000 for the expenses of the committee which will investigate charges of bribery against House members.

Resolution appropriating \$1,500,000 to fight the foot and mouth disease among California live stock.

Appropriation bills for the support of the Departments of State, Justice, Commerce and Labor increasing the appropriation for the immigration service by about \$1,000,000.

wrote in summing up his candidacy a fortnight ago. Nevertheless, he is placed in an extremely difficult position. The size of the vote in the Senate—67 to 17—indicates that there is sufficient margin there to repass the measure with the necessary two-thirds if he returns the bill with his veto. Moreover, the Senate declined to include in the legislation the cash bonus feature, advocated by certain Democrats and others, on the very ground that such an addition to the bill would surely incur a presidential veto.

Officers of the American Legion have been assuring politicians that the President would sign bonus legislation on the basis of insurance certificates. Undoubtedly, he will be guided greatly by the opinion of Secretary Mellon, and if his New York speech before the Associated Press is a slight indication, it would seem that his mind already had been made up to return the bill to Congress not approved, with the concurrence of the Secretary of the Treasury in such a course.

It can be but little satisfaction to the American soldier that this legislation has been dawdling in Congress for years only to come to a head a few months before a presidential election, and then in a form which is beneficial but not remedial. Other countries, participants in the war, attended to the bonus situation with a promptness which makes the American Congress look like a century plant.

Everybody knows that the former soldier had a hard time when he returned to take up his work. Not only those who had lost salaried positions had a struggle, but, particularly, professional men whose clientele had been absorbed automatically had a hard pull to pick up a new start. But the crux of all that was years ago. There has been no fervor in behalf of the men themselves in the debate on this legislation. Every legislator when the vote came knew that it was a political matter, not a humanitarian issue.

Senator Copeland, Democrat, of New York, tried to get through a bill providing a cash option, but this was not sufficiently supported. Senator Curtis, the Republican whip, succeeded in passing an amendment making women who served in the yeoman service in the navy and marine corps eligible for the bonus. About eleven hundred women would receive this recognition if the President approves the legislation. In the form in which it passed the upper house it is substantially like the House bill. Only small differences will have to be adjusted in conferences of the two bodies. The seventeen Senators opposed were: eight Republicans—Ball, Borah, Edge, Ernst, Fernald, Pepper, Smoot and

Wadsworth, and nine Democrats—Bayard, Bruce, Dial, Edwards, Glass, King, Shields, Swanson and Underwood.

The Senate and House conferees are about to begin work on the immigration restriction bill which has passed both chambers. It has more or less been lost sight of that the able chairman of the Senate Immigration Committee, Senator Colt, of Rhode Island, who has spent years in judicial study of the immigration question, stood up and was counted—among the few—as opposed to the Japanese exclusion feature of the pending legislation. Judge Colt is the type of man rare in the United States Senate who has progressed instead of reacted with his advancing years. His deliberate

and studious viewpoint can usually be counted upon to be on the side of the progressive and constructive aspects of legislation. Among all the hot-heads at the time of the League of Nations fight, he stood out like an oasis, adopting, until time was provided for proper reflection, a middle course of open-minded neutrality, which later developed into advocacy of the League with mild reservations.

Senator Underwood also went on record as against the Japanese embargo. The action of Secretary Hughes in sending the protest of the Japanese Ambassador to the Senate on memorandum has been considerably criticized as adding fuel to the fire. The whole matter has

(Continued on page 28)

Democratic Candidate No. I

By E. K. P. S.

In an effort to help its readers follow intelligently the events of presidential year, the *Citizen* is publishing sketches of the candidates for nomination in both major parties. Mrs. Stokes, the *Citizen's* Washington correspondent, began in the last issue with Mr. Coolidge, and presents here one of the Democratic candidates. The aim is to state the facts of the candidates' public careers without prejudice or partisanship, leaving the readers to judge.

IN 1920, at the Democratic nominating convention at San Francisco, William Gibbs McAdoo was a candidate for the presidential nomination only by sufferance. He discouraged his friends. In his personal opinion, a Democratic candidate would not be elected and he had no desire to terminate his war service with a political ending. He wanted his war record to stand upon its own merits. But those days are over. Woodrow Wilson, his father-in-law, has passed away. Whatever significance that attached to his candidacy likewise is over. Today Mr. McAdoo openly seeks the Democratic nomination and is directing his own campaign. Several fundamental factors stand out in his candidacy which must be considered in any study of the man as a presidential possibility. So far as is possible let us merely list the bare facts to be reckoned with, whether they are viewed from the Democratic or Republican standpoints.

For:

Mr. McAdoo has politically oriented himself from one end of the country to the other. He has lived on the Pacific Coast long enough to be known there. He has retained his connection with the Old South, particularly his home state, Georgia, and Tennessee, where he grew up, to such an extent that it feels well acquainted with him. He is known in

the East through his business connections in New York and his completion of the Hudson Tunnels. He has pierced the Middle West by the intimate contacts he made in directing the Liberty Loans, the Farm Loans and the Federal Reserve banking system. He has the unparalleled advantage, which many a good man has lacked in the past, of an intimate acquaintanceship of great breadth.

This comes to but few men. It is a political saturation, so to speak, that could not be counted upon even as a result of having held the post of Ambassador to the Court of St. James's, nor by a man who had successfully accomplished a piece of extraordinary world diplomacy in economics or finance. It takes a long time to reach the inner consciousness of the average man in the United States and it must be done by something that touches his every-day life. He is not deeply affected by intellectual exploits. He is more likely to shy away from them. So we must consider Mr. McAdoo as one who has been fortunate enough to establish for himself a political locale, in which political seeds easily spread and grow to a size to be heavily reckoned with.

Second: Mr. McAdoo is a presidential possibility who has openly taken a stand in favor of rigid enforcement of the prohibition law, a conviction which apparently was not acquired for political purposes as it is prominent in his past

record. He seems to espouse no middle course in this regard and to be willing to take the consequences of definite opposition to lax or half-way enforcement.

Third: He has had, and is assumed to retain, the support of labor throughout the country. His administration as Director-General of the railroads during the war by no means was popular with all classes of the electorate, but it did affiliate him closely with American labor. His efforts immediately upon taking office to look into the cost of living of railroad employees in relation to the prevailing wage, and his subsequent readjustment of the wage scale in the employees' favor, have given labor generally the impression that there is a human side to him which sees the labor problem from the workman's viewpoint.

Fourth: His record has been fairly liberal, or progressive, throughout. He favored woman suffrage early in the campaign. Previous to this, when at work upon the Hudson Tunnel project, he adopted the principle of equal pay for men and women in his employ.

Fifth: His endeavor when Secretary of the Treasury to find relief for the farm situation through the inauguration of the Federal Farm Loan Board, and his advocacy of the development of co-operative marketing, have placed him in a position interpreted by the farm community as constructively sympathetic and desirous of being helpful.

Against:

The Tammany faction of the Democratic party never cottoned to Mr. McAdoo and would not support him. It thus follows that his weakness is now in the East, centering in New York, where the Tammany situation, plus wet sentiment and the unfriendliness of certain Wall Street elements combine to oppose him. Both as Secretary of the Treasury and Director-General of Railroads he is said to have lacked a spirit of co-operation with corporate and financial interests. His popularity with railroad employees is offset by unpopularity among railroad officials and executives. His increase of wages is thought by this group to have been made at the expense of public welfare and the railroads themselves. In other words, the executives considered it extravagance.

Second: Mr. McAdoo is not a man, according to many who have studied him, of depth. He is too clever and brilliant to take the world over-seriously. The following are two instances: It is commonly known in Washington that he lightly interpreted the rule that public officials shall not appear as counsel before a department of the government within two years after holding office therein. He has appeared before several departments. At that time this rule was not in question. It lay with the individual how conscientiously he himself interpreted the spirit and letter of it. With the subsequent investigations, the matter became very much in point.

His testimony before the Senate Oil Investigating Committee, when he voluntarily appeared to explain the fact that Edward L. Doheny had stated on the witness stand that Mr. McAdoo or his firm had been paid a fee of \$100,000 or so for services rendered was not marked by frankness and fullness, for, it will be remembered, it later developed that he had been promised nine times that sum by Mr. Doheny upon the completion of the work. If Mr. McAdoo had been fearless and outspoken in the matter, this latter fact would not have had to be brought out by telegrams between Mr. McAdoo in California and the New York *World*, but would have been explained by Mr. McAdoo himself upon his first appearance before the committee. There are times in public life when secretiveness is damaging. Men in high office before have been faced with charges. Frank and full statements have settled the matter. "Gentlemen, the facts are so and so," has dispelled many a political embarrassment even though these same facts were unpleasant and often incriminating. It was Mr. McAdoo's weakness that he did not adopt a frank method of disposing of the Doheny inci-

dent. But it should be remembered only as an incident. One of the unfortunate consequences of a political scandal, such as the oil leasing, is that it creates a state of mental terror in the country. It may have been Mr. McAdoo's explanation to himself that the less he had to say about the inexcusable mess, the better.



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William G. McAdoo
With His Two Daughters

But for a real gage on the possible candidate, let us, as in the case of President Coolidge, give the most weight to his actual record and the least to anybody's interpretation of it. Briefly:

WILLIAM GIBBS McADOO

1863—Born, Marietta, Georgia.

1880—University of Tennessee. Did not finish course.

1882—Made clerk of the United States Circuit Court of Chattanooga. While employed in this capacity assiduously studied law, preparing himself for the profession.

1885—Admitted to the bar, beginning practice at once. Married Miss Sarah Fleming, Chattanooga, who died in 1912.

1892—Went to New York. Became

interested in transportation problems, giving them concentrated study.

1902—Formed a company which took over a tunnel under the Hudson River from Hoboken to New York, which had been started in 1874 and abandoned.

1904—Completed this tunnel.

1909—Extended his Hudson-Manhattan system to connect with Erie and Pennsylvania railroad terminals in Jersey City and with downtown New York.

1912—Made vice-chairman of the Democratic National Committee. Because of the illness of the chairman, as acting chairman, he took over the major work of the campaign of Woodrow Wilson for President. From the first he was a strong supporter of Mr. Wilson.

1913—Appointed Secretary of the Treasury. Collaborated in and contributed to the formation of the Federal Reserve banking system, which was put in operation throughout the country.

1914—Chairman of the Federal Reserve Board; chairman of the Federal Farm Loan Board, which he was instrumental in organizing. Married Miss Eleanor Wilson, daughter of the President.

1915—Organized the Pan American Financial Congress and the International High Commission for the improvement of trade and financial relations between this country and Central and South America.

1917—Floated four Liberty Loans aggregating more than \$16,000,000,000. Created the Bureau of War Risk Insurance. With the opposition of certain bankers was the first Secretary of the Treasury to require national banks to pay interest on all government deposits.

1918—Appointed Director-General of Railroads, when the railroads were taken over by the Federal government as a war measure. During the early part of the war, favored strict neutrality, later the League of Nations.

1918—Resigned as Secretary of the Treasury in December.

1919—Resigned as Director-General of Railroads in January. Went to New York to practice law with the public announcement that he must earn money to support his family. Later removed to Los Angeles, where he became engaged in private law practice, acting as counsel for the Bank of Italy, which has about one hundred branches in California, and also for moving-picture interests and mining operations of the Doheny corporations.

In the above record it must be remembered that neither Congress nor a Secretary of the Treasury can claim total credit for the initiation of government agencies such as the Federal Reserve and Farm Loan systems. What Mr. McAdoo did and what Congress accomplished were brought about by co-operation and accord. The records of Carter Glass, then a prominent member of the House, and others could rightfully claim some of the credit of putting on the map these remedial agencies.

The capital has been concerned lately more than anything else with Mr. McAdoo's ideas for a solution of the railroad problem, which he has aired on several occasions. This railroad question, he says, has plagued the country for a quarter of a century. The Esch-Cummins bill of 1920 terminated federal control and, in his opinion, now has failed because it ignored the experience gained during the war period and because some of the fundamentals of the legislation are unsound and opposed to

(Continued on page 24)

What Women Voters Want

The League of Women Voters' Convention

Buffalo, New York, April 24-29

"I SUSPECT that the League of Women Voters is one of the most exciting sounding and least exciting acting organizations in the world," said one of the speakers at the League's fifth convention, which is ending as this magazine goes to press. She hit off in that phrase the spirit of the organization's working methods. It prefers soundness to the spectacular; steady progress along carefully planned lines to anything either sensational or extreme.

This point of view (expressed by Gladys Harrison of the Minnesota League) would be particularly illuminating to anyone watching the League at work in convention for the first time. It fits with the orderliness of the programs; the careful parceling of time; the beautiful parliamentary precision; it fits (since virtues have their own defects) with a slight danger of over-stressing meticulousness of procedure; and with the heaped-up impression one gets at these sessions of the earnest, intelligent work done by a great body of women in every part of the country, willing and determined to do good, hard plugging along many lines of their new job—being citizens.

The League's "old familiar program"



Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham
Second Vice-President-Elect

is old and familiar only in that it continues to concern the fundamentals of good citizenship, good government, peace, children's welfare, the status of women, education. Every year it is revitalized by the addition of new themes for study or for action and by renewed

determination for causes still unwon.

Such a program furnishes an answer to the question, What are women citizens thinking about and working for? What do women want? But first, what



Miss Belle Sherwin
The New President

kind of women are we talking about? There are two easy answers. One is to be found in a passage from Mrs. Park's presidential address which defines the type of woman and type of organization all at once:

"The League of Women Voters from the beginning has stood for step by step progress. It has chosen to be a middle-of-the-road organization in which persons of widely differing political views might work out together a program of definite advance on which they could agree. It has not sought to lead a few women a long way quickly, but rather to lead many women a little way at a time. It has held to the belief that no problem of democracy is really solved until it is solved for the average citizen."

The other reply about the kind of women in this movement is a look at a convention of its delegates—leaders to be sure, but representatives as well. "How good looking you all are!"—Mrs. Livingston Farrand said at the Local Presidents' dinner on the first night; and it has become a truism in our pages that these women are well and tastefully dressed, with no signs of "queerness". Sitting at the press table below the platform, one has a fine chance for study not only of faces but of shoes and hang of skirts, and we may say that from either point of view League women

have a fine average. They are intelligent, competent, progressive, not afraid of new ideas nor eager for them merely because they are new.

This particular convention was a specially good one to supply an answer to the question, What do women citizens want?—because, in a way, it marks the end of a period. It closes, by her wish, the four-year administration by Mrs. Maud Wood Park as national chairman—the first and only administration since the first transitional pre-suffrage year. With conscious virtue we have left to Mrs. Gardiner in the *Woman Voter* of this same issue the story of Mrs. Park's final speech as president, and of the lovely ceremony in which a jeweled watch was presented to her, with full-hearted and full-throated admiration. That speech included a retrospect of the interests and achievements of the four years—the multitudinous printed and spoken agencies for actual training in citizenship which is the League's first business, and the legislative successes won by national and state organizations; and it effectively demonstrated success.

The convention got a big thrill in connection with one of the two major measures for which the League has been working during the past year. This was a telegram read at the mass meeting on Saturday night announcing that the



Miss Julia Lathrop
First Vice-President-Elect

child labor amendment had passed the House by a big vote, and in exactly the form the League endorsed. Half a dozen prominent women at this convention would normally have been on the lobby battle-line in Washington, and it came out that they were on the battle-

line, even the night before the victory, by telegraph and telephone, with the able, ready assistance of women party leaders.

On the other major measure—the entrance of the United States into the World Court, with the Hughes reservations—the convention had cause for an emotion just tinged with hope. Senator Walsh frankly told the women that the proposal is “dead as Caesar,” revivable only by the miracle of public sentiment. And pro-Court public sentiment is what the League and other organizations propose to show to the Foreign Relations Committee on April 30. This Senate Committee doesn’t go in for hearings freely, so to have that chance means a considerable achievement.

Of course, women citizens want peace. But when it comes to deciding on the steps to get it, there is naturally wide divergence of opinion. The League of Women Voters is united on the World Court and on the principle of international cooperation to end war. This year it has made three particularly interesting additions to its study program—a constitutional amendment that would make ratification of treaties, as of war resolutions, possible by a simple majority of the Senate; and a study of the Monroe Doctrine and the Philippine problem. “Some day,” said Miss Ruth Morgan, head of the Department of International Cooperation to End War, “there’ll either be a head-on collision between the Monroe Doctrine and the League of Nations, since nearly all the South American countries belong to the League, or there’ll be a settlement of their differences.”

There was an expression of the will for peace in a luncheon given, independently of the League, by Mrs. Ben Hooper of Wisconsin at which the possibility of a women’s peace congress uniting all the great women’s organizations under one leader, was considered. And that leader? Mrs. Carrie Chapman Catt. A committee was chosen to sound out the possibilities and a resolution was passed in the convention that the League of Women Voters should be ready to say yes to such a call.

The widest sweep of the peace sentiment came in a peace mass meeting held on Sunday afternoon, vital and absorbing with many points of view on international cooperation. Congressman Hamilton Fish of New York, speaking for the World Court, and another disarmament conference, attacked the League of Nations as impotent. Norman H. Davis told how a League agency, under his chairmanship, had settled the Memel controversy. Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana pled, not for membership in the League, but for open cooperation and moral support instead of our present indirection. He based his plea on a showing of the bitter need for international cooperation to remedy the desperate situation in the

Middle West among farmers whose crops are raised for export—a situation of bank failures, mortgages, lost farms, despair. Then Mrs. Catt, calling herself “the last of the non-partisans,” responded to a challenge—the attack on the League of Nations made by her own congressman; she turned her speech into a fervent advocacy of the League of Nations, and gathered together all the will for peace in that audience—even, one thinks, of those who did not agree with her. Clear, sure, she pricked the bubble of “preparedness, the true way to peace”; refused in the name of women to accept the World Court and disarmament conferences—good but “little” steps toward peace—in place of the one



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Mrs. Dexter P. Rumsey
Buffalo Hostess-in-Chief

cure for war—“a solemn compact for all nations to settle their differences by arbitration and to abide by the results of such arbitration.”

Mrs. Catt sees a sharp line-up between the militarist influences and the peace forces. And right in the midst of the solid business of the first session came an illustration—through the disclosure of correspondence between Mrs. Park, representing a sub-committee of the Women’s Joint Congressional Committee, and the Secretary of War. It concerns that attack on women’s organizations as disloyal to which reference was made in the April 19th issue. It need not to be told fully here since Mrs. Catt is to tell it later; but at least it must be said that Mrs. Park’s persistent firmness in protesting against the attacks involving the Joint Committee won out. The chart of interlocking directorates to prove “Miss Bolshevik’s” activities through women’s organizations was found to have come from a “librarian” in the Chemical Service of the War Department and to have been widely distributed; its grave inaccuracies were pointed out, and not only the destruction of the chart, but the correction of the false impression it had created was demanded. Secretary Weeks’s letter regretted the errors and promised the de-

struction of the chart wherever sent. As an apology and a promise of complete correction, it was somewhat short of perfect; but at any rate the chart is slain.

Child welfare—peace—and *getting out the vote!* Last year the League convention went on record with a stern determination to get out 75 per cent of the vote in presidential year. That ambition and determination were stressed again and again at this convention—with the sense that here is a thing which is the very essence of the League’s business. A sparkling moment of the convention came Friday afternoon when Mrs. Richards of Indiana, former first vice-president, challenged the League to adopt Get Out the Vote as its slogan and promised they would find it as inspiring as the old suffrage fight.

Refusal to endorse a constitutional amendment to provide the possibility of uniform marriage and divorce laws was one of the surprises (and to some, certainly, an unpleasant one) of the convention. Such an amendment has been backed by the General Federation of Women’s Clubs, and it was supposed the League would line up, too. But the Committee on Uniform Laws for Women declined to recommend it. Instead, they offered a committee to draft for study a model marriage bill, which might eventually be put through state legislatures separately. A reason given was that the League ought not to support more than one constitutional amendment at a time—amending the Constitution being a boggy; another was the unsatisfactoriness of any marriage bill yet drafted, and a third the infringement of state’s rights.

The objection to supporting another constitutional amendment before the child labor one is passed also caused discussion of the endorsement of suffrage for the District of Columbia. For some time the League has had the subject for study, and after the second round of argument it was transferred to the action column.

Birth control, even as a study subject, lost out again, after a fine array of arguments on both sides. Proponents wanted it linked with the sterilization of the unfit (which *was* adopted) for the study of measures to reduce degeneracy. Opponents objected to the crowding of a citizenship program with another social subject, of so controversial a nature. A new subject adopted that certainly belongs among women citizens’ concerns was housing, and still another was the appointment of a committee to study the whole question of Indian affairs.

Our little space is, of course, not enough to record all the action. And there are events outside of the business sessions that were outstanding parts of the convention. There was first of all that peace mass meeting at which Mrs. Catt

(Continued on page 23)

Money in Politics

A Growing Menace

By Carrie Chapman Catt

QUT of the Washington controversies certain very definite evils have been uncovered with startling clarity. Each one presents an important problem calling for effective solution, yet none of the problems is new. They belong to that class of long-standing evils which are tolerated because no remedy has been found and applied. Each one is curable and always has been. Just now, however, each has become more audaciously menacing to the well-being of this country than ever before and therefore demands immediate attention. An efficient nation will not pause until an end has been made of them. Whichever party is entrusted with our national affairs after the next election should be held strictly accountable for the manner in which it applies itself to these questions and their fearless treatment.

Five such problems stand forth more urgently needing solution than others. The first is the problem of campaign contributions. Campaigns cannot be run without money, as everyone knows, and in that fact lies the obstacle. Each party in town, county, state and nation gathers all it can and in its desperation to get funds, ever more funds, it does not question the motives of those who give.

With Both Hands

Doheny and Sinclair each testified that they had contributed to both parties. This is the old and familiar method of the brewers, who for years followed the plan, and thus made sure of favors whichever way the election cat might jump. Mr. Sinclair, being a Republican, seems to have been more generous to his own party, and Will Hays, National Republican Chairman in 1920, admitted that he had contributed \$75,000 to wipe out the after-campaign deficit, although he had contributed generously to the regular fund. Doheny, being a Democrat, treated his own party with the same partiality. He testified that he gave the Democrats \$75,000. George White, National Democratic Chairman, could only recall that Mr. Doheny had given \$34,900, but the testimony is not yet all in. Now, whether or not these two oil kings made these huge contributions as an investment with the expectation of getting the money back with increase, the facts are that they did get it back in profits on oil leases from the government. Certainly it is not in human nature for any party in power to refuse requests of

large contributors with the same frank decision which might be given ordinary petitioners.

One of the earliest of the senatorial investigations was made into the costs of the 1920 campaign. The report made by the Chairman, Senator Kenyon (Republican), has recently been quoted by Senator McKellar (Democrat) as explanation of his bill aiming at correction of the evil. In the pre-convention campaign of 1920, there was spent by Republicans for

Calvin Coolidge	\$68,375
Warren G. Harding...	113,109
Herbert Hoover	173,543
Hiram Johnson	195,395
Frank O. Lowden.....	314,984
Leonard Wood	1,173,303

Total\$2,038,709

There was spent by Democrats for

Mitchell Palmer	\$59,610
Governor Cox	22,000

and "by other Democrats insignificant sums."

The Republican National and Congressional Committees expended in the regular election \$6,022,678. The forty-

Second in her series of short articles about influences that enter into "invisible government." Mrs. Catt talks about campaign contributions. Still to come are discussions of patronage, propaganda and the press.

We may as well break it to her gently (and promise you) that before long there will be an article about Mrs. Catt herself.

eight Republican State Committees spent an aggregate of \$2,078,060. A Republican deficit of \$1,600,000 was left at the end of the campaign which was afterward paid, making the total spent in the regular election \$9,700,738. When the amount spent for candidates before the convention is added, the grand total becomes \$11,739,447, a sum so large that Croesus would blushing crawl into a hole in very humiliation that the world had called him rich.

The Democratic National Congressional Committees spent \$1,349,447. The forty-eight Democratic State Committees spent an aggregate of \$888,323, and there was a \$300,000 deficit afterward paid, making a total spent by the Democrats of \$2,537,770. The Democrats spent more money in 1916—supposedly about \$4,000,000.

It is currently believed that the party

with the most money wins. It follows that money is received without question and that temptation to make promises of favors to the big givers is constant. To those who want honor or power, there are high offices to be assigned; to those who want money, there are high tariffs, protection for exploitation of foreign resources, helps in getting concessions. A thousand smaller things, from a pardon for a wayward member of a family up to a fat post-office, may be rewards for big gifts. Such favors are bought, whether the dulled consciences of buyer and buyee recognize it or not.

Money in hand, the campaign is conducted prodigally and wastefully, votes are bought (as all who are familiar with our system know), and any ideals a party may have had at the beginning are buried under the avalanche of ballots cast by the ignorant, illiterate and subnormal, sordidly mobilized by the contest of dollars. The educated partisan, ignorant of the system, rejoices over the triumph of his party's tenets; but the really great men who are pitch-forked into high office by these processes, do not take their places as light-hearted champions of triumphant principles; they come as men who have seen ghosts and are haunted by the memory. The entire political machinery becomes sordid and sunk in low ethics.

The expenditures of 1916 and 1920 exceeded those of any previous campaign. It is said that General Grant's victorious campaign of 1868 cost \$10,000; that General Harrison was nominated against a field of rivals by a campaign costing \$9,000. Parties do not reveal their financial secrets, but these figures indicate how far they have traveled in extravagance.

The Remedy

What is the remedy? Limit by law every contribution. (Senator McKellar proposes \$500 as the largest that should be allowed.) The complete itemized list of contributors and the itemized disbursements of both parties should be open to the public. A committee of Democrats to examine the Republican books officially and a committee of Republicans to examine the Democratic books would be a delicate and effective method of safeguarding the public welfare. Such plans strictly enforced would take money as a determining factor out of politics and give us issues over which to make the contest in the election.



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Women of the North



Mrs. Nina Bang



Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
Norway Produces Fine Women as
Well as Scenery

By Nancy M. Schoonmaker



Mrs. Anna Wicksell

THICK and fast, these last few years, have the official honors fallen upon the heads of Scandinavian women. Apparently these governments, if no others, have accepted the principle of political equality for men and women as a rule of life rather than as a mere accepted theory. Running over the names of able women who have been so honored, one finds a rather broad and inclusive list of important public duties which have been entrusted to them. It was, for instance, the Scandinavian countries that first included women as alternates in their national delegations to the Assembly of the League of Nations.

Dr. Kristine Bonnevie, the Norwegian representative, is a biologist of note, who has studied in Germany, France and at our own Columbia University, and was the first woman in Norway to hold a full professorship in the University of Kristiania. In fact, a special ruling was made so that the university could lift her to this post. But what has biology to do with her work in the League? She smiled her answer across the teacups as we sat in her high little vine-draped veranda.

"I have asked why they sent me, and they have replied that it was because I am a woman and because they trust me. I am glad of those reasons."

At Geneva she works with a very passion of devotion, eager to justify herself as a woman, to do her full share and more in the important business of regulating and abolishing the hideous buying and selling of women and young girls for immoral purposes, and most of all to help knit the ties of friendship more closely between nations to the end that peace and not war shall be the rule between them.

From this world service at Geneva she hurries back to the pupils who are waiting for her at the university and to

whom she is a great inspiration. In summer they follow her down to her laboratory by the sea where she gives her summers to the study of sea life. Last year on her fiftieth birthday Kristiania made a fête of it and the whole city did honor to her.

No less able and well beloved among her people is the Swedish woman who sits in the League, Mrs. Anna Wicksell, whose legal training has given her especial equipment for her work. It was when her children were young and the salary of her young professor husband was still very meager that Mrs. Wicksell carried on her studies at the law school and was graduated with the highest honors. She has never practiced, but her legal knowledge has been of great service to her many times and has contributed to the high place she holds in her country. It probably won for her her place on the Mandates Commission of the League, and it was certainly because of it that last year her government asked her to report on the requisite changes in the national constitution made necessary by Sweden's acceptance of certain rulings of the League.

They tell you in Sweden of the lifelong fight the Wicksells, husband and wife, have made for their liberal views. For years Professor Wicksell lived under the threat of removal from his professorship. But at last the country has caught up with them, and today they are living peacefully in their little house perched high on a cliff in a suburb of Stockholm where the government grants building sites to its retired teachers and officials. But from this high sheltered place there are many lines leading out, lines of interest and of service which bind the Wicksells to the world.

It is Norway again that first gave a woman the honor of going as the govern-

ment delegate to the conference of the International Labor Office. It will be recalled that to these conferences each

national delegation included one government delegate, two employers' delegates and two employees' delegates. Mme. Betzy Kjelsberg has for years been interested in the labor movement, was Norway's first factory inspector and has a comprehensive knowledge of the industrial conditions of her country. And always her sympathy has been with the working people—"men and women," she hurries to explain. "We must have better working conditions for people, men and women, young and old. Some special legislation is needed for women, but we want protective legislation for people."

Two women experts from two countries have been sent by the Scandinavian governments to serve in connection with the League's work in regulating the traffic in women and children. Elisa Sem from Norway, the only woman in her country licensed to practice in the supreme court—Hoisterstadadvokat, she is called—went as technical adviser, and Mlle. Henni Forchammer of Denmark, who is the recognized authority of the world on this most troublesome question, has been a member of the Danish delegation from the beginning and was the first woman to address the League.

It was Denmark also that sent one of the first two women who sat in at the conference of the Interparliamentary Union two years ago at Stockholm. Mme. Nina Bang, member of the Upper House of Parliament, student, writer, editor, is giving her life to the cause of liberalism. From the superior level of Danish labor legislation she looks a little scornfully upon America's efforts in that direction, and has little impulse, she says, to make a first-hand inventory of us. She is too busy with her own work, she tells you. And just now the news is published that she has been made a Cabinet Minister.

Editorially Speaking

An Answer to Skeptics

NO more decisive answer could be given to the question, "Is Woman Suffrage a Failure?" than the meeting of the League of Women Voters in national convention in Buffalo this week. These women are not content "to let George do it"—they are not after patronage; there was not a word of self-seeking in their debates; it is quite evident that they are not fooled and led around by the nose by politicians, as has been claimed. They are not disturbed by the outcry that they are not moving fast enough and making spectacular changes since they have the vote. Neither are they blasé or discouraged.

They are studying government with the eyes of the housekeeper and are trying to see how its processes can be made more orderly and efficient, how public interest can be increased in public affairs and a larger vote be made to express itself. They are planning to help make a more intelligent electorate. They are giving of themselves and their own time, effort and money to help as patriotic citizens to make this a better country to live in. They are not fanatics or extremists; they are particularly well groomed and well dressed; they are both old and young; their lack of self-consciousness is noticeable and they express themselves clearly and with no waste of words.

We wish that some of the gentlemen who are skeptical about women in politics and also those who are pessimistic about the future of the country could spend a day at a League Convention. They would agree with John W. Davis that there is no more hopeful sign in the life of the nation today than the League of Women Voters.



Eleanora Duse

PERHAPS it doesn't actually matter much where one lies. But there is a sense of pathos about the death of Eleanora Duse in a strange land—in a Pittsburgh hotel, under smoky skies, instead of in some villa under Italian blue. And the realization that part of the motive of her return to the stage was necessity—that this superb genius in late years was actually poor—adds to the poignancy. Her tour was a triumph—for that all her admirers must be grateful; but they would have had her enjoy its fruits at home, in beauty and serenity.

The world has lost something of its finest—an exquisite genius not to be replaced perhaps by any one now on the stage in Europe or America, a spirit that could speak to the deep emotions of other spirits directly, eloquently. Those of us who saw her last winter, and responded to the marvel of speaking voice and hands and eyes, will always be grateful for the final American tour, even while they mourn.



What Chance for the World Court?

ON April 30 a sub-committee appointed by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations will begin to hold hearings on the question of the United States becoming a party to the Court of International Justice. This ought to be good news, but the personnel of the sub-committee leaves little ground for hope that any action will result. Senator Pepper, the chairman, during the visit of Lord Robert Cecil last year showed signs of lessening opposition to the League of Nations, but more recently he insists on the World Court being divorced completely from the League, which would

mean an impossible reconstruction. Senators Swanson and Pittman, the two Democratic members of the sub-committee, are favorable to the League, but Senator Shipstead is opposed and Senator Brandegee is a violent isolationist.

The impotence of public opinion in the face of opposition in the United States Senate was never more strikingly illustrated. It is apparent that there is a strong public sentiment that the United States should take its place in the World Court and co-operate with the other nations in building up an international code of law. Yet it has been helpless to force any action in the face of the opposition of the members of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

More than a year ago the late President Harding, and later President Coolidge on his accession to the office, made strong recommendations to the Congress that the United States should cooperate in the World Court. In his recent speech before the Associated Press President Coolidge reiterated his recommendation. In spite of this the matter continues to slumber in the Senate Committee.



Leader vs. Party

IT is a striking anomaly that the Republican Party should unite overwhelmingly on Mr. Coolidge as presidential candidate, but that the Republican party in control of Congress should so completely fail to follow his leadership. This is evident not only in the matter of the World Court but also on other questions of extreme importance, such as the Mellon tax plan and the soldiers' bonus. What is the good of having a leader if the party refuses to follow him? Is Mr. Coolidge going to be set up as a figurehead during the campaign simply to attract votes? This disregard for his judgment and failure to follow his leadership while he as President is the actual head of the party is not only disconcerting to the thoughtful voter, but it seems an ineffectual way of starting a presidential campaign.



In Place of Campaign Contributions

IT is a very serious question which Mrs. Catt raises on page 12. How the money can be found for the necessary expenses of a presidential campaign without the big contributions which are bound to give the contributors to the winning side certain advantages at the expense of the public, is a problem not easy to solve. As Mrs. Catt points out, large gifts are a menace to fair and just government, and it is certain that men do not contribute huge sums of money to a candidate or a party without the expectation of getting at least part of it back in some form or other.

Would it not be sensible to put the entire expense of spreading information about candidates on the Government, as part of the legitimate expense of an election, in much the same way as is done now in state campaigns in some of the far western states? (Certain other campaign expenditures might then be forbidden.) For example, the Government might print and send to every voter a campaign document wherein every presidential candidate should have an equal space to tell his own story in his own way. The cost would not be a drop in the bucket compared to that of the present method, and the candidates might even be assessed a certain amount for the publicity. The public pays dearly under the present system, and the corruption which results from it, which is now being exposed,

has always been there. It is a question which should not be allowed to lapse without trying to find an answer.



Hope of Another Conference

PERHAPS the most interesting point in President Coolidge's speech before the Associated Press last week was the statement that "with a certain and definite settlement of German reparations firmly established" he would favor "the calling of an international conference for the limitation of armament and the codification of international law," should preliminary inquiries disclose that such a proposal would meet with a sympathetic response. "Sympathetic response" is guaranteed in advance from England, at any rate, if Ramsay MacDonald is still in power, for he has already broached the subject. Mr. Coolidge sees such a conference as an effort "to find out what can be done to rid ourselves and the rest of the world of the burden of competitive armaments and more effectively insure the settlement of differences between nations, not by a recourse to arms, but by a recourse to reason." Such a movement would again give the United States leadership in a great movement forward toward peace, and we shall do well to stress the promise, hedged about though it now is.

Meantime some will regret (of course without surprise) that the President sees no path to this peace goal through the League of Nations: the "dead issue" of the preceding administration is paralleled by his reference to the vote of 1920 as a "decisive rejection, which I regard as final!" Friends of the League of Nations will not agree with the conclusion; and while many of them may hope to see the issue kept out of politics, they look forward to a time when the rising sentiment of the country for the League will sweep us into it.

Mr. Coolidge renewed his endorsement of the World Court—for which much thanks, but one could wish he would say it to the Senate Committee, urging it to bring in a report.



"Follow-up" on the Cable Law

ON another page in this number you will find an article reporting what the Foreign Language Information Service has found to be the effect of the Cable law on the Immigrant Wife. This is offered in no spirit of hostility to the principle of independent citizenship of married women. It points out practical consequences of the application of the law which indicate that the task is not yet finished. To most of us who rejoiced in the passage of the Cable law the question will come even before the writer has time to answer it, "But why don't the alien women become naturalized—and so avoid all these troubles?" Miss von Eltz explains the psychological obstacles, and part of the moral lies there—in the suggestion of effective Americanization work. These findings, authoritative and carefully weighed, should have thoughtful attention.

It would be a help if we could be sure of being able to watch the figures of naturalization with full assistance. The figures for the fiscal year 1923-24 will show the number of male and female naturalizations. But according to Mr. Sturges, Chief Naturalization Examiner of the New York District, no arrangement has been made for showing how many of the women naturalized are American-born women who are regaining their native citizenship, and how many are foreign-born. There will be no way of proving by statistics how many of the alien women naturalized are wives, whether the wives whose husbands remain unnaturalized take advantage of their rights to naturalize separately, etc. Such figures would be an aid to intelligent follow-up work on the part of the native-born.

Concerning Muscle Shoals

TWO provisions of McKenzie's bill, under which Henry Ford would get Muscle Shoals, are so much at variance with the minimum requirements for conservation and for government control of natural resources that they seem a dangerous exploitation of the rights of the people of the United States.

The lease which the bill gives to Mr. Ford is for one hundred years and there is no provision for enforcing the terms of the lease, no redress for failure to live up to its terms and no control whatever reserved to the Federal Government.

The public learned long ago that franchise rights should be limited as to the time for which they are granted. The term of a hundred years for the lease to Mr. Ford is a direct violation of the Federal Waterpower Act which limits such leases to a maximum of fifty years. Also the costly experience of many years of the exploitation of public utilities has demonstrated the necessity of government regulation of both service and rates. Yet every amendment directed to this purpose in the terms of the Muscle Shoals lease was voted down by the House.

The wisdom of giving to any one man for \$5,000,000 a plant which has cost the people of the United States nearly \$84,000,000 may well be questioned; but a lease for one hundred years and the lack of any government voice in the regulation of a business in which such enormous profits are involved are indefensible.



The Senate's Manners



MANNERS are certainly more than surface—rightly seen, they are the sign of an inward and spiritual grace; but an advantage is that they can be used temporarily to mask a lack of the grace. If the Senate had been willing to assume a courtesy toward Japan even when it was having a fit of temper we should not now be in the position of having slapped a friendly nation in the face. There was small excuse for the Senate in the first place, even when it resented the Japanese Ambassador's alleged "threat"; now that he has, in all gentlemanliness, explained that he meant no threat, and Secretary Hughes, in all gentlemanliness, has accepted the explanation, what does the Senate do? So far, nothing, though a course of retraction should be easy. The Senate was ready to continue the gentlemen's agreement; was swerved from it only by the first Hanihara letter—the first letter, by all the rules of courtesy and diplomacy, no longer exists—so the way is open. Another thing the Senate might do by a retraction would be to save the President a very embarrassing situation.



An Apology With a Silver Lining

THE recent phenomenal growth in circulation of THE WOMAN CITIZEN was responsible for some CITIZEN subscribers receiving very poor covers on the magazine of April 19. The increased size of the magazine, together with the large edition printed, resulted in an unexpected paper shortage. The emergency paper to finish the edition was bought with the expectation that it could be used for inside pages. After the presses had been running for a while, it was found that this paper had been used on the cover form, as that was the last part of the magazine to go to press. The presses were stopped, and another, heavier emergency paper used on the remainder of the edition, but it was too late to prevent some copies of the magazine having flimsy covers. The CITIZEN apologizes, but can't be too downcast, because of the splendid size of the edition.

What the American Woman Thinks

The Cable Act and the Immigrant Wife

By Eleonore von Eltz

Membership Secretary, Foreign Language Information Service

A YEAR and a half have passed since Congress by enactment of the Cable Law recognized the right of married women to independent citizenship. Acceptance of this principle by America brought new dignity to women the world over and unquestioned benefits to the native American woman. But for the immigrant wife and mother it has raised fresh problems and perplexities which, as time goes on, will come squarely before the women voters of the country for solution.

It is essential, therefore, that we understand clearly the position of foreign-born women as the result of the new measure. Those who have married citizens or whose husbands have become citizens since September 22, 1922, have for the most part lost all citizenship status. Marriage to an American no longer confers his citizenship on the wife, whereas most of the countries of Europe do not recognize her as of a nationality different from her husband's. A great number of these "women without a country" are still unconscious of having been affected in any way by the Cable Act. It is only when some emergency arises and they find themselves unable to get a passport or to obtain a mother's pension with which to care for their American children that the realization is driven home.

Through the brisk trade in tourist trips abroad which ushers in the spring each year, the immigrant wives were first made aware of their position. The newly naturalized husband, who had perhaps not ventured to leave the country until citizenship papers secured him from quota law exclusion on his return, decided to indulge in the long-deferred pleasure of a visit to his old home. Or perhaps he was called back by illness among his or his wife's relatives. He soon found that while his passport was easily obtained his wife could not travel on it nor could she procure one for herself from the consul representing her native country.

Lucky the alien wife whose homeland was France, Lithuania, Poland, Italy, Switzerland or Denmark. These countries provide that if one of their women

citizens marries a foreigner whose citizenship is not thereby conferred upon her, she retains her own citizenship. Germany, Sweden and Finland, while not considering such women to be citizens of their respective countries, nevertheless make travel possible by issuing a special travel paper.

But for the woman from Hungary, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia or other countries of Europe, there was no such happy solution of the problem. Instead of starting off on the eagerly planned vacation she found herself back at the

The Cable Law for the independent citizenship of American women has been rightly regarded as a triumph of women's legislative activities. But their responsibilities in connection with it are not ended, according to the data collected by the Foreign Language Information Service, one of whose staff here explains the immigrant wife's difficulties, both legal and psychological.

This Service is a national organization which tells immigrant men and women—through the foreign-language press—what America offers them and expects of them, and tells the native-born (through "The Interpreter," a digest of the foreign-language press, and general information, on a membership basis) about the immigrant's needs and ideals. In this article are summed up the results of many months' collection of comment and experiences. It is first-hand material, which women who helped win the Cable Law will do well to consider. Answers or other lines of discussion will be welcome.

dish pan, the wash tub, or her job in the factory. And as she went about her old round of tasks she imparted to her friends or fellow workers a disturbing bit of information. "Do you know," she said, "the American Government took away my citizenship and I didn't get another one!"

Behold the privilege of independent citizenship as it appears to the average immigrant! The disquieting news spreads and others in time discover that even more important than the loss of their old citizenship is the fact that they "didn't get an American one." While the status of "woman without a country" works a decided injustice on the immigrant wife who wants to travel, the consequences are usually not serious. But such a woman is in grave difficulties

when, for lack of American citizenship, she is denied a widow's or mother's pension, refused public employment, or the right to inherit her husband's homestead.

The Mother's Pension Law in a number of states discriminates against an alien mother. Arizona, Oregon, Arkansas, Connecticut and West Virginia demand full citizenship of applicants for pensions. In Illinois and Montana the applicant must have declared her intention of becoming a citizen, and in the former state can then receive aid only for American-born children. New York also limits aid in this way.

Municipal employment such as cleaning and taking care of office buildings, so often given to widows of former municipal employees, is now in many cities closed to alien widows of American citizens.

The Federal Homestead Law opens up Federal lands for settlement by citizens. Thousands of acres have been brought under cultivation by foreign-born men who have mastered the naturalization requirements while they labored on the land. In border states where Mexicans have acquired citizenship and holdings, in the event of the husband's death the simple peon woman whose primitive background makes the process of naturalization almost impossible, finds herself in a difficult legal tangle.

The foregoing cases are contingent upon the death of the husband, but even without this circumstance the new law can work hardship. Even the fact that it continues to admit foreign-born children to the citizenship of their father adds to the mother's burdens. The children in immigrant homes are nearly always a little ashamed of the mother's slower adaptation to American manners, speech and customs. Where this tendency exists it will be strengthened by the consciousness that the law itself, by labeling her "alien," seems to recognize her as unfit for the status of American which they and the father enjoy.

That the husband's sense of superiority also may be increased is evidenced by the correspondence of a Yugoslav woman in Ohio with the Foreign Language Information Service. She wrote first to inquire if it could be true that her husband and children were American citizens while she was not. "Does not a wife belong to her husband and a mother to her children?" she asked. Her answer was a letter explaining the Cable Act and encouraging her to apply for citizenship. In reply came the following:

"Yes, too bad that it is true that in the twentieth century the earth has changed thus far that the husband can easily tell his wife that 'you have nothing on me. If I want another one, then I don't care anymore for you.' Why, if it is so, no marriage is any more necessary, as everybody is independent and the man is not bound to take care of his wife if he doesn't care. Please let me know what a wife has to do if she hears such words. Who has made such a law?"

Such a letter indicates real tragedy in the immigrant home, however exaggerated the writer's fears.

It may here be interposed that these hardships which the Cable Act imposes are a valuable incentive to qualify for citizenship. This may be true if the women affected are forewarned of the consequences of remaining unnaturalized and inspired with a sense of the dignity which the basic principle of the law confers. But if they are left to learn of the law by becoming involved in one of the unfortunate situations it creates they are likely to be too overwhelmed by their predicament to take the necessary steps toward citizenship. And it will be hard to convince such a woman that a law which served her so badly could have aught of good in it for any woman.

Instead of stimulating naturalization of alien wives the Cable Act may for a while discourage naturalization among their husbands. At least one foreign-language group predicts this result, and their naturalization figures for the past two years appear to bear out the prophecy. Naturalization among Hungarians dropped from 6,607 in the calendar year 1922 to 4,819 in 1923. While this may be pure coincidence, it is interesting to note the line of reasoning that led to the prediction. A trained observer of foreign-born opinion, in journeying through fourteen cities which are centers of Hungarian population, discovered a lively interest in the Cable Act, then six months old. It was pointed out to him that the Hungarian woman has a natural aversion to all official procedure. She is especially ill at ease when faced by an examination. In consequence of this characteristic reluctance to share the "ordeal" of naturalization with her husband, it was argued that she would in many cases discourage the man from taking the step toward full citizenship and a social classification apart from her own. And as we have seen, there are practical considerations and not sentiment alone, to make the man neglect naturalization and "cleave unto his wife" in this emergency.

To eliminate the new obstacle in the already complicated problem of achieving citizenship, Hungarians have proposed that Congress revise the law so that all the rights of citizenship excepting the franchise be automatically conferred upon the wife of a naturalized citizen. In order to win the vote they would provide that the wife must overcome her fear of official procedure and

undergo separate naturalization. This same suggestion comes from other sources—not all foreign-born—and as the disadvantages of the law are better known it is likely to be repeated many times. For it seems the line of least resistance for the foreign-born wives. That they would leave a loophole for feminist developments by providing for separate naturalization for suffrage is taken as a hopeful indication that, given a little more time, encouragement and opportunity for education, they will find it possible to take the step which now appears so hard.

But it is to American women they must look for this encouragement and opportunity. Most cities have not yet solved the problem of educating men for citizenship. Their task is now intensified by the need to educate the wives. Larger appropriations and broader programs of adult education are needed everywhere and it is the women citizens who are especially obligated to see that the need is met. It will not do to assume that the alien wives have had their path made smooth by the provision making unnecessary a declaration of intention and five years' residence in the United States, and allowing them to petition directly for naturalization after one year's residence is established. This simplified procedure is a help, to be sure, but ninety days after filing their petitions they are summoned for examination and it is only if they respond correctly, and in acceptable English, to the queries on our history and Constitution, that they are admitted to citizenship.

Considering that the husband usually requires the full five years or more to acquire sufficient English and other knowledge to qualify, one wonders how the wife, hedged in with household cares and in every way more isolated from American life, is to accomplish the feat in a year and a quarter. Clearly, the facilities for educating the foreign-born woman must be not only extended but adapted to the demands made upon her as a wife and a mother. And while American women are giving themselves to this task they must assume the equally important one of seeing that the status of "woman without a country" does not bear too heavily upon the alien wife in the interim required to prepare for citizenship. It is entirely possible that some laws discriminating against aliens will have to be amended to exempt the alien wives of citizens, particularly if they are mothers of American children.

Furthermore, American women must be alive to their responsibility for bringing home to the foreign-born wives a full realization of their position under the Cable Law. If their first knowledge of it is gained by undergoing one of its unpleasant consequences they will see independent citizenship as an overwhelming burden instead of the privilege we consider it to be.

Is Woman Suffrage Failing?

By Helen Varick Boswell

This time Miss Boswell must represent the symposium of interviews on this subject which THE CITIZEN has been running. A well-known Republican leader, even before suffrage days, Miss Boswell is well able to do it.

"THE vote has done more for women than women have done for the vote.

"Many of the most ardent workers for woman suffrage seem no longer interested in the vote. They are off working just as hard for something else. To the anti-suffragists they seem to have said: 'Here is the vote. We got it for you, but we're no longer interested.' They remind one of the man who runs for a street car. He, too, turns to a newspaper or reads the car ads once he is inside and on his way.

"It is the anti-suffragists who feel their responsibility and importance as citizens. 'We did not want a part in politics,' they say, 'but, since it has been thrust upon us, we feel that it is up to us to shoulder our new duties.' And they are doing it in a remarkably fine way. Some of the busiest workers among the women in both the Democratic and Republican parties are the former anti-suffragists.

"I have always been interested in public affairs. I was a Republican before I became a worker for suffrage and before I had the privilege of exercising my right to vote. Having the vote has not changed my attitude toward public affairs.

"I believe the present dissatisfaction which many people feel toward the woman vote is due to the fact that more women do not exercise their right to vote. Both parties find this so, and it will probably take much time and more energy on someone's part to get the women to come out.

"In the smaller communities, that is, in the towns and rural districts, more women comparatively vote than in the cities. And, because of this fact, the political parties in the smaller communities are more careful in their selection of candidates. 'So-and-so won't do,' the leaders say. 'The women won't vote for him. Now, Jones is our man. The women like him for having done this or that.'

"In the Assembly districts in the larger cities the same holds true. The women are more apt to know the man's personality. For the more important offices, however, I do not believe that the politicians regard the women's vote so much. They know the women will

(Continued on page 26)

The Woman Voter

[This full-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.]

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER for
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532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Federal Measures the League Supports

RESOLUTIONS proposing a Federal child labor amendment are now before both houses of the Congress. The House Judiciary Committee has already made a favorable report, submitted by Representative Foster, of Ohio, while a minority report was filed by Chairman Graham, of Pennsylvania. On April 15 the Senate Judiciary Committee presented its favorable report, recommending the substitution of a resolution identical in form with the one before the House, for the one (S. J. Res. 1) considered by the sub-committee. Senator Shortridge, of California, chairman of the sub-committee, submitted the report to the Senate.

The Senate committee report in part reads:

"Inasmuch as the Congress has twice considered it necessary and wise to enact a law for the protection of the child life of our nation, it would seem to be the mature and deliberate judgment of the people that such a law would be beneficial. . . . It may be observed that while under our dual system of government the power and duty to make adequate provision by law for the accomplishment of these most desirable ends is now vested in the several states, nevertheless it is as important to the national government as it is to the government of every state that its citizenry be afforded every opportunity for legitimate development and that such development should neither be stunted nor destroyed by a neglect to pass adequate laws for the protection of childhood. Herein lies the justification for asking of the states that upon the government of the United States be conferred power to legislate upon this matter so vital to both. If the states shall have passed appropriate laws, it is safe to say that any legislation of Congress will march side by side with such laws. If a state has been unmindful of its duty, then such congressional legislation will work no injury but rather a positive benefit to the state itself as well as to the nation. . . .

"The amendment is not designed to deprive the states of any of their police powers, except that the operation of state laws shall be suspended to the extent necessary to give effect to legislation enacted by the Congress."

The status of other bills listed in the last issue of the *Woman Voter* is without change.

ANNE WILLIAMS.

POSTSCRIPT: On April 26 (after the above report was printed) the House of Representatives passed the Child Labor Amendment in the form endorsed by the League by a vote of 297 to 69.

The Fifth Annual Convention

THE women who carried home with them the program of the fifth annual convention in Buffalo, April 25-29, will treasure it not because of the convention motto, "The best guarantee against revolution is progress," and not because of the picture cover, but because of an item their eyes can read between the lines. The greatest event of the convention was not set down at all.

April 25 is the date the omitted item makes memorable, the evening of the first day Miss Gertrude Ely, director of the second region, was in the chair. Mrs. F. Louis Slade gave the New York State League greetings, Mrs. Sigmund Hertzog, of Ohio, brought greetings from an associate member organization, the National Council of Jewish Women, and Mrs. Frances Burns, of Michigan, the greetings of another, the Ladies of the Maccabees. Mrs. William Hibbard responded for the national League.

Then came two unusual events. One was Mrs. Park's reading of the following letter from the President of the United States.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
WASHINGTON

April 12, 1924.

My dear Mrs. Park:

The invitation received some time ago to attend the Annual Convention of the National League of Women Voters, at Buffalo, April 24-29th, has been held in abeyance because I entertained some hope that it might be possible to accept. It is found now that acceptance is impossible, and in communicating this disappointing statement I wish to give expression to my interest and sympathetic attitude toward the League. Its efforts to arouse among the women of the land the fullest possible interest in their citizenship duties are deserving of all support and encouragement. The advent of women as voters on the same basis as men marks a tremendously important step in the evolution of our democracy, and I am sure that through the agencies of such organizations as your own the fullest conception of their duties and obligations will be carried to the women of the nation.

Most sincerely yours,

CALVIN COOLIDGE.

The other was the message of the Toronto League, which calls Miss Katharine Ludington its god-mother, delivered by Mrs. John Bruce. The joining of the American and the British flags at the side of the stage became the concrete symbol of the new neighborly friendliness and spirit of co-operation which has grown up between the women of Canada and the women of the United States as a consequence of the Pan-American Conference of Women in Baltimore two years ago.

Mrs. Park's annual address as president, her fourth, and by her wish her last, was a record of the League's four years and is the League's new 36-page publication, a history, a compendium, a *vade mecum* for every League member. Mrs. Park was able to report that in addition to branches in the District of Columbia and Hawaii the League is now organized in 346 of the 433 congressional districts, with some districts still to be heard from. In the four years of its existence more

than half the requests embodied in the planks presented to the political party conventions in 1920 have been carried out, in addition to two bills presented early in 1920, and the appropriations for the Women's Bureau. Altogether, nearly two-thirds of the active Federal legislative program has been written off by congressional enactment of fifteen measures dealing with child welfare, the removal of legal discriminations against women, living costs, and the protection of women in industry. In the states 420 bills supported by the League have been passed and 64 bills the League opposed defeated.

When the president ended with the words, "Universal peace is a large part of our program, universal freedom is only another phrase for the true democracy that we seek. Education is the guide in all our efforts," such a storm of applause broke out as the great hall had never before heard and blown on the sweep of it Mrs. F. Louis Slade was at Mrs. Park's elbow. She reminded the convention that the League has chosen twelve greatest living American women, that thirteen is America's historic number, and that in Maud Wood Park America sees the woman fit to be the thirteenth in the list, the League's embodied ideal of the woman citizen.

At the words the convention sprang to its feet and everywhere in the hall American flags broke out like so many votive flames, while at the back of the stage a greater flag unfurled, till, standing there, Mrs. Park was outlined against the splendor of the Stars and Stripes.

It was her last convention as president—though Mrs. Slade insisted the League is merely letting her go on leave—and it was the greatest moment of that convention.

Mrs. Slade seemed to find a catch in her throat, but the convention heard the graceful speech with which she gave Mrs. Park the gift of the heads of the state Leagues, a wrist-watch set in diamonds and sapphires, which will hereafter mark, she said, the minute when the beloved leader who has guided and guarded the League since it came into existence "comes back to us".

On the convention floor delegates, still standing, sang a song written by Mrs. Henry Cheney, of Illinois, and set to the music of an old song. In the silence which followed Mrs. Park's voice, lacking just a little of its famous clearness, just a little shaken, came to every woman in the hall, but nobody could tell afterward exactly what words she used. They all knew merely that what she spoke so simply was the message of the woman who loves the League "which we have builded together," spoken as only the woman chosen to stand among the country's greatest women because of her citizenship, could have spoken it.

It is a remarkable convention which does not find the things which follow its great moment in the nature of an anti-climax, but the fifth annual convention carried the rest of its program through at the high pitch which was first sounded at the Friday morning session and swelled to full tone on the never-to-be-forgotten evening.

The Friday morning session began with an invocation by the Reverend Doctor Bruce Wright, and the mayor of Buffalo, the Honorable Frank X. Schwab, gave the convention official welcome. Mrs. Berend J. Burns, chairman of the Erie League, was spokesman for the hostess League, whose flawless hospitality is gratefully remembered, and Mrs. Walter Alden Shockley, director of the seventh region, responded.

Reports of officers followed. As head of the Department of Efficiency in Government, Miss Sherwin reported the publication of 200,000 pieces of printed matter, of which 141,000 have been distributed in all the states and in seven foreign countries. The figure does not include 11,800 leaflets and pamphlets published and distributed by standing committees and the Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War. In the work of education for citizenship 159 major schools, institutes and conferences have been held in twenty-eight states. Four hundred ninety-five study groups were separately listed. During July summer institutes on politics and government will be held in the fourth, the second and the seventh regions and plans for three state schools have been

made. Miss Sherwin's report will be invaluable to all Leagues bent on the education of voters.

The Friday afternoon session had Miss Marguerite Wells, director of the fifth region, in the chair, and in the list of speakers (*Woman Voter*, April 19) who discussed phases of organization, Miss Marion Delany, of San Francisco, was substituted for Mrs. C. B. Haworth, and Mrs. Benson, of Illinois, for Mrs. Judah.

The topic for Miss Sherwin's program, on Saturday morning, was "Laying the Foundation of Efficient Government," with Miss Olive Colton, of Toledo, instead of Mrs. Robert Morris, to tell of the first voters' party of which readers of the *Woman Voter* have already had an account, and Miss Lyon, of Pennsylvania, instead of Mrs. John O. Miller, to describe visits to the legislature. Mrs. Walker, of Rhode Island (who took the place of Mrs. James E. Cheesman) and Mrs. James Morrisson, of Illinois, discussed state programs at work.

The mass meeting of Saturday evening was a wonderful demonstration of the League's sincere unpartisanism, except that the reception given the address of Mrs. Richard Edwards, of Indiana, former first vice-president, whom everybody missed at the 1923 convention, was possibly a shade more enthusiastic than that given the other speakers. Governor Ritchie, of Maryland, had "A Reorganization of Public Employment" as his subject, and added a declaration of Democratic faith. Governor Pinchot, of Pennsylvania, took "A Reconstruction of State Finance" as his topic and made a moving plea for clean hands in high office. He is a Republican. The League women who listened have reasoned party affiliations and equally strong League views. All of them did not agree with everything the two speakers said but as an unpartisan League they gave applause generously when applause was due. They gave even more generous applause when Mrs. Park, radiant with delight, read a telegram announcing that the House had passed the child labor amendment by a vote of 297 to 69. Mrs. Sumner McKnight made the good news the text for her successful appeal for a financial thank offering.

As this is written the convention is still in session, but reports from the election polls indicate that the new officers chosen are: Miss Belle Sherwin, president; Miss Julia Lathrop, first vice-president, and Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, second vice-president. The only changes in the regional directors make Mrs. James E. Cheesman director in the first region and Miss Adèle Clark, in the third.

Postscript—by wire

RESOLUTIONS adopted at the concluding sessions went through with little difference of opinion, except in connection with the one on law enforcement, and the difference here was one of degree. Feeling was very strong for the strict enforcement of law, with special reference to the Eighteenth Amendment. The resolution passed asserted that "laxity in the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment is not only a scandal and dishonor to our Nation, but tends to weaken the regard for law in general," and called upon the President, Congress, governors and other high officials of the various states to "preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States and to enforce the law of the land."

Among the other resolutions was one expressing to President Coolidge appreciation for his service in endorsing the World Court and in stating his intention of calling another limitation of armament conference at the earliest moment practicable. A hope that the question of Japanese immigration might be so settled as to "carry out the domestic policy of the United States without offense to a friendly power" was embodied in another resolution. An intensive campaign to get out the vote was endorsed—a campaign by use of radio, motion-picture, telephone, house-to-house work, etc. A constitutional amendment for support of suffrage in the District of Columbia was supported. And the League was authorized to send delegates to a conference of all women's organizations that have made pronouncements for peace, if such a conference should be called.

League Schools

THE Illinois League counts the conference on reparations and international debts which was held in Chicago, April 11-12, under the joint auspices of the League and the Chicago Council on Foreign Relations, one of the most important undertakings of the League year. Professor Robert Ray, of Northwestern University, opened the conference with an address on inter-allied debts, and Dr. Walter Lichtenstein, of the First National Bank of Chicago, followed with an informing explanation of present conditions of international exchange. A talk, "Balancing of National Budget," by Professor E. L. Bogart, of the University of Illinois, ended the morning's program. Professor James Garner, of the University of Illinois, speaking on reparations provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, and Associate Professor Paul Douglas, of the University of Chicago, speaking on the economic interest of the Middle West in the rehabilitation of Germany and Central Europe, with Miss Mary McDowell in the chair, made the Saturday morning session of exceptional value. At the Friday luncheon the vice-chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, William S. Culbertson, spoke on "Economic Factors in International Relations," and at the Friday evening dinner Irving T. Fisher, of Yale, discussed the occupation of the Ruhr, its causes, and its effects. The conference ended with a luncheon on Saturday at which Harold G. Moulton, director of the Institute of Economics in Washington, was principal speaker.

Another great success for the Ohio League was scored in its school of politics held in cooperation with the Ohio State University at Columbus, April 4-5. Miss Sybil Burton presided at the opening session, at which Miss Juliette Sessions, state president, spoke for the state League, and Miss Belle Sherwin gave a talk on "How to Get the Most Good From the Institute." The afternoon session was taken up with a discussion of the present effectiveness of civil service, with Mr. William Dudley Foulke speaking on the national situation, Mrs. Frank Forsyth and Dr. M. B. Hammond on the Ohio situation, and Mr. Mayo Fesler on municipal civil service. A supper meeting was devoted to "Should departments of health and welfare in the state government be removed from partisan politics?" The morning subjects for the second day were the presidential primary in Ohio and flaws in existing election machinery, and the school concluded with a lecture by Miss Emily Kneubuhl, "How State Administration Touches the Life of the Individual," and a mayor's round table conducted by Miss Burton, of Zanesville.

In spite of the worst blizzard of the winter, the institute of government the Minnesota League conducted at Winona, April 4 and 5, brought out 200 men and women to hear Dr. Bryn-Jones' lecture on "America and World Politics," and 125 women attended the luncheon with which the school ended. A similar institute was held in Duluth, April 9-11, the fourth in the League's series and the most ambitious yet attempted. Mrs. F. W. Wittich conducted the round tables and Mrs. Glen Waters—both of Minneapolis—spoke at the concluding luncheon. Mrs. Charles S. Mitchell led the symposium of women's practical experience in politics, and members of the faculty of Duluth Teachers' College, of Carleton College and of the Duluth Taxpayers' League made up the list of speakers at the several school sessions.

On March 31 the California League held a one-day citizenship school of exceptional interest, directed by Mrs. Frank G. Law, efficiency in government chairman. The morning session was given over to a study of the state budget law, under fire because of the administration of it. The lecturers were Lieutenant Governor Young and Mr. T. Danforth Boardman. After the talks the women present asked questions and carried on an animated discussion of the subject. In the afternoon Mr. Edward G. White and Mr. Paul Scarrenberg, of the California Labor Council, told the school many things about restriction of immigration, and Mr. Louis Bartlett, an

attorney, gave a talk on the five-to-four decisions of the United States Supreme Court.

Moorhead, Minnesota, enjoyed the third institute of government and politics conducted by the state League, and April 3 and 4 were the dates. The League is giving much time to a consideration of plans for simplifying and making more efficient the state government, and one of the principal speakers at the Moorhead school was Theodore Christianson, of the interim committee the legislature appointed to study the state government and recommend changes in a report to be made by May 1. Miss Louise Schutz, of the State Industrial Commission, dealt with problems of women and children in industry; Professor David Bryn-Jones, of Carlton College, gave an interesting lecture, "America and World Politics," and Mrs. Andreas Ueland, of Minneapolis, representing the Board of Directors of the state League, with Mrs. Russell, county worker, had charge of round table discussions.

Municipal government occupied two round tables with especial reference to the Moorhead charter, and two more round tables dealt with the history of American foreign policy. Women from many different towns in the ninth congressional district of Minnesota attended the school and many other women came from Fargo, North Dakota, just across the Red River of the North.

Wesleyan University, in co-operation with the Connecticut League, will have a school of citizenship on national issues, in Middletown, May 15-17. Mrs. Florence L. C. Kirchelt is director and the lecture faculty includes the acting president of the university, members of the teaching staff, and such other persons of distinction as Owen Lovejoy, of the National Child Labor Committee, and J. Henry Scattergood.

Fifteen "Know Grand Rapids" schools is the record of the Grand Rapids League. The schools have been held in various parts of the city and two in the evening were held at the Y. W. C. A. with a total attendance of 420.

New League Publications

THE Neenah (Wisconsin) League has published a 10-page pamphlet called "Election Information and Neenah City Government" which is a credit to everybody concerned in its making. The first two pages are given up to election dates and procedure and to listing of Neenah offices with salaries and general information on their functions. The four pages which follow contain a chart giving the titles of elective officers from the mayor down, terms of office, salaries, how and when elected, and duties, all most conveniently arranged. The final pages give duties of ward supervisors, of party precinct committeemen, of the state central committee, with information concerning delegates to the national party conventions and the manner of choosing them. An excellent index and an outline of city government complete the valuable little booklet. Mrs. Stuart, of Neenah, president of the Wisconsin League, in sending the pamphlet to headquarters, writes that her stenographer, A. Lammel, compiled the data and the pamphlet was printed by the typographical classes in the Kimberly High School. It may be added that the pamphlet is set in 7-point, and very well set indeed.

Nile green, orange, pink and buff are the colors of four striking "dodgers" the Illinois League is using in the get-out-the-vote campaign. The green sheet bears a map of the state with pictures illustrating the nine departments whose directors the governor appoints. The legend at the top of the sheet is, "Voters of Illinois—who runs your business?" and at the bottom are the words, "You control this business by your vote for governor." The orange dodger is a chart showing an Illinois political party and how it works. The buff sheet gives eight clearly stated reasons "why Illinois women must vote," and the pink sheet is "The Game of Get-out-the-Vote" by Miss Julia Lathrop, which voters everywhere will find interesting.

"Let us get out the vote and vote ourselves," Miss Lathrop says toward the end of her brief appeal, "for sheer self-respect;

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for the glory of the game; for some good candidates in a cause we believe for the country's good."

The Massachusetts League's single sheet bill in its efficient citizenship campaign is salmon colored, with the following words most effectively arranged, and printed in black: "Do you vote? Forty-nine per cent of the eligible voters of the nation voted for President in 1920. Fifty-one per cent of those eligible to vote did not vote. Were you one of the 49 per cent or one of the 51 per cent?" After that comes the statement that "358,647 Massachusetts voters stayed at home on Election Day, 1922. Do you want to take part in the choice of men and women who will nominate the next President of the United States? Register. Time and place for registration announced by local registrars. Watch for dates," and at the bottom of the sheet is, "Vote at Presidential Primary, April 29."

Mrs. Edward P. Costigan's last piece of work for the League before she was obliged to resign as chairman of the Committee on Living Costs is the new 8-page pamphlet, "Co-operative Societies; a Way out for Consumers." It summarizes Rochdale principles and their application in Russia, England, Denmark and the United States with interesting examples of successful co-operation in many parts of this country. Laws governing co-operatives are sketched and the well-selected bibliography appended makes the pamphlet of extreme value to League women who wish to be able to distinguish genuine co-operative movements from their unsound imitations.

Answers which candidates have given to questions asked by the Nebraska League swell the March number of *The Intelligent Voter* to fifty pages. Statements are made by no fewer than 130 candidates, so that the magazine is a valuable reference book for campaign purposes. Among the many candidates listed are eleven women, two of whom, Luella Barton and Mrs. Ruby L. Hull, are candidates for the House of Representatives in the National Congress, and one, Mrs. Clara Jensen, candidate for the office of state auditor. The others are candidates for seats in the state legislature.

"*Know Cincinnati*," the new publication of the Cincinnati League, proves to be a booklet of nearly eighty pages which contains everything the most inquiring mind seeks to know about the government of the city, with ample information on citizenship and registration in general. More than half the booklet is given up to a directory of club women of the city, which lists the members of a dozen of the larger organizations, with the address and organization affiliations of each.

The Massachusetts League has published an excellent textbook on the presidential primary, which covers only two pages of a leaflet, but is nevertheless complete. The final page of the leaflet carries a facsimile of an official party ballot with voting directions.

Leagues and League Work

AN account of the interesting exhibit the Wellesley (Massachusetts) League arranged and displayed for three weeks was brought to headquarters by Miss Ellen W. Fiske. The exhibit originated in the fertile brain of Miss Mabel Hill, teacher of civics at Dana Hall, and was carried out by League women. Completed, it was a detailed picture of all the activities of the town, including the town government, the disposition of town money, the schools, the various institutions, with information on town health, population, birth rate, etc. Men connected with the subjects dealt with came to the town hall, where the exhibit was on display, and gave talks illustrating the several departments of the town, and gratifyingly large audiences attended. The exhibition was opened on March 26.

MRS. JOHN L. PYLE, president of the South Dakota League, has made a count of the number of women holding elective offices in her state and reports ninety-six in the sixty-eight counties of South Dakota. There are twenty-five registers of deeds; fifty-four county superintendents of schools;

four clerks of courts; eight county treasurers; four county auditors, and one legislator. "Besides these elective offices," Mrs. Pyle says, "there are several women appointees on the various boards and committees, one woman on the Board of Charities and Corrections, one on the Board of Regents, three on the Women's Committee of Investigation which investigates all penal and charitable and state educational institutions and hospitals. There are also two women on the State Child Welfare Commission."

THE Wisconsin League will hold its annual convention in Madison, May 12-14. For some time the League has been discussing the advisability of moving its headquarters to the state capital, leaving Milwaukee to be a strong League center but no longer the center. The matter will be decided at the annual convention. Mrs. W. Z. Stuart, state president, feels that during the sessions of the legislature, at least, it is a distinct advantage to have state League headquarters in the capital.

MISS GEORGIANNA J. PRESTON has been appointed president of the newly organized Ohio State Junior League of Women Voters at the University of Ohio, and will continue to hold appointive office until the membership of the college League reaches 250, when, according to its constitution, an election may take place. This is the first university branch League in Ohio. A membership drive was carried on April 7-10.

MRS. SUMNER T. McKNIGHT, chairman of the Minneapolis League, is credited with so inspiring the St. Cloud League by a speech in February, that St. Cloud women outvoted St. Cloud men in the caucuses of March 3 and elected twelve women as delegates to the county convention. In Northfield also the women outvoted the men and agreed to a fifty-fifty division of delegates.

AT the annual convention of the Nevada League in Reno, Mrs. O. H. Mack, former president of the Reno League, was elected state president.

THE Utah League had the pleasure of hearing, at a recent meeting in Salt Lake, that because of the League's request a room is to be provided in the state capitol for the Utah Art Commission.

WHEN the speakers' bureau of the Wayne County (Michigan) League opened, ten women enrolled for a course which began on the last Tuesday of March and is planned to continue till there are enough women trained to speak on League work and plans to fill every call for speakers. Mrs. Myron B. Vorce and Mrs. Earl Carr are directing the training.

THE Minnesota League provided a radio lecture on each of the Tuesdays in April. The first speaker was Mr. Walter Millard, whose subject was "Cleveland—the City Manager Plan in Operation"; the second, Mrs. E. T. Sward, "Popular Control in State Government"; Mrs. Frank E. Loehr, "Federal Aid"; Mrs. H. W. Rubins, "Presidential Primaries," and Mrs. J. A. Quint, "Nominations and Election of the President."

THE New Jersey League will hold its annual convention in Newark, May 13 and 14, and persons of fame have been asked to the annual dinner on the first day of the convention. Tennessee will hold its annual convention in Knoxville, May 7-9.

IN a seven-day membership drive the Waterbury (Connecticut) League acquired 173 new members, almost doubling its enrollment. New Leagues have been organized in Griswold, Berlin, Madison, and West Haven, and the Hamden League has been reorganized.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

Some Facts About Suffrage

ON March 10 General Primo de Rivera of Spain granted municipal franchise and eligibility to Spanish women heads of families above the age of twenty-three. It is calculated that this will give 1,250,000 women the vote.

Mysore, India, has also granted women the vote. On April 10, 1923, the Legislative Council gave its unanimous approval to the proposal for suffrage, and it was only necessary to have the Maharajah and his government approve it. Last autumn the Maharajah decreed the constitutional amendment, which is only now being put into effect.

In the Union of South Africa, a woman suffrage bill has been passed. The qualifications, however, have not yet been fixed, though a Commission for that purpose is appointed.

On the other hand, the suffrage cause has had a backset in Italy. On December 7, 1923, a bill was introduced in the Italian Parliament for women's admission to the administrative franchise, but in January Parliament was dissolved, and the bill consequently died.

Our suffrage information comes from the *International Woman Suffrage News*.

A Tribute to Woodrow Wilson

MME. DE WITT SCHLUMBERGER, President of the French Union for Woman Suffrage, sends us an interesting clipping from *La Française*, telling of the tribute recently paid by French suffragists to the memory of Woodrow Wilson, at a memorial service in which several organizations cooperated. The tribute was signed by four organizations of women. They recalled the deep joy with which French women welcomed Mr. Wilson at the end of the war, seeing in him and in his great idea of the League of Nations the fulfilment of a dream of world peace and safety. That dream they see already in realization through the work of the League, of which Mr. Wilson was the inspiration. They recalled, too, Mr. Wilson's welcome to the French women who went to him on Armistice Day, offering gratitude and admiration from the women of France, and receiving his expressions of hope that the rights of citizenship would be conferred upon them at once.

The testimonial concludes: "The spirit of America is our spirit also. But to those who mourn President Wilson and render him homage there remains

Calendar

Eighth Biennial National Convention of the Y. W. C. A.—April 30 to May 5, New York City.

Fourth Biennial Congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom—May 1-17, Washington, D. C.

International Women's Congress—May 20-27, Copenhagen, for the boards and standing committees of the International Council of Women.

Seventh Biennial Convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs—June 2-13, Los Angeles, California.

Ninth Biennial Convention of the National Trade Union League of America—June 16-21, New York City.

an imperative duty—that of carrying on his work for peace and international cooperation."

A. P. S. on Citizenship

AS a postscript to "Married Women's Citizenship," which appeared in the last issue, comes the word that the governments of Norway and Sweden are bringing before their respective Parliaments bills to give certain rights to women to retain their nationality on marriage to a foreigner.

The D. A. R.

THE Daughters of the American Revolution met for their thirty-third congress April 14-19, at Continental Hall, Washington, D. C. President Coolidge addressed the congress, calling upon the women to vote at all elections. Mrs. Mabel Walker Willebrandt, assistant attorney general; J. J. Jusserand, Ambassador from France, and Sir Esme Howard, Ambassador from Great Britain, also spoke. The D. A. R. has taken a strong stand on law enforcement, particularly prohibition, and favors taking the prohibition personnel out of politics. Resolutions were passed to establish a school of diplomacy in Washington; to arrange for the George Washington bi-centennial in 1932; the restoration of Fort Niagara in New York State; the rescue of the United States Frigate *Hartford*. The congress stands for a preparedness policy, and highly commends Secretary Hughes for his persistent stand against recognition of Soviet Russia.

Dr. Patrick Resigns

DR. MARY MILLS PATRICK, founder of the Constantinople Women's College and for thirty-four years its president, has resigned and is returning to this country at the end of the academic year. Her record of fifty-three years of service in the Near

East is the longest in American educational work there.

Miss Kathryn Newell Adams, a graduate of Oberlin and Radcliffe, will succeed Dr. Patrick.

A Jewelry Design Contest

A SCHOLARSHIP prize of one thousand dollars is offered by Cartier, famous jeweler, under the auspices of the Art Center in New York, to the American art student—man or woman—who submits the best jewelry design. The scholarship entitles the winner to study abroad along the lines indicated by his talent.

The purpose of the scholarship is to stimulate original designs and to bring America to its rightful place in industrial art achievements.

Civil Service Openings

THE United States Civil Service Commission is filling vacancies in Saint Elizabeth's Hospital, Washington, D. C., for assistant chief, dietitian, and social aide, with salaries of \$1,860 to \$2,400 a year, \$1,500 to \$1,860 a year and \$1,500 to \$1,860 a year respectively. Applications must be in by May 20. Further details can be had from the United States Civil Service Commission, Washington, D. C., or the secretary of the board of United States civil service examiners at the post office or custom house in any city.

In the Cooperative Movement

THE old city of Ghent will be the scene this summer of the great Co-operative and Social Welfare Exhibition, a living demonstration of the growth and progress of the Co-operative movement throughout the world. Of the many Co-operative events to be held in connection with it will be the International Conference of Co-operative Guildswomen.

These Guildswomen are working-class mothers banded together in their common capacity as consumers and wage spenders who act through the Co-operative Movement to bring about a better social era and who, realizing the value of cooperation in the smaller spheres, are determined to carry its wholesome principle, "All for each and each for all," into the bigger sphere of world relations.

Their aim is to ensure the welfare and the peace of the world even as the Co-operative Movement has ensured the welfare of the community wherever its principles have been carried out, so that

nations may trade together without profit making or competition.

Their International Guild is to further this aim.

The International Cooperative Women's Conference promises to be the most representative gathering of working women ever yet held, and it is earnestly hoped that arising from this Conference a permanent International Cooperative Women's Guild will be established.

Interested readers are asked to communicate with the Secretary, Miss A. Honora Enfield, 29 Winchester Road, Hampstead, London, N. W. 3, England, who will gladly reply to inquiries or send literature to interested readers.—

K. E. T.

About the League of Nations

THE League of Nations Non-Partisan Association has a set of sixty lantern slides and a lecture manuscript describing the organization and activities of the League of Nations and the Permanent Court of International Justice which it will gladly loan to any organization or person for five dollars and postage charges. Mr. Jonathan A. Rawson, Jr., 18 East Thirty-seventh Street, New York, is taking applications.

Mrs. Pennybacker Appointed

MRS. PERCY V. PENNYBACKER has recently been appointed, by Governor Neff, a member of the Citizenship Commission of Texas. This commission is a part of the National Commission formed by President Harding.

Facing Toward Parliament

MISS OLGA NETHERSOLE, the actress, is reported to have announced her intention to stand for Parliament at the earliest opportunity. So far her political party has not been stated, nor whether she would stand at a by-election or wait for a general election. Her platform will be food, housing and education.

Britain's Legitimacy Bill

IN Great Britain a bill to render a child legitimate on subsequent marriage of the parents has passed most of its stages in the House of Lords, and a second bill of the same kind has passed its second reading in the House of Commons.—*International Woman Suffrage Alliance News.*

The Only Woman Delegate

THE American Institute of Electrical Engineers, which was held recently, has but one woman delegate. She is Miss Edith Clark, a transmission expert, of Schenectady, New York.

In Turkey

THOUGH Turkey has no women lawyers at present, the prospects are bright. That is, they are bright in so far

as the ability of women to practice law is concerned—it remains to be seen whether the privilege will be granted them. According to the *Vote*, twenty-four Moslem women are enrolled in the Law Department of the University of Stamboul.

General Federation Notes

By Lessie Stringfellow Read

MRS. CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT will be the one and only speaker for Citizenship Evening, Thursday, June 12, at the Los Angeles Biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, chairman of the American Citizenship department in the General Federation, will preside at the sessions on Citizenship Day and also at the Citizenship Department luncheon, at which Mrs. Catt will be guest of honor.

Other probable speakers on the Citizenship Day programs will be Mrs. J. C. Pearson, Marshall, Oklahoma, chairman of Americanization; Mrs. William R. Alvord, Detroit, Mich., chairman of Citizenship Training; Mrs. Harry Lilly, New York City, chairman of Motion Pictures, and Mrs. George W. Plummer, Chicago, chairman of Community Service.

MRS. JOHN H. RUHL, of Wheeling, W. Va., formerly director in the General Federation from her state, and chairman of the membership committee, was recently made the first woman member of a city council in West Virginia. While Mrs. Ruhl is a Republican, the Democratic papers came out strongly in favor of her accepting this honor, which was thrust upon her during an absence from the city.

Mrs. Ruhl is a native of Connecticut, a graduate of Mt. Holyoke College. She came to West Virginia thirty years ago. Since then she has had diversified interests. The suffrage victory in West Virginia was largely due to her persistent and efficient generalship. During her presidency of the West Virginia Federation, clubs experienced unprecedented growth. She has been president of the State League of Women Voters, was War Time Conservation Chairman, and has served faithfully and well as General Federation state secretary, General Federation director, and membership chairman.

THE Maryland Federation of Women's Clubs held its silver jubilee at Frederick, April 22-24, with Mrs. J. F. Sippel, of Baltimore, presiding, and Mrs. M. Weisenfeld, of Windsor Hills, serving as secretary.

PRESIDENT COOLIDGE has signified his accord with plans for Poppy Day, to be held in connection

with Memorial Day celebration, and Mrs. Thomas G. Winter, president of the General Federation, heartily approves participation of club women in "the wearing of the poppy" on Memorial Day "when we, as a nation, pay tribute to the dead of the World War." G. W. Leffingwell, 32 Union Square, New York, is giving publicity to the Poppy Day movement, and information may be had either from him or from Louis H. L. Fellows, Kansas City, Kan. Mr. Leffingwell writes: "Every poppy used in the official observance of Poppy Day is the handiwork of disabled soldiers, and the entire proceeds from the sale are to be devoted to the relief fund for disabled veterans and their families." For this reason, club women are asked to make their poppy purchases from representatives of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

What Women Voters Want

(Continued from page 11)

spoke. There was the one on "State Administration" which Mrs. Gardiner reports in the *Woman Voter*. There was an exciting mass meeting scheduled for the last night, where William Allen White, Bruce Bliven and David Lawrence discussed "The Political Scene." Other busy, talkative dinners and receptions and luncheons and breakfasts filled in all the chinks. And there was a banquet that was a thing of sparkling brilliancy and beauty—gleaming with white damask and tall candlesticks, aglow with lovely massed poppies. Across one end of the great golden ballroom was as brilliant a row of women as could be assembled. There were the Buffalo hostesses; the League officials, with Mrs. Catt fairly regal in white and Mrs. Park radiant in blue; Harriet Taylor Upton, chief Republican woman; Emily Newell Blair, chief of Democratic women; several from the list of "twelve greatest"; Commissioner Helen Gardener, and Commandant Mary Allen, the London policewoman, her trig mannish uniform in striking contrast to the colorful evening gowns.

A MERE man, besides those officials and professors who had consented to appear on the program, strayed in one morning—Joe Chappell, writer and lecturer, he was—and asked leave to tell what he thought of the League. He had heard Mrs. Catt speak the day before—and he indulged in a millennium dream of a Congress made up of such as she. He had heard clean-cut argument from the floor, short, crisp, pointed, on half a dozen important subjects, and he had acquired the conviction that this intelligent, competent interest of women in their government, their citizenship, is the hope of the future. And it may safely be said that, in addition to such intelligence, this League "has brains it

hasn't used yet," but will use in full measure as it develops.

(The convention was not ended when the printer rang the bell. The resolutions in full and "more convention" will appear in the next *Woman Voter*.)

Democratic Candidate

(Continued from page 9)

public interest. Wage increases have been reduced without reduction in freight and passenger rates, which have placed a great burden upon agriculture. The management of the roads returned to private control has been inefficient, incompetent and wasteful, with a return to the tremendous duplication which was somewhat eliminated under the wartime unification. American railroads today, he thinks, are archaic and should be modernized by electrification and modern equipment.

But the crux of the matter is that, in view of all his experience in government control, he is not ready to state that he believes government ownership of the railroads is the wisest solution. Instead he says, "An earnest effort should be made to secure railroad reform, preserving the principle of private operation, but under a more effective federal regulation. If that fails, after a final test, the alternative of government ownership may become inevitable."

In the matter of the tariff, he considers the present law, the Fordney-McCumber tariff, an "economic abortion." He has stated that he believes it sets up an absurd theory of isolation, while it soaks the American farmers at home and denies them remunerative trade abroad.

Your correspondent has at hand today a book, hardly off the press and to be on the market May 1, written about McAdoo by Mary Synon, published at Indianapolis by the Bobbs-Merrill Company. It is recommended to those who want to carry this study into further detail, with one exception, that it presents consistently but one side of the picture, that of the perfect Greek God of politics.

This book undoubtedly was timed for political purposes. But you and I know that neither President Coolidge, McAdoo, Senator Underwood, Governor Smith or any of the twenty-three others is truly perfect and unsung, never having had the praise he deserves. The angels will be bored by campaign literature of zealous friends of candidates for the presidency. What the country wants to know can be said in a few words.

Is the candidate a man of sterling character?

Has he extraordinary ability to fill an extraordinary position?

Has he the confidence of the public?

Is he willing to cooperate with the nation he serves rather than lord over it?

Is he actuated by high principles?

Is he forward-looking?

In summing up her measure of the man Mary Synon leaves the reader the following picture in behalf of proponents:

"Every man of distinction has a dominant characteristic which determines the tenor of his decisions. In McAdoo the quality was an understanding human sympathy, which rose above his other evinced and salient characteristics as definitely and as high as the monument looms over Washington. It is almost safe to say that this quality was the fundamental determinant in every grave decision he made during his secretaryship. It is a judicial quality, which kept his judgment suspended until both sides of the case had been heard. . . . His heart never ran away with his head. . . . but the gift, or burden, of seeing the world's troubles with eyes which seek to find ease for the troubled was the pack which Mr. McAdoo carried into public life.

"Out of it came his reactions to the vital issues of the time. The driving of vested financial interests from the Treasury, the Federal Reserve Act, the Farm Loans, the tariff legislation, the war risk insurance, and adjusted compensation for soldiers and sailors, the general orders on the railroads—the hundred and one points of legislation and administration touching the lives of the average men and women of the country—came

from his passionately determined sense of justice for the crowd."

In behalf of the opponents—nothing of the kind. Mr. McAdoo is a king of politicians and a business man. He knows how to handle his formal entry into presidential politics better than any man who has appeared up to date. He was favored during his railroad and Treasury connections with a war congress controlled by his own party. The men collaborating with him had been appointed by President Wilson as members of a close family group. It was easier for him to get results then, and obtain large credit, than it would have been to put through a village monument bill, had Congress been under the domination of the Republican party. His assertion that the country can find the money to pay a soldier bonus for service in the late war was looked upon as unfounded judgment, for Mr. McAdoo has coupled this with the statement that he believes taxes can be reduced at the same time. Foremost economists take exception to this statement.

The Bookshelf



By
M. A

THE saying is attributed to Pierre Curie that "in science one should be interested in things, not persons." Therein is science diametrically opposed to literature, for in great prose, as in great poetry, it is the people who matter supremely.

It is the people who are of highest interest in Madame Curie's biography of her husband, and autobiography of herself, just translated into English by Charlotte and Vernon Kellogg.

Pierre Curie was a man of great simplicity and sincerity, absolutely devoted to the science to which he gave his life, gentle, shunning publicity, seeking no reward for his labors, a man of almost mystical devotion to his ideal. Madame Curie, who adored him, writes of his life with a grave simplicity and a dignified restraint that are as charming as they are rare. She tells her own story only a little less formally. Her description of the discovery and isolation of radium, of the marvel of its properties, the difficulties of obtaining it, and the development of its infinite uses is fascinating even to the lay reader. Her account of her war work and of her trip to America to receive the precious gift of American women brings a lump to one's throat. She is so great a person, and so humble.

It was just this lack of humility, and failure in devotion to what he knew to be his genius, that overthrew Fernando

Nash, the musician hero-victim of Edward Arlington Robinson's new poem, "*The Man Who Died Twice*." He was a man who "had it, once," who was "a giant among fewer than half your fingers of Jubal's clan." But he could not wait. He would not undergo the sacrifice, privation, lack of recognition, and tireless work, and so he lost it before it bore its destined fruit, and in the knowledge that he had lost it he suffered terribly. It is a theme that has something of the eternal, and its writing is worthy of it. Mr. Robinson has achieved that perfect blend of poetry and narrative for which he struggled less successfully in "*Roman Bartholow*." Master of suggestion, of complex psychology, of grave and unknown beauty, he has fused them all with the story he tells.

Algernon Blackwood's name is almost a synonym for weird and fantastic tales of the mysterious and the spiritual. His new "*Episodes Before Thirty*" describes the soil which nourished his unusual talents. It is the story of his life from twenty to thirty, in Toronto, in the slums of New York, and the backwoods of Canada. Brought up in a devoutly evangelical atmosphere, he was a singularly "green" young man. It scarcely seems possible that anyone could know so little of the world he had lived in for twenty years. It is no wonder that he lost his inheritance; the marvel is that he managed to keep his life in a world

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*Straight
inside line*



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Better Foot
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so utterly alien and so hostile to his spirit. The book contains fascinating and dreadful accounts of a reporter's life in New York of the 90's. It has charm and sincerity, and a certain poignant reality of spiritual suffering that lifts it above most autobiographies.

"*Somewhere at Sea*" is a group of the last short stories of John Fleming Wilson, whose early death has saddened reading folk with a hankering for salt water. His ships are mostly run by steam, so that his stories lack both the puzzle and the fascination of sentences full of jibs and staysails. But that does not mean any loss in interest. According to Mr. Wilson, a ship is no less a living thing because her power is below her decks. His steamers have the human qualities that only true sea lovers know. They struggle, serve loyally and take part in gallant adventures, and he loves them so well that he imparts even to land-lubbers a sense of their lives and their tragedies.

M. A.

Pierre Curie, Macmillan, 1924. \$2.25.
The Man Who Died Twice, Macmillan, 1924. \$1.25.
Episodes Before Thirty, Dutton, 1924. \$3.00.
Somewhere at Sea, Dutton, 1924. \$2.00.

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Is Suffrage Failing?

(Continued from page 17)

vote for either one party or the other, as their party inclinations dictate.

"Not sufficient time has elapsed since suffrage was granted for the women to have influenced political parties for the better or the worse. Again, in the smaller communities the women vote for the man rather than for the party, and the politicians are putting up the candidates who will improve conditions from the women's point of view.

"We need somehow to give women an added sense of their importance as citizens. Up to the present time, I can see no evidence that the woman's vote has made any difference either among the people or in the country at large. Why? Because they have not in the mass voted.

"Naturally, I would not like to give up my vote. None of us like to give up a thing we have acquired. For many years, as referee in bankruptcy and now as vice-president of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers' Co-operative Trust Company, I have worked with men, and I do not find that my being a recognized citizen with the right to vote

makes any particular difference in their attitude toward me. In ordinary, daily contact neither they nor I think of it. Were I deprived of it, however, I might notice some change. On the whole, personally, aside from business, I feel a stronger tie to both people and events as a voting citizen."

(Interviewed by Rene Gibbs)

A Line on the Movies

By Laura L. Laedlein

GENTLE JULIA—This is Booth Tarkington's novel of family life. *Gentle Julia* is the adolescent charmer and small-town belle, who escapes complete self-satisfaction by seeing herself in the startling mirror of metropolitan living. A city man who cruelly turns out to be married, a practical and sophisticated little niece, and an impractical and unsophisticated village lover are the mild means of her reform. Bessie Love is the too gentle *Julia*, and Harold Goodwin the swain who mentally falls over his own feet. Any age's fun, and lots of it. A Fox picture, directed by Rowland V. Lee.

THE DARLING OF NEW YORK—Melodrama centering in smuggled jewels and a lost heiress, with interesting characters following a trail of lively action through the East Side to the millionaire's comfortable back yard. "Baby Peggy" fills pretty well the part of *Santusa*, and makes a captivating little immigrant. Children will like it. A Universal picture, directed by King Baggot.

THE NEXT CORNER—This is an entertaining story of the little married moth who flutters inquisitively around the candle-flame of illicit romance, with deft direction in refreshingly good taste. It is cleverly acted by Dorothy Mackaill, with Conway Tearle and Lon Chaney. No interest for children. A Paramount picture, directed by Sam Wood.

SHADOWS OF PARIS—The play "Mon Homme," by Andre Picard and Francis Carco, made into a picture of the traditional Apache underworld of Paris. A melodramatic plot-line, extravagantly played. Pola Negri as *The Blackbird*, Café Boule queen with an Avenue Martigny alias. No special interest for children, and too lurid, anyway. A Paramount picture, directed by Herbert Brenon.

THE COUNTRY FLAPPER—Dorothy Gish and Glenn Hunter clowning it through a sort of heavy parody of village life. The story is of stolen church funds and puppy love, also stolen. And the manner touches low farce, where Dorothy Gish is at home and Glenn Hunter is not. Children will make literal comedy of it, to no harm. A Dorothy Gish Productions picture, from a story by Nalbro Bartley, and directed by F. Richard Jones.

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The *Woman Citizen* will give the following cash prizes for the best essays on *Is Woman Suffrage a Success or Failure in Your Town—Why?* written by girl students in any High School or Private School of same standing:

First Prize, \$50.00 Second Prize, \$25.00 Third Prize, \$10.00

The essays must be from 600 to 1,000 words in length.

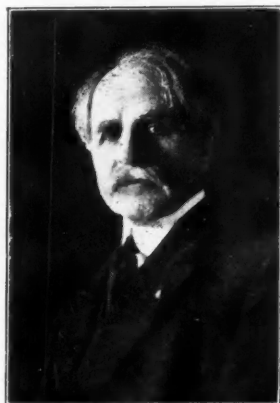
The writer must not sign her essay, but her name and address and the name of the principal of the school must be placed in a sealed envelope accompanying the manuscript.

Essays must reach the office of the *Woman Citizen* by June 15, 1924.

Judges: Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, Miss Olive M. Jones, Dr. Schuyler C. Wallace.

During this contest special class room rates of 5 cents per copy will be given for ten copies or more of the *Woman Citizen* sent to one address.

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Robert Roe
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Your Investments

By Eleanor Kerr

Miss Kerr is on a new tack this time—explaining electrical industries, not for the purpose of general information, but to give you a perspective on them from the point of view of investment.

SINCE Benjamin Franklin and his kite, electricity has been known as a source of power to scientists, but it was not until about forty years ago that the first central station for the distribution of electrical power was built.

Today electricity has become a matter of course and its power is used to produce electric lights and to run our factories and street railways. A tremendous amount of capital is invested in these enterprises, totaling about five and a half billions of dollars in the light and power industry and as much again in street railways.

Lighting is the form of electrical energy most in evidence, but over nine times as much electrical energy is used for power as goes into lighting.

Most of this development has taken place in the past twenty years, during which time the amount of electricity produced by central stations has increased fifteen times over. This has been accompanied by a great decrease in the cost of manufacturing this energy. At the beginning of that time the average cost of generating power by steam and hydro-electric plants was $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents a kilowatt hour, while it is now about $1\frac{1}{4}$ cents. This has been accomplished during a period of rising prices for almost every commodity, especially coal and labor.

One of the principal factors in this lowering of costs has been the use of waterpower for the production of elec-

tricity and today over one-third of all electricity sold is generated in hydro-electric plants. Under favorable conditions as much as 90 per cent of the energy in a waterfall may be converted into power.

The use of the modern steam turbine has caused a great increase in the efficiency of the steam generating plants, while the improvements in the transmission of high voltages make it possible to place the central power-producing station nearer the coal fields when this is advantageous.

Hydro-electric plants require very little labor to run or maintain, thus making for great savings in operations. They usually consist of a powerhouse which forms part of the dam that holds back the water producing the fall. It is this fall itself which supplies the energy that is transmuted into electrical power. In 1920 these plants, which utilize the force of falling water, saved us the equivalent of twenty-five million tons of coal. To mine and transport this amount of coal would have required the services of about 70,000 men.

With steam plants, depending on coal for their sources of energy, the coal burned is consumed and cannot be used again; but the water power of a hydro-electric plant continues to flow.

There has been a tremendous increase in the amount of electricity used, and today the average person uses about twelve times as much as he did twenty

years ago. Great strides are still being made in the use of power and yet a large part of our population is even now not directly served. The increasing demands for electric power are greater than the existing plants can supply, and it is estimated that at least two billions of dollars will be expended in the next five years or so for new generating stations, transmission lines and distributing systems.

There are many high-grade bonds and preferred stocks outstanding which are the obligations of companies whose principal business is the distributing of electricity in some form or another. Those securities which are based on hydro-electric power are probably the most desirable, owing to the low operating cost.

Washington

(Continued from page 8)

left dissatisfaction and unpleasantness, even though Ambassador Hanihara has disclaimed any intention of intimation of serious consequences of such legislation.

Secretary Slep at the White House gave oratorical joy to Democrats this week with his announcement that President Coolidge would have to refrain from shaking hands with all the visiting delegations at the White House. Senator Heflin, of Alabama, made great note of this, thought it was a shame, and so on. As a matter of fact, all the sensible person would have to do would be to walk around the streets of Washington and observe the badges of delegates from this and the other convention to know that no one man, even had he nothing else to do, could undertake to shake hands with them all. We might agree that the alternative picture which Secretary Slep arranged of having these delegates file through the private office of the President and gaze upon him as he bent over his desk at work, without lifting his head, or otherwise indicating that he was aware of the parade six feet away from him, has elements of queer-ness and humor. What if some enthusiastic delegate were to forget himself and call out, "Lafayette, we are here!"

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee next week will begin hearings on the proposals for American membership in the Permanent Court of International Justice, to be presided over by a special committee, of which Senator George Wharton Pepper, Pennsylvania, will be chairman. This is the first step on the part of the Senate Committee since the proposal of President Harding took definite shape. In the meantime, the committee has received from the Senate other legislation embodying the same idea, and lately several requests from proponent organizations for public hearings on the subject. The tentative date of April 30 has been decided upon by Senator Pepper for beginning. Among the organizations that have asked to be

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heard are the Federal Council of Churches, the Non-Partisan League of Nations Association and the Association of University Women. Those who want to follow these hearings will be obliged to keep closely in touch with the special committee, for there is no official way by which announcements of committee dates are made.

Senator Lodge is now in possession of a petition signed by 35,000 women of Iowa urging favorable action upon the world court legislation. In the House, Representative Moore, Democrat, of Virginia, has introduced a resolution which would put the House on record as in favor of the participation of the United States in the court. It would be an interesting coincidence if the hearings were well established during the coming convention of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which is to be held in Washington from May 1 to 7.

There have been several interesting asides in Congress during the fortnight. Senator Lodge has put an amendment in the deficiency appropriations bill to cover the erection in Washington of a building which will be suitable for a National Gallery of Art, for which there has been wide and hearty approval. Senator Lodge's son is well known among art lovers as the able Curator of the Freer Art Gallery recently opened at the capital. The Freer Gallery presumably would be affiliated with the National Gallery should the proposition succeed. Senator McKellar, on the other side of the chamber, has just formulated and introduced legislation particularly timely—namely to prohibit corporations and firms from contributing to congressional and presidential campaigns, also limiting contributions from individuals and candidates. The financial side of political campaigns would be an astounding revelation if it were fully written. Senator Walsh of Massachusetts would go a step farther and prohibit large contributions to campaign deficits by organizations or candidates, or individuals who might be seeking to obligate political parties. Such an intention, patently, is never on paper but the results of it are a matter of record. It is a simple thing to take a list of large contributors and afterward find some of the same names prominent in lists of appointees, the most likely distribution of the moneyed contributors appearing among the new ministers and ambassadors. Note also the resolution introduced in the House by Representative Dyer, Missouri, Republican, proposing a full investigation by the House Judiciary Committee of prohibition enforcement.

The Senate has not yet recovered from the shock of the President's emphatic message transmitting the protest of Secretary Mellon at the private employment by Senator Couzens, Republican, Michigan, of Francis J. Heney, of Cali-

fornia, as prosecutor for his committee investigating the Internal Revenue Bureau. Senator Carter Glass characterized the President's admonition as an "unprecedented assault upon the integrity of the Senate." At the same time, Senator Glass defended Secretary Mellon as an outstanding figure of the administration. Senator Glass told the Senate that he did not believe the investigation of the Internal Revenue Bureau would produce anything reflecting upon the integrity of the Secretary. Democrats were quick to call the incident the "breach" between the Executive and Congress. Many at the capital, on the other hand, were glad to see the President take so decided a stand upon a precedent which certainly opened the way for a flock of high-priced prosecutors from all over the country to the capital.

The child labor constitutional amendment has made a little headway. The House Rules Committee reported a special rule for its consideration and the Judiciary Committee in the Senate has favorably reported the legislation. Over in the House, too, Representative Upshaw has dropped a bill into the hopper for the popular election of cabinet officers. And the House again has refused to insert a provision in the annual agricultural appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture for the free distribution by congressmen of seeds.

A cross section of the day's business on the hill! Police Commissioner Enright came down from New York a few days ago to appear before the House Judiciary Committee and urge the creation of a national police bureau to check the crime wave. The French "Truth-in-Fabrics" bill in the House has been vigorously opposed by manufacturers who intimate that even laboratory experts disagree as to the woolen content of materials and that it would be almost impossible to establish standards. This is no news to women.

The House Education Committee has heard a long file of opponents to the Sterling-Reed bill providing for a Federal Department of Education, the latest being President Frank J. Goodnow, of Johns Hopkins University, who argued that such a Department would "throw the whole field of education into national politics."

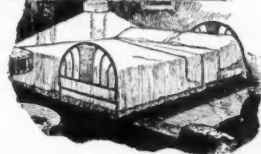
Such bills as these, however, will only go on to the next Congress. And the complexion of that future assembly is much in question. Your correspondent heard a well-versed observer say the other day that he expected the next Congress to be Democratic in majority even though the country elected a Republican President. But that opens a line of observation which we can leave to a later letter.

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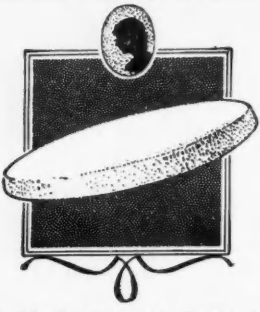
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Flesh Wounds

First Aid in the Home, No. 1

By Gulielma F. Alsop

Perhaps readers who have shown great interest in Dr. Alsop's articles will be interested to know that they are bringing her many letters asking for more information along the lines of her subjects and advice on personal questions. There will be more articles in the present series on "First Aid to the Injured."

THE essential principles of medicine and surgery are astonishingly simple. The entire treatment of injuries depends upon the knowledge of a very few laws of bodily repair and immunity. The mother of a family ought to grasp these principles.

The first principle of repair and the prevention of infection is a scrupulous cleanliness. If a child falls and barks his shin, appearing at the kitchen door with a grubby face and a blood-stained stocking, with a fine mosaic of black dirt stippled into the skin, the one essential thing to do is to clean the skinned place. Theoretically the Spartan mother spreads out the child on its back on the kitchen table and takes a clean nail brush or flesh brush, a basin of very hot water and pure soap, and scrubs the open sore until every last tiny particle of dirt is removed. If the scrubbing encourages a moderate bleeding, that also tends to carry away any particles of dirt.

In actual practice, few children, if any mothers, will stand this Spartan treatment. A modification of severity in accordance with the necessities of human frailty dictates the substitution of some more gentle scrubbing instrument, as a piece of gauze, a clean wash cloth, some cotton, and an entire slowing down of the vigorous process of cleansing. But by whatever process, the abrasion must be washed sufficiently and repeatedly until all the dirt visible to the naked eye is removed. After the wound is cleaned, dry it with a soft, clean towel. When it is dry, swab it once, thoroughly and very quickly, with tincture of iodine. The wound is then clean and sterile and ready for immediate healing.

If such a wound could be kept both clean and exposed to the air and sunlight, no dressing would be needed. The purpose of a dressing is merely to prevent contamination and the entrance of dirt through the open skin. A piece of sterile gauze soaked in alcohol (the alco-rub supplied at the drug store will do) is the ideal aseptic dressing.

In actual practice, however, if there is no sign of infection, it is wise to apply a simple ointment, as boric acid ointment out of a flexible tube, in order to prevent the dressing from sticking and pulling off the new skin when it is removed. The ointment should not be spread on with the fingers, but with a

cotton stick. After the ointment is applied a bandage must be put on to keep the dressing in place. Some parts of the human anatomy, especially in active children, are very inauspicious for bandaging. In order to prevent slipping, the bandage can be held in place with narrow strips of adhesive plaster, stretching from the top of the bandage to the child's skin.

There is no need to change the dressing frequently. If the child complains of pain, or soreness, or tenderness, remove the dressing and inspect the wound. If the wound has been severe, even without the presence of infection, there will be a moderate degree of redness about the edges of the abrasion, but the surface will look perfectly clean. If with this redness there is much swelling or a yellowish secretion, infection has taken place. Then take the child to a doctor at once. Do not do anything yourself except to apply a fresh dressing.

The skin is one of the body's greatest protections against disease. It covers one from head to foot with a magic, germ-proof armor. Only when an opening has been made in the skin is there a chance of blood poisoning.

The danger from wounds that tear the skin is twofold, tetanus (or lockjaw) and blood poisoning. The scrupulous cleansing described is to remove any germs that may have been ground into the open blood vessels at the time of wounding. A flat surface cut is generally easy to clean. A deep, punctured wound, as one made from stepping on a nail or the tooth of a rake, is very hard to sterilize. In the case of such a wound the child should be taken to the doctor at once and anti-tetanic serum administered. In some localities, where lockjaw is fairly common, all wounds that tear the skin and have been made by farm implements which have come into contact with the soil, especially with well-manured soil (in which the tetanus germ flourishes), should be shown to the doctor. It is too late to wait until symptoms develop. In the case of a deep-punctured wound the part, after the scrubbing and cleansing, should be soaked twenty minutes in hot salt water (one teaspoonful in two glassfuls).

For all wounds that break the skin, then: first, rigorous cleanliness; second, a protective dressing, and, in the case of the deep punctured wound, the doctor.

The Woman Citizen

Volume VIII

MAY 17, 1924

Number 26

News Notes of the Fortnight

Summed up from many sources

The Japanese Question

THE effort which President Coolidge made to temper the winds of exclusion to the Japanese has been defeated by the House. As Mrs. Stokes says (page 7), the President wanted a postponement until March 1, 1926, of the exclusion clause in the immigration bill, recently passed by both houses of Congress; but compromised on a year earlier. The arrangement included a provision that he should meantime negotiate with the Japanese a treaty abrogating the gentlemen's agreement, so saving the feelings of the Japanese by letting them shut the door on themselves instead of having it slammed in their faces. Such an agreement between conferees of House and Senate and the President was returned to the House and rejected by a vote of 189 to 174. And for once the rejection was not due to the Republican insurgents, most of whom voted "regular." Twenty-three Republicans did, however, join with the Democrats to defeat the compromise, and the solid South lined up with the anti-Japanese Pacific Coast.

The conferees then, having no choice, agreed again to make the exclusion section effective July 1, 1924; this new report will go to the House again, then to the Senate—and then will the President veto it?

And if he does, will that be his second or third exercise of the veto power? The Bursum pension bill was his first, and the bonus bill is somewhere on the way to a probably similar fate.

The Budget Saves the Day

THE British Labor Government's first budget scored a success and momentarily checked the growing break between the Liberals and Labor. Its presentation was dramatically appealing—since the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Philip Snowden, has been an invalid for many years, and the delivery of his long, brilliant, intricate speech taxed his frail strength almost to exhaustion. The plan was free from the extreme social-

istic features that had been feared; it lifted the taxes on food—halved the tax on tea and more than halved it on sugar—to the relief of the poor, without imposing heavy new burdens on the rich. Not only was industry in general not taxed more heavily, but the corporation excess profits tax was removed. The Liberals were pleased by the removal of certain protective duties—which, however, forms a fighting issue for the Tories, especially in the case of the McKenna duties on foreign automobiles.

Relations between Labor and Liberals, united in sympathy by the former's recognition of free trade, became strained again when the Liberals proposed a proportional representation bill, which would, in the technicalities of its operation, have worked to the advantage of Liberals in elections. Labor didn't care for the Liberals' tone, considered they were facing an ultimatum and helped the Conservatives to defeat the measure.

Taxes

ON May 10 the Senate passed the tax bill by a vote of 69 to 15, with the original Mellon plan pretty well obscured by Democratic and insurgent Republican features. The House, it will be recalled, under the leadership of Representative Longworth, passed compromise rates; but the Senate Finance Committee restored the Mellon rates. These the Senate overthrew, and the measure passed with several features of which the President strongly disapproves—the Democratic income tax schedules, a graduated corporation tax and an amendment providing for full publicity of tax returns. A veto is altogether possible, to be followed by a special session of Congress, or perhaps by a submission of the problem to the voters as a campaign issue.

Fifteen Republicans voted against the bill, all except Senator Norris being Administration men. All the other insurgent Republicans joined the Democrats in voting for it.

To review the more important income tax provisions of the two measures—

House and Senate: Both bills provide for a 2 per cent tax on incomes of \$4,000 and under. The House measure calls for a 5 per cent tax on incomes between \$4,000 and \$8,000, while the Senate figure is 4 per cent. The House surtax rates start with $\frac{1}{2}$ per cent at \$10,000, and graduate up to $37\frac{1}{2}$ per cent at \$200,000, while the Senate surtax rate starts at 1 per cent on \$10,000 and graduates up to 40 per cent at \$500,000.

The Mellon rates were 3 per cent on incomes of \$4,000 and under; 6 per cent on incomes between \$4,000 and \$8,000; reduction of surtax rates, to begin on incomes of \$10,000 instead of \$6,000, and be scaled upward until they reach 25 per cent at \$100,000.

The differences between the House and Senate bills lie not only in the income tax schedules, but in the inclusion in the Senate measure of the corporation tax (the Jones amendment) which imposes a flat tax of 9 per cent on corporation earnings and taxes undistributed earnings above 10 per cent on a graduated basis running up to 40 per cent; publicity of returns; and estate taxes.

The two agree on (1) A cut of 25 per cent on all income taxes payable this year; (2) a reduction of 25 per cent on earned incomes, as distinguished from incomes from inheritance and investment, though the House sets \$20,000 as the maximum earned income to which this is applicable, and the Senate sets \$10,000. Neither measure is thorough in its distinction between earned and unearned incomes, but the principle is recognized.

The New York *Evening Post* prints a table showing the tax payable by a married man with no dependents under the present law, the House bill and the Senate bill. Here it is, in part, with the addition of the Mellon plan rates:

Net Income	Present Law	House	Senate	Mellon
\$3,000	\$20	\$7.50	\$7.50	\$11.25
4,000	60	22.50	22.50	33.75
5,000	100	37.50	37.50	56.24
10,000	520	265.00	207.50	337.50
20,000	1,720	1,165.00	1,017.50	1,237.50
30,000	3,520	2,515.00	2,317.50	2,637.50
50,000	8,640	6,190.00	6,137.50	6,637.50

A Weapon Against Pneumonia

AN anti-pneumonia vaccine has been developed by Dr. Lloyd B. Felton, at Harvard, which, it is expected, may cut the death rate by at least 25 or 50 per cent; and pneumonia averages 90,000 victims a year in this country. The new antibody has already been used on more than a hundred cases. This discovery is the outgrowth of five years of work, organized by the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company of New York after the influenza epidemic of 1918. A company of research workers in pneumonia and influenza came together for research; no direct progress has been made against influenza, but the new discovery has enormous value in connection with that disease which so often develops into pneumonia.

Dr. Felton, a Johns Hopkins graduate, only thirty-two, has been working at Harvard since the fall of 1922—one of those young scientists who, like the discoverer of insulin, are making splendid contributions to human life and health.

Germany's Election

ON May 4 the German republic held an election. The issues presented involved a decision on acceptance or rejection of the Dawes program, and the general result was to endorse it. A great central bloc, consisting of Socialists, Centrists (Catholics), Democrats and the People's Party, has been created. The French press viewed with alarm the fact that this bloc has rather less than a majority of the whole House; but the Nationalists, who are strong, are not clearly hostile to the plan, and will probably cooperate. They have 99 seats, against a previous 67.

The extreme left won a larger number of seats than had been expected; but the extreme Nationalists—the Bavarian movement, on the monarchy side, and the party definitely against the Dawes plan—did not make anything like the gain expected. They hold only 32 seats.

Having the largest number of seats of any single party, the Socialists, with 105, will be asked to form a government and will organize a coalition.

And France's

ON Sunday a week later (how easy it must be to get out the vote on Sunday!) the French held their election. It was a tremendous surprise: the National bloc majority in the Chamber of Deputies went down to defeat, and the Left won control of the Chamber. Paris, the devastated regions, and Alsace-Lorraine voted for the National bloc, which means supporting M. Poincaré, but the other provinces showed an overwhelming gain for the Radical Socialists, headed by Herriot. As this magazine goes to press, the final returns have not been received in this country, but it appears that the opposition parties have a

clear majority. The Royalists seem to have lost in all parts of France, and the Communists, as in Germany, gained fewer seats than were expected.

Premier Poincaré, by current reports, will remain in office only until June 4, when the new Chamber comes in.

The term Radical Socialist is perhaps misleading here. The opposition that has come into power is the Moderate Left—in other words, the Liberals, whose leaders are M. Herriot, the mayor of Lyons, and former Premier Briand. No immediate change is expected in the Ruhr policy, the Moderate Left having voted with M. Poincaré in the past after the policy their leaders disapproved was once initiated. It may mean an earlier evacuation of the Ruhr; it is widely interpreted as meaning a better chance for the Dawes plan, and a return to the old liberalism of France.

Senator Lodge's Own World Court

SENATOR LODGE last week sprung a surprise in the form of a resolution proposing another kind of World Court. Hearings had been held before a sub-committee of the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which Senator Lodge is chairman, and strong

sentiment put on record for the entrance of the United States into the existing Court—with the Harding-Hughes reservations. But, though these reservations have been considered to separate the World Court from the League of Nations, Senator Lodge's plan is to organize the Court all over again to make sure. He proposes that Congress shall request the President to call a "third Hague Conference," which would be attended by all nations, and recommend to it a reestablishment of the present court independent of the League, as a part of the Hague organization. An assembly and a council outside the League would be set up, and twelve judges and deputy judges would be chosen for the World Court bench. Each of the forty-seven nations which have signed the protocol of the present Court would be asked to reject it and sign our proposal. As if the improbability of such action weren't ironic enough, an article of the plan provides that before a case in which the United States is concerned can be submitted to the Court a special agreement shall have been made with the other parties in interest by the President of the United States "by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof."

Senator Wadsworth "Objects"

SENATOR WADSWORTH of New York has the unenviable distinction of having put a stumbling block in the way of the Child Labor amendment in the Senate. It was passed by the House on April 26 and on May 7 Senator Lodge asked unanimous consent to have it taken up as soon as the tax measure was out of the way. Senator Wadsworth added to his list of objections to things women have wanted, an objection to this proposal also.

An Offer to the Filipinos?

THE chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, Representative Fairchild, not long ago introduced a bill providing that at the end of thirty years the Filipinos should have a plebiscite to decide whether they would be independent or remain under American rule. This was going backward from the explicit promise made in the Jones Act eight years ago that the Filipinos should be made independent whenever able to govern themselves, and that we should help them prepare. Mr. Fairchild's committee did not stand with him, but provided instead that recognition of Philippine independence should be absolute after twenty years—thus supporting a definite and binding engagement.

WORLD Goodwill Day is to be celebrated in the schools on May 19th in fulfillment of the resolution taken at the World Conference on Education last July.

May 13, 1924.



Color—brilliant, bold and daring, marks Florence W. Gotthold's work. Whether it be a flower study or a figure, such as her "Girl in White," which received so much favorable comment at the exhibition of the Greenwich Art Association last year, there is a depth and a combination of tone quite startling. "A Venetian Lady" on our cover is another very good example. While an impressionist, Mrs. Gotthold's pictures lose none of their fineness with close inspection, for her lines are as delicate and finished as those of a miniature painter.

Mrs. Gotthold was born in Ohio. She studied under B. R. Fitz, H. Siddons Mowbray and Henry G. Dearth, in New York; has exhibited in Pennsylvania, St. Louis, Chicago, Buffalo, Detroit, San Francisco, New York.

And now just a word of thanks to Mrs. Jessie Tarbox Beals, who took the photograph of "A Venetian Lady" from which our cover cut was made.

The
Tax
Debate



Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

And
Other
Clashes

Your Business in Washington

By Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

May 8, 1924.

IT is indeed a question whether the old mountaineer sitting in his cabin on the lone hillside will be a wiser, sadder or happier man when he hears through his radio the strident voices of Senators Heflin, Caraway, Pat Harrison and others on the floor of the Senate a-railing at the world. The Senate, through the resolution of Senator Howell, has requested both the War and Navy Departments to report upon the practicability of broadcasting the proceedings of the upper house. It is unthinkable, too, that the lower house would be content to be left out; one of the standing complaints there has been the ineffectiveness of speeches over which members have worked arduously. They blow across the chamber like a gentle wind; the press takes little notice and, beyond "leave to print," the oratory is lost. With a broadcasting service, what grandeur! Every constituent able to tune in would catch the utterances. Notice could be given in advance that at such and such a time the Representative from the Sixth District of the Wild Prairies would address the country on free seeds.

Word Reform?

But nonsense aside, the routine of Congress would be an eye-opener to the whole country and would undoubtedly result in good rather than mystification and misunderstanding. It might conceivably be the means of bringing about a word-reform and a diminution of the irrelevancy now almost unlimited in the upper house and indulged in often in the other chamber. Senator Warren, chairman of the important Appropriations Committee, announced this week that investigations so far had cost \$325,000. Some have just begun. Agitation for inquiry into the affairs of the Internal Revenue Bureau and Secretary Mellon has been revived and seems more

In Congress

THE Senate during the fortnight came to vote upon the tax reduction bill in short order, with the prospect of passing next to the various measures proposed for farm relief. In the House, appropriation bills and the proposition to abolish the Railroad Labor Board have had precedence. Important bills as follows:

Introduced in the Senate

Resolution for an investigation of depression in the American cotton textile industry to be made by the Tariff Commission. By Senator Walsh, Massachusetts, Democrat.

By Senator King, Democrat, bill for the investigation of conditions in the Navy, to be conducted by a joint congressional committee.

By Senator Caraway, Democrat, resolution reimbursing dismissed employees of the Bureau of Engraving and Printing following investigation last year.

By Senator Magnus Johnson, Minnesota, resolution requesting the former chairman of the Republican National Committee, Mr. Adams, to report regarding what political contributions to the 1920 campaign were made by large food packing companies.

By Senator Swanson, Democrat, resolution providing that the Senate consent to membership, with reservations, of the United States in the World Court.

By Senator Borah, Republican, amendment to existing law making more drastic provisions for publication of reports of election and campaign contributions, including contributions for deficits.

Passed by the Senate

By a vote of 44 to 37, the Simmons tax rates for incorporation in the tax reduction bill, by a coalition of Democrats and insurgent Republicans.

Bill for a revision of laws governing the United States Veterans' Bureau.

Legislation appropriating \$40,000 for the participation of the United States in the Second International Conference for the Regulation of Traffic in Habit-forming Drugs.

Resolution by Senator Howell, Republican, requesting report from the War and Navy Departments regarding the practicability of broadcasting proceedings of the Senate.

Appropriation bill for the support of the Navy Department carrying \$275,000,000.

Resolution for the arrest of Mal Daugherty, brother of the former Attorney General, to answer contempt charges before the Senate.

Resolution already passed by the House carrying an appropriation of \$10,000 for part of the expenses of the convention of the International Council of Women in May, 1925, at Washington.

Resolution permitting the employment of

probable. The total cost in both houses for the full extent of all the hearings, therefore, can be somewhat estimated.

But this is not exactly what is on our mind as we sit down to write. What do the Congressmen and delegates from the Middle West, the North, and far Alaska and Hawaii think of this old capital, one of the most curious of hybrids of cosmopolitanism and essence of the Old South? There is a Society of Natives here annually banqueting to impress the itinerants that the District of Columbia, with its allies, the southern towns of Alexandria and Georgetown, is really only the original stamping ground of George Washington and the Lees and Custis families.

Local Color

The other morning, driving over the bridge to Georgetown, the road was unexpectedly blocked by a large crowd who were peering over the parapet far down into the cavern of Rock Creek. The brook stream was rushing and tumbling over the jugged rocks, swollen with spring rains. On the steep banks dogwood, deep pink and white, bloomed in clouds. Willows hung over the sides and the sun on the birches and early ash glistened like glass. Rising from the little branch valley were echoes of old spirituals in unmistakable Negro dialect harmony. The faces of the "congregation" hanging over the bridge were rapt. On the banks directly below was a "class" of about twenty-five candidates for membership in the Negro Baptist Church of Rock Creek. Standing among ferns and dogwood, they looked like our imagination of the Ku Klux Klan. They were shrouded in white, some with white shoes, and all with tight white kerchiefs stretched across their foreheads.

The preacher stood in front waving his arms and shouting the baptismal sermon, which floated up distinctly. Then he waded out into the branch until the rushing water nearly struck his chest,

grasping a stout pole planted amidstream. Two assistants in black gowns followed him with the first candidate, a crippled girl. Her crutches had been taken from her on the bank and she walked only by being held up under each arm. The current swayed her this way and that while the spiritual chorus from the bank urged her on and the preacher in his black and soaking robes held out his arms. After the immersion, candidates, dripping wet, had to climb the steep bank to the roadside. It is May down here, with all that means, but it is still what one western Congressman called "dum chilly" in the shady places early in the morning.

Washington must retain this quaint-

counsel by the committee to investigate the affairs of the Internal Revenue Bureau.

Introduced in the House

By Representative Dallinger, Republican, Massachusetts, bill making Boston rather than New York the terminus of the transcontinental air service.

By Representative Bankhead, Democrat, bill for safeguarding public health in rural sections.

Passed by the House

Legislation declaring that a housing emergency still exists and continuing the present renting law for another two years, thus continuing the Rent Commission.

Resolution for an amendment to the constitution prohibiting child labor, 297 to 69.

Appropriation bill for the Department of Agriculture carrying \$57,000,000. Also bill for the support of the District of Columbia.

ness. Who cares whether you believe your soul can be saved only by a good cold soaking under the willows on a spring morning, or not?—there is the picture of sticking to what you believe at any cost and then continuing to believe while the cold shivers run, to such an extent that enthusiasm overglows exposure. The capital ought to have an atmospheric effect upon national affairs. The place is feathered with the Japanese cherry blossoms in full bloom around the Potomac. The Senate now has the bill appropriating about \$14,000,000 for the construction of the Arlington memorial bridge which will connect the new Lincoln Memorial with Arlington—the

(Continued on page 27)

Democratic Candidate No. II

By E. K. P. S.

THE man selected at the Democratic nominating convention for presidential candidate will have more to do with the success or failure of Democratic fortunes than issues—this is universal comment at the capital. Everything depends upon the personality of the candidate chosen. A strong candidate will mean a strong fight with a good chance of success. And the Republican party will have less to fear if the Democrats nominate a man who at the outset is opposed by factions. This is practically a quotation from nearly every political thinker here. In fact, it has been open information that Democrats themselves have been embarrassed by this absolute necessity of deciding upon a candidate who can run free and untrammelled against his Republican opponent.

This is not as easy as it might seem. Men who so far have made the most headway have been tagged with a distinct set of disadvantages.

So if there were any one man who could circumvent factions, and strong enough in personality to impress the country with his genuineness, his ability and practical idealism, and provided he were well known, that man would have an advantage in a convention unable to make up its mind which would have to be reckoned with. And this would hold true even though this supposititious candidate came before the convention with no large number of pledged delegates. This is why it seems worth while to write this sketch of Senator Carter Glass of Virginia, who is the most likely compromise and non-factional possibility which the Democratic party has today. If he becomes a compromise candidate he will be of a different species

entirely from the compromise candidate of the last Republican convention. Carter Glass and Warren G. Harding are as much alike as an electric wire and a telegraph pole. President Harding was the last resort of a party looking for a middle-ground personality. Carter Glass would be a compromise candidate pregnant with works. His relation to the Democratic party during his whole

To help its readers follow intelligently the events of this pre-convention part of presidential year, the CITIZEN is publishing sketches of the candidates for nomination. Mrs. Stokes, our Washington correspondent, has already presented President Coolidge and Mr. McAdoo, and here is Senator Carter Glass. The facts of the candidates' careers are offered without prejudice or partisanship, leaving the readers to form their own judgments. A candidate will be introduced in each issue before the conventions.

twenty or more years of official life has been that of a man completely outside factions. Personally he has been as independent as if the party had bestowed upon him no favors. Geographically he has been first and always a Virginian, proud of his state, highly sectional in his love for his birthplace and devoted to states' rights as a part of his fundamental Jeffersonian Democracy.

In the Senate he is a powerful figure in everything but stature. He seldom speaks; when he does he has something important to say and says it with the gracefulness of an accomplished orator. Senator Glass has a nervous intolerance of demagoguery. Unlike most men of small stature, he seems to want to efface himself rather than make his voice heard.

The other side of the picture is that there is very little to say derogatory to Senator Glass. In fact, he is about the only man who goes about Washington unsaddled with aspersions and esteemed by men in both parties. How he keeps himself free and clear no one exactly knows. It may be his scorn of trivialities and his strict attention to stricter business. He has entirely disassociated himself in the public mind from small things. But it is his personal record that counts, and is the most illuminating. Let us note it chronologically:

CARTER GLASS

1858, Jan. 4—Born, Lynchburg, Va. Senator Glass is sixty-five years old and looks about forty-five. He calls his grandson "Mrs. Glass's grandson" because, he says, he is hardly old enough to have one. Keen sense of humor. His father was Major Robert H. Glass, of Lynchburg, editor of one of the local newspapers. The family is of Scotch-Irish descent.

1871—Left public school and apprenticed himself in a newspaper office at Petersburg as printer's devil, for which he received \$1.50 a week. Here he began his real education. He studied assiduously and rose to foreman in the mechanical department, member of the reportorial staff, city editor, managing editor, owner and publisher of other papers.

1877—Returned to Lynchburg from Petersburg to become clerk in the auditor's office of the Atlantic, Mississippi & Ohio Railroad.

1881—Clerk of the City Council of Lynchburg.

1888—Local editor of the *Lynchburg News*, a position of prominence in the community. Young Glass still was struggling with personal finances and when

the elderly editor of the *News* announced that he was about to sell the paper Mr. Glass had \$100 or so in his pocket, but he determined to buy it. The price was \$13,000. He found friends and relatives who were anxious to back him and accepted their offers, becoming the owner of the *News*.

1893—Bought the *Lynchburg Virginian*.

1895—Purchased the *Evening Advance* of Lynchburg.

1899—Sent to the Virginia State Senate, an honor which was conferred upon him without his having sought it; he was sick in bed at the time. This has been the motif of his political career. He has kept himself singularly free from having to stump his way from post to post.

As a member of the Virginia Senate he distinguished himself by his attention and study of financial matters; even in those days he followed his specialty. He fought long and hard for what was called the traveling auditors' bill, which called for state inspection of the accounts of officials who handled public funds. He made banking and finance a subject in which he was particularly versed.

Early Steps

1901-1902—Elected a delegate to the Virginia Constitutional Convention, in which he took an active part, especially in the discussion and formulation of a suffrage clause, the purpose of which was to disfranchise illiterate and irresponsible Negroes by educational tests, and to give educated Negroes equality with white voters.

1902—He was on his farm in Virginia one afternoon when one of his neighbors in jeans drove up and congratulated him on his appointment by the Governor to the United States House of Representatives. Senator Glass was taken by surprise and learned that the Governor had selected him to fill the place of Representative P. J. Otey, who had died. He left his hobby, farming and cattle breeding, and came to Washington, an obscure member in the 57th Congress from the Sixth District of Virginia, buried in a Republican majority who paid little or no attention to the slight, red-headed Virginian. In a customary way he began affiliating himself with whatever was going on in banking and financial legislation, and for eight years in Congress he lay low, constantly studying the currency and banking of the country. Before long, however, he was recognized as one of the strong members of the minority, and, in view of his membership on banking committees of the Virginia Senate, was put on the Banking and Currency Committee of the House, succeeding to the chairmanship when the Democrats were returned to power.

When President Wilson was elected Mr. Glass was summoned to Princeton

to confer with him regarding the banking situation. The President had known that the Virginian had definite and constructive ideas about banking reform. These were gone over in detail, and it is said that, although President Wilson himself was ill at the time, he sat up in bed and talked with Glass at length about plans for what was to be the most outstanding financial legislation the country had known.

Mr. Glass returned to Washington and settled down to work. The House Banking Committee heard witnesses from all over the country and it was finally left to Mr. Glass to sit down and draft the bill. He worked something



Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.
Senator Carter Glass, of Virginia

like twenty hours a day for eight months writing out the manuscript of the federal reserve legislation, carrying the copy around in his pocket by day and sitting up half the night in a hotel room revising and formulating his ideas. When the bill was presented and later labeled the Glass-Owen bill, it created a financial tempest. Prominent financiers called it balderdash. Others equally prominent lauded Mr. Glass and said it was the work of genius.

However, after eight months of labor which almost killed him, Mr. Glass was obliged to fight his way inch by inch to get the measure accepted. He had strong opposition, but his arguments in behalf of his bill gradually showed the country and his opponents that the man was versed in every detail of banking systems not only as applied to this country but as the experience of Europe. The legislation became the new banking law.

During his long service in the Lower House he voted in favor of the Eighteenth Amendment (although it is well known that he is inclined toward states' rights on this proposition) and is an abstainer himself, never using alcohol or tobacco. On the other hand, he voted against woman suffrage. He spoke for

the repeal of the Panama Canal tolls, and against the famous McLemore resolution ordering American citizens from the high seas. He voted for the draft, and for declaration of war. His two sons served in France.

1916—Was made secretary of the Democratic National Committee. At the national Democratic convention at San Francisco in 1920 he took a prominent part in the writing of the platform.

1918, Dec. 16—Resigned from Congress to become Secretary of the Treasury under Woodrow Wilson, following the resignation of William Gibbs McAdoo, inheriting the post-war financial problems of the country, including the floating of the famous Victory war loan. As Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Glass was on the executive and administrative side of problems that he had helped to formulate in the legislative stage. In Congress he had also been chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee which put through the Federal Farm Loan banking system. As Secretary of the Treasury he was called upon to administer this as well as the new Federal Reserve law. His secretaryship of the Treasury was noted for clarity of thinking and accuracy. When the clamor came for the reduction of taxation he said frankly that with the enormous war debts still hanging over the country and world financial conditions at odds it was idle to talk of the possibility of tax reduction. He stood for facts as they were, devoid of political connotations. Funding of the war debts of foreign nations, now coming to fruition even in the past week, in the funding of the Hungarian debt, was advocated by him.

1920, Feb. 2—Resigned as Secretary of the Treasury to accept the appointment of the Governor to be United States Senator from Virginia to take the place of Senator Martin, Democratic leader, who had died.

In the Senate

Nov. 2—Elected to the Senate for a term which expires March 3, 1925, which place he now holds. He has been put on the Appropriations Committee, and the membership of the Senate Banking and Currency Committee has been increased to make way for him. An exposition and defense of the Federal Reserve System made in the Senate in January, 1922, has had national circulation and been adopted as a text-book in schools of economics, colleges and universities. In foreign affairs Senator Glass has consistently followed President Wilson's platform, voting for the League of Nations without reservations. He has advocated entrance of the United States into the League by the front door. He has argued for official representation on the Reparations Commission, and has disapproved the policy of so-called unofficial observers from the United

(Continued on page 30)

"The National Park Lady"

By

Frances Drewry McMullen

A leader in the conservation movement, and in campaigns for better homes and better gardens and better education, Mrs. John D. Sherman is one of those prominent women of whom we think our readers would like a close-up view. So here it is—a story of how she got started toward the interests that now engage her, and of successive steps. In addition to all the rest, she is now a candidate for the presidency of the General Federation of Women's Clubs.

In later issues we shall publish other stories of women with careers and (often) families too.



FEW years ago a woman almost enveloped in a plaster cast used to sit propped up at the big western window of a tiny log cabin in Colorado every evening at sunset. The glow of the setting sun, sinking in glory behind the three peaks opposite her window, night after night transformed her world into a paradise of gorgeous color. And again and again the woman, helpless even to walk, would sigh to the boy who was always somewhere near, "If only I could get to the top of the highest peak."

And always the boy would assure her, "Of course you'll get there, mother."

At last they did get there, too. Months later, when the woman had emerged from the chrysalis of plaster in which an accident to her shoulder had imprisoned her; when she had trained on the hills near by, there came the difficult seven-mile journey by horse and foot to the summit of Long's Peak—and at that moment a new Mary King Sherman came into being.

"Long days I sat watching those mountains," Mrs. Sherman told the story of the turning point in her career. "I had been taken there to recover, and the mountains had become my friends. And I had become obsessed with a longing to stand on the highest peak and look over the vast range on the other side, still unknown to me. It was a ridiculous thing even to think of in my condition; but the idea had taken possession of me that if only I could get to the top something wonderful would happen. My son encouraged me in the desire, and both of us played at the game, neither really having the faintest idea



Photo by W. T. Lee, courtesy National Park Service, Dept. of Interior
Long's Peak—this is what Mrs. Sherman sees from her cabin in Rocky Mountain Park

such a thing could be humanly possible.

"Finally we appointed a day for the trip, each in dread of what seemed certain disappointment for the other. And when after all I did reach the spot where the whole glory of the mountain ranges breaks upon you in all their magnificence—something wonderful did happen. It was all so much more glorious even than I had dreamed that I was fairly overcome with emotion. I had lived almost all my life in flat country—and, though I had loved natural beauty, I had no conception of such splendor as this. It was a profound revelation. And as I sat there, drinking it in, I made a solemn vow that if I were able to make the return trip in safety, I would devote the rest of my life to helping others to see and feel what I had experienced—the vast beauty of the world. I pledged myself to help save such scenes as this for that purpose."

So Mrs. Sherman went back to the world of affairs with aims and interests far different than those that had occupied her before the disastrous operation which led to three years of invalidism. The experience had something of the quality of a conversion—a definite, vivid revelation, both intellectual and emotional, and a redirection of will such as comes to some natures. All of Mrs. Sherman's work since this time is testimony to the reality of her mountain top moment. As an outcome she is credited with having done more for the establishment and preservation of America's parks than any one individual in the country.

Previous to the accident Mrs. Sherman had specialized in the mechanical and executive phases of women's club work—first as recording secretary of the Chicago Women's Club, then as recording secretary of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and later as its second vice-president. During this period she was strenuously engaged, too, in training both men and women in parliamentary law and in producing her own

book on the subject—a book which is used as authority by many organizations. All this activity came only gradually to a woman who, without ambition for public honor, leaned far more naturally to domestic duties.

"By nature, I am a home woman, by training a clubwoman and by profession for a time at least a parliamentarian," Mrs. Sherman summarized herself. "I joined the Chicago Woman's Club with no idea except to remain in the background. My first platform appearance was made on a program given by the Shakespeare study group, of which Martha Foote Crow was chairman. Through my intense admiration for her I was induced to write and read a paper on 'The Nadir of Shakespeare's Unbelief.' I confess I hardly knew what the subject meant. Once again I attempted a paper, all the time feeling most dissatisfied with the results. I soon became convinced that this was not my line!"

"My first connection with parliamentary law was purely accidental. It happened that a group of women in my neighborhood wanted to get up a class; and my house was the most convenient place for meeting, so I offered it. In the circumstances I felt I should take some interest; so I attended the sessions. By and by I found myself thinking about the subject between times, as well. Then one day the leader asked me a question, which I answered incorrectly. I was so provoked with myself that I determined to master the subject. When I started studying in earnest I felt as if I were reviewing something, so naturally did it come.

"Not long after this the leader asked me to represent her at a meeting in southern Illinois. At first I refused, but finally consented when she assured me there would be only about twenty-five women gathered in someone's home. Later, faced with a conference of two hundred women in a church, I was almost overcome by fright. In an effort to appear at ease I remember throwing

my hand across the pulpit; and I thought I would never be able to take it away. It seemed glued there. But when I had got through the preliminary remarks and was into the drill I felt on my own ground.

"Some of the women wanted me to come to their towns to lecture on parliamentary law; and that brought other difficulties. When they asked me what I charged, I had no idea what to say. I was afraid to say 'nothing,' for fear they would not value the work I had already done. When they asked if I expected entertainment, I was ignorant enough to think they meant receptions and parties, and answered 'no.'"

Upon this beginning Mrs. Sherman built a state-wide reputation as a parliamentarian and became well known outside the state as well. In addition to her lectures to women's clubs she was an instructor in the John Marshall Law School, Chicago. This work, together with her club offices, absorbed her spare time and outside interests until in 1913 illness forced her to retire to the little mountain cabin in Colorado. She emerged three years later to a new field in which her experience on the mountain top was her chief inspiration.

This newly found life-work commenced a few months after her return to the work-a-day world. The biennial convention of the General Federation of Women's Clubs was to meet in Chicago, where, by the way, Mrs. Sherman had lived since she was twelve. Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, president, having arrived a few days in advance, was visiting Mrs. Sherman. In the course of conversations on Federation affairs Mrs. Sherman put her case to Mrs. Pennybacker, urging the creation of a committee on natural scenery under the Federation's conservation department. Instead, Mrs. Pennybacker asked her to take the chairmanship of the entire department.

"That was not at all what I wanted," Mrs. Sherman explained, "but I finally accepted, convinced that this was my best chance to carry out the work upon which I had set my heart. At that time no one thought of natural scenery as having anything to do with conservation. It was not looked upon as a natural resource, and even less as an asset. I went before the board with my idea for a committee on natural scenery. It struck them as an unheard-of thing, but, being personal friends, they gave me my way."

The first big job Mrs. Sherman tackled, when she turned from parliamentary law to parks, was the Rocky Mountain National Park proposition. The Federation endorsed the bill for the Park's creation, and she had a very large part in securing its passage. This first success was won in 1915. Next Mrs. Sherman directed the work of the General Federation for the creation of the

National Park Service, which was established in 1916, and she contributed largely to the efforts that finally brought about the creation of the Grand Canyon National Park in 1916, after a promotion of thirty-three years. From the start she was the champion of the park idea, with the set idea of putting aside all spots of unusual beauty or historical and scientific interest for national, state and city parks. And she has been, and is, powerful in the bitter fight between the forces devoted to park conservation and the great water and irrigation interests that combined to break down the National Parks system, helping to direct the defense not only through the Federation, but also as trustee of the National Parks Association. Long ago, Washington came to know her as the "National Park lady," and recently, in recognition of her "unfailing, courageous and influential defense of the conservation of National Parks," the National Parks Association elected her an honorary member for life.

She has been also the persistent advocate of natural science and systematic nature study as a regular part of the school curriculum in the elementary grades to

also, work for improved rural schools, the elimination of illiteracy, better American speech, home budgets, home demonstration, insurance and many other things—included in that far-reaching phrase "applied education." Outstanding has been her work for the establishment of a national department of education with a secretary in the President's cabinet, and a cherished project has been the direction of a National Garden Week campaign.

These enterprises have meant busy days and weeks, crowded with much traveling, many addresses and countless conferences with legislators and men of affairs. Few and far between have been the opportunities for indulging the "home-woman-by-nature."

One reason why Mrs. Sherman can so generously give her time is that Mr. Sherman is a perfectly fine club husband. He is in full sympathy with his wife's work, and is always ready to help in any way he can. Her son, too, is interested, particularly in the campaigns to save natural scenery for public enjoyment—for that climb to Long's Peak was a revealing experience to him, as well as to his mother.

Then Mrs. Sherman began to talk about what I had been waiting for, the beloved cabin, which, with all its modern conveniences, really is not a cabin at all—perched up so steeply on the mountain side that it has defied the ingenuity of photographers. It is located across the valley from beautiful Long's Peak, in Rocky Mountain Park, and is the Shermans' summer home, though their official residence for the past twelve years has been in the village of Estes Park, Colorado. Here, in this cottage, the Shermans spend their summer vacations together, with a few congenial friends for guests. The name of the cottage, by the way, is Tahosa, meaning "Dwellers among the mountain tops," which is what they are both literally and figuratively. And here Mrs. Sherman finds the outlet for that domesticity which calls to her urgently from the busy world.

"I do all my own work at the cabin," Mrs. Sherman declared, dwelling on the subject with a touch of devotion. "A maid would spoil the atmosphere. My kitchen there is the loveliest spot in the house. I have counted as many as twenty-four different kinds of flowers from one window. The place is the most wonderful in the world. Up there you feel big enough for the most gigantic tasks. It is all very different when you come down into the heart of a city like New York."

Yet Mary King Sherman has always been equal to her big tasks, whether under the inspiration of the mountains or not, and no one doubts that, if the big task of president of the General Federation falls to her lot, she will be altogether equal to that as well.



Harris & Ewing, Washington, D. C.

Mrs. John D. Sherman

rank with reading, writing and arithmetic—an endeavor that has met with marked success. During the World War she was active as assistant director of the United States School Garden Army of the Bureau of Education, presenting this idea the length and breadth of the country.

When the Federation was reorganized in 1920, as chairman of the new department of applied education (with six sub-divisions and twenty-one committees) Mrs. Sherman was allowed to continue her chosen work for the conservation of natural scenery. At the same time she extended her energies to cover,

"Doing Something" About Smoke

By Caroline Bartlett Crane



HE Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act have superseded state and municipal prohibition, but getting rid of your city's smoke nuisance inevitably remains a local option affair. Valuable information and advice may be obtained from outside sources—after which cities must rely upon themselves to choose and enforce appropriate measures of relief.

"Then why doesn't somebody do something about it?" demands the angry and disgusted citizen. Usually, when "somebody" doesn't, it is either because he has seen his city make too many ill-considered and spasmodic attempts ending presently in failure; or because, knowing smoke abatement to be a technical subject, he feels his incompetency to cope with it.

Smoke abatement is a question of engineering; but the potential reformer may well disregard this fact and begin operations in the field of psychology and politics. He may do this because toleration of the smoke evil results from a certain popular state of mind which is fairly represented by the illustrated brochures with which various civic bodies advertise the business advantages and general prosperity of their particular city. You instantly visualize, do you not, that sky-line of chimneys belching forth clouds of black smoke? Smoke is thus made a synonym of industrial prosperity. If any interference were attempted, these same factories would doubtless pack up and move overnight to some rival city! Those indisputably needed factories, secured, perhaps, by gifts of bonuses and free sites and an eloquent silence on the subject of impending smoke nuisance! (Who was it said that smoke is the emblem, not of a city's prosperity, but of its stupidity?)

What Smoke Does to Us

This paralyzing state of mind is best attacked by showing up smoke for what it really is and does: Smoke costs millions in wasted fuel, damaged buildings, ruined fabrics and excessive laundry bills; it adds unbearable burdens of washing, cleaning, scouring and painting to the home; it stunts vegetation, darkens our skies and our spirits and depresses the health of city dwellers by an insidious process of chronic "gassing." Look at the pall that overhangs almost any city as you approach it! No wonder that an autopsy infallibly distin-

guishes between a country-bred and a city-bred man; pink lungs or black! (Yet the city has achieved a better water supply than the country; a safer milk supply, too, and a number of other sanitary advantages.) When will city dwellers, who are suddenly becoming so very self-conscious of aerial rights, stop cursing "static" long enough to demand the most fundamental of all rights—clean air to breathe?

It is a joy to find the Chamber of Commerce of the United States stressing good living conditions as a thing to be emphasized in beckoning business to a

Cooperation toward a clean city is the theme of the articles Mrs. Bartlett Crane has written for the CITIZEN, in good time to promote spring clean-ups. The first was about Clean Streets; the second about the Garbage Problem, and now here is advice on First Steps in Smoke Abatement. Mrs. Bartlett Crane, being an expert in municipal sanitation, and having the gift of clear expression, gives us in these articles actual practical guidance.

city. Why not, then, good living conditions for the people we have already caught? A Federal bulletin says that in Salt Lake City the smoke nuisance "menaced the reputation of the place as one desirable for tourists." It was then that Salt Lake City got busy with abatement and, incidentally, gave relief to its own people.

Any group of citizens essaying to cure the smoke nuisance in their town should first focus attention as definitely as possible upon the actual local damages wrought, and should adduce proof, from what has been done in other cities, that smoke can be abated, not only without undue hardship, but with no small financial advantage to the offender himself.

The very first step in actual abatement, as distinguished from propaganda, is for the city to decree that no new commercial plants, large or small, may be erected, and no old ones materially renovated, except upon plans that will obviate the smoke nuisance. This—at the same time that it works along the line of least resistance—accomplishes two things of prime importance: It renders the smoke nuisance stationary; and it creates valuable object lessons by which the most obdurate offenders cannot but be in time impressed. This naturally paves the way for an extension of

the provisions of the ordinance to include all existing plants.

But what about the crowd of little power and heating plants scattered promiscuously throughout the city—laundries, small hotels, garages and the like; possibly fire stations, schoolhouses, the court house, or even the city hall? Here, usually, are no experts; perhaps only a janitor who hastily shovels the furnace full of coal and goes to the top story to wash windows.

Such places, by reason of their number, location, low chimneys, intermittent and inexpert hand-stoking and other causes, may prove a much greater nuisance in the aggregate than the big industrial plants.

Every city or town intending to abate its smoke nuisance should have at least one competent smoke inspector who not only can enforce the ordinance against the big offenders, but can give needed help to the small plants.

The right kind of a smoke inspector will be a great educational force in the community. He will be continually reiterating certain vital facts, as, for example, that *smoke nuisance is the result of incomplete combustion, and there is no way whatever to abate smoke except by improving combustion.* (So many people seem to think of a smoke consumer as a device which, placed in or on a chimney, miraculously devours the smoke!)

Smoke Inspector's Wisdom

The problem of improved combustion (and therefore of smoke abatement) is to produce (1) sufficient heat to liberate or "free" the carbon and gases from the fuel mass and (2) sufficient air at the right place to furnish oxygen to combine with the carbon particles and so complete the combustion. For example, a bare boiler, even under steam pressure, is a relatively cold object when it directly encounters the suspended carbon and gases over a coal grate. Hence the value of interposing a brick arch which can be made much hotter than a boiler and reflects back the heat where it is needed for combustion. In the same way proper drafts, right height and cleanliness of chimneys, ventilation of boiler room, and various devices for intensifying the heat and introducing and distributing air at strategic points are matters which the smoke inspector must be able to explain fully. He must know the merits and proper operation of auto-

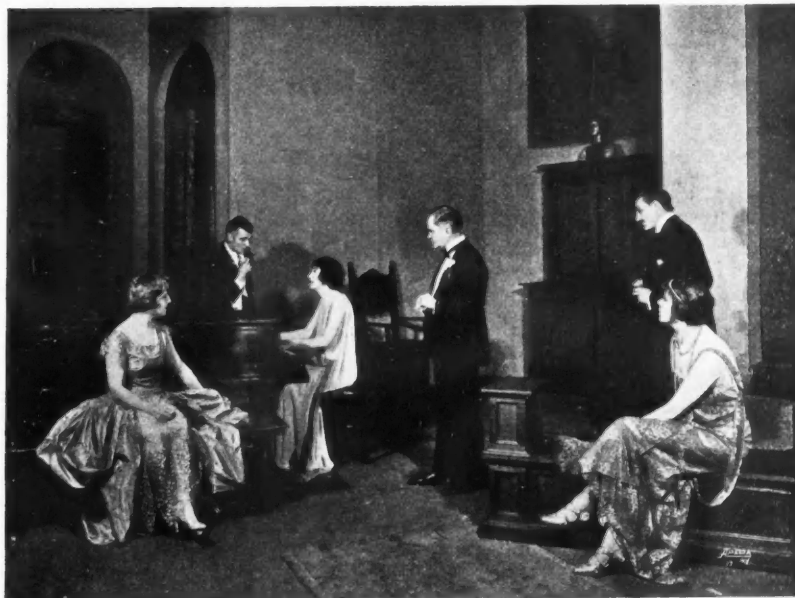
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"Expressing Willie"

By
Mildred Adams



Louise Closser Hale
Who plays "Willie's" Mother



Apeda, N. Y.

The picture above shows the scene in which MINNIE (Chrystal Herne) expressed herself at the piano. A small-town music teacher, repressed for years, she "popped" after drinking in the heady stimulant of "TOLLY'S" talk—TOLLY being the portrait painter who hovers beside the piano. WILLIE (Richard, Sterling) occupies the center of the scene.



© Underwood & Underwood, N. Y.

Rachel Crothers

Who wrote and produced "Expressing Willie"

DELICATE satire marks the gay American comedy which has come to cheer the end of a particularly cosmopolitan theatrical season. "Expressing Willie" has nothing to do with parcels post or its commercial rival. It concerns those inner feelings, those fears, complexes and desires which have been the subject of so much controversy. Happily, the play does not controvert. It accepts and goes on from there, and the manner of its going on makes the merriment in the play. Willie, plump, round-faced, Babbittish, has transmuted his fortune from tooth-paste into a rarely beautiful and quite uncomfortable "period" house in which he looks as much at home as a bull-dog in a cathedral.

The curtain rises on the beginning of a week-end to which he has invited a group of artistic and thoroughly "free" people who look on him as a nondescript person with an enjoyable fortune, and to which his able and unillusioned mother has invited his jilted sweetheart from the small town where they both grew up. The complications are amazing and amusing, and it all goes to prove that there are more kinds of "expression" than were dreamed of in Willie's philosophy. The cast contains such well-loved people as Chrystal Herne in the rôle of the small-town sweetheart, Louise Closser Hale as Willie's firm and funny old mother, and Merle Maddern as the utterly superb Mrs. Sylvester, who aims to "express" herself as the future wife of Willie and his fortune.

Rachel Crothers wrote it, and her sure touch and long experience in stage craft are evident in the delicate interplay of truth and satire, in the skill with which she entangles her players in an amazing bedroom scene and extricates them with the funniest curtain of the year.

"People tell me that it is my best play," said Miss

Crothers meditatively, "but that is because it is such a happy play. For once I've left off telling unpleasant truths that make audiences uncomfortable. Then, too, the

fact that it is an Equity production makes it possible to have such a splendidly capable cast that every detail, every expression—you see you can't get away from that word—is properly rendered."

This is the seventeenth play that Miss Crothers has written in eighteen years, and of the seventeen she has produced all but two. "Not every author is so fortunate," she smiled. "But you see I began with my dolls, making people out of them, building them a theater, and putting them through plays that I wrote for them. So I feel that the casting, costuming and other details of production are just as much a part of making a play as the writing of it. I'd be very unhappy if I couldn't produce my own plays. I'd even like to produce other people's if I had time, but the writing and producing of one play a year is about all I can do."

It was Miss Crothers who wrote "Mary the Third," that splendid play about the honesty of three feminine generations which delighted the country last year. She occupies a place of peculiar prominence in American theatrical affairs, for her plays are generally successful, she has written very few which have not seen the lights of a New York stage, and she is the only woman, if not the only playwright, who makes a practice of producing her own plays.

Editorially Speaking

Party Patronage

Third in a series of articles by Mrs. Catt on interferences with good government.

A TREMENDOUS interference with the operation of good government is the system of party patronage. "To the victors belong the spoils" is still an accepted aphorism. For a quarter of a century the campaign has been constant to draw positions out of the list of patronage and put them under the Civil Service. Very much has been achieved, yet some twenty thousand posts are called presidential appointments. Some of these officials are nominated by Congressmen, some by Senators, some by the Cabinet and some directly by the President, but the President has the final decision upon them all. Most are confirmed by the Senate.

When Mr. Harding was elected, tired and overstrained by the long campaign, his desire, it will be remembered, was for a brief period of rest. He never got it. The job hunters came to Marion by every train. They filled the hotels and the streets and they literally camped upon his doorstep. An ambassador stayed two weeks and probably got his promise before he left. When the President fled on a pretended fishing trip, they followed. They perched on trees and fences. They trooped after him wherever he went. They harassed and pestered him night and day.

Various causes for his untimely death have been named, but certainly none wore upon him more than the incessant rush of the job hunters. It was not twenty thousand men who came to get the twenty thousand posts. There were at least five men after each post. Attorney General Daugherty was the person who passed upon many of them and it was early reported that those who had legitimate and important business with the Department of Justice always found the anterooms jammed with job hunters.

How could a man enforce the nation's laws with that continual struggle over jobs at his back door? How could any President think out the problem of oil leases with this fighting army of a hundred thousand desperate job hunters on his back? To the right and the left of him the volleys were thundered, "I made you a big contribution, give me a job"; "I got out the Italian vote in my district, give me a job"; "I was the spellbinding orator who carried Podunk for you, give me a job"; "Say, Mr. President, don't you know that my paper nominated you early and never failed to whoop for you?—give me a job." So the cry went on, day and night, week in and week out.

Was this a situation new in the Harding administration? Bless you, no; it is as old as our nation. It has arisen in every administration, between each succeeding President and his ideals. It has cramped his freedom, hindered attention to big things, influenced his thinking and at the end dismissed him, a worn-out, nerve-sore old man whatever his years. As fast as the nation puts positions in the Civil Service to relieve this condition, it creates new ones under patronage. This is not graft. We are a mighty nation and our business grows by leaps and bounds. It takes more people to do the work for one hundred and ten millions than it did for fifty millions. The income tax has added an army to the nation's helpers. Every new bureau, commission and law adds more posts. Prohibition has added an army, some under Civil Service, but altogether too many under the patronage lists.

It is not the President alone who gets harassed. Have business with almost any Congressman or Senator and you will find his anteroom filled with these same hectoring job hunters. You will find piles of letters unanswered, files of important data untouched and a nervous, tired, bored look on his face.

He, too, is hindered in the business he came to Washington to do.

If patronage is not the chief source of graft and national corruption wherever it exists, as the Hon. Dudley Foulke says it is, it certainly is pretty near it.

"We the people" must help to end this intolerable robbery of great men's time, health and efficiency. Let the President have his staff and necessary representatives, but take the "jobs," post offices, prohibition officials and all of the administrative workers off the President's back and put them on the back of the Civil Service Commission. No politician will approve. Politicians have fought the removal of every post from patronage to Civil Service. The granting of favors means power. Patronage is the rock foundation of political bossism; of the generalship of little men. The job hunters eat from the hand of the man who has influence with the higher-ups. The whole system is contemptible, debasing to those competent to fill positions of trust and to those who build up their little power on the control of the destinies of men. When contributions to party campaigns big enough to buy party favors, and party patronage, are removed as deciding factors in our political life, American politics will rise to a plane of dignity and seriousness befitting a great people.

CARRIE CHAPMAN CATT.



Not "Just As Good," Senator Lodge

FOR fatuousness, for selfishness and egotism, the impossible new World Court plan proposed by Senator Lodge has seldom been equaled. It makes one blush for shame that its author is the head of the foreign relations of the United States in the Senate. Senator Lodge begins by calling for a World Court, yet he shuts out Canada, Australia and South Africa. Other nations must accept the restrictions imposed by the United States, but this country hedges itself so completely that it is doubtful if any question concerning it could ever be submitted to the Court. To expect forty-seven nations to scrap their existing Court and start on the long journey to make a new one, is sufficiently absurd; but to expect them to accept Mr. Lodge's plan would be beyond all reason, and no one knows this better than Mr. Lodge himself.

More hopeful are the signs that the public is becoming weary of subterfuge, and is thinking and acting for itself. The youthful and impetuous voice of the Student Volunteers which spoke out so enthusiastically at their convention a few months ago in favor of the League of Nations, was followed by the more sedate, but earnest and overwhelming, sentiment in favor of both the World Court and the League of Nations, at the convention of the Y. W. C. A. last week. The recent hearings on the World Court before a special committee of the Foreign Relations Committee showed a powerful sentiment in its favor. Another unmistakable expression of public opinion was the defeat in the Republican primaries in Illinois of Senator Medill McCormick, who has been one of the most vociferous of the irreconcilables. Coming after the defeat of Senator Moses, of New Hampshire, another of the irreconcilable group, as delegate to the Republican Convention, it indicates unmistakably the dissatisfaction of voters with the irreconcilable attitude. Now comes the decisive defeat in the presidential primaries of Hiram Johnson, whose chief appeal for votes was that the United States should maintain its isolation in world affairs.

The cost to the world in prolonged confusion and resulting misery, and to the United States in loss of prosperity, because

of the muddled state of public opinion in the United States in regard to foreign relations, can never be computed. It is evident, however, that the lesson is being learned.



The Bobbed-Haired Bandit and Society

A STORY came out in the New York courts the other day, so pitiful, so typical and such an indictment of the community's failure to protect children, and the cost of the failure to itself that it is given here.

The girl has been featured as the Bobbed-haired Bandit. At twenty years of age she and her husband have been sentenced to ten years in prison for a series of robberies. Her father was a drunkard; her mother, who could not read nor write, had an illegitimate child besides the eight children who came after marriage. Before Cecilia was born three children had been committed for improper guardianship and the father had served a term in prison. The home was filthy, the children were sent out to beg and were driven to sleep on cellar coal piles. When four years old Cecilia was taken by the Children's Society but was given back to her mother, who took her clothes and deserted her. She became a child worker, she associated with sailors, she stole and she got other girls into trouble. She lived with various men, she married and had a baby which died after a few weeks. Then with her husband she committed a series of hold-ups and robberies which kept the police of several states busy.

This is the pitiful record. Can we call a community civilized until it can assure every child decent surroundings? Yes, we would even go farther back—can we call it civilized until it will not permit a child to be born with such heredity? The story is not ended. Will the years in prison send Cecilia back into the world a better member of society?



President Butler and Prohibition

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER, President of Columbia University, is the latest and most sensational ally of the liquor forces. In a speech before the Missouri Society in New York he attacked prohibition as "immoral" and said it couldn't be enforced and, therefore, should be repealed. He says he has received thousands of letters and telegrams, ninety-nine in each hundred congratulating him upon his stand. Interviews followed, and soon the statement passed from ocean to ocean that he would lead a struggle in the Republican Convention for a plank pledging a repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment.

For some time it has been no secret that a great battle would be fought in the Democratic Convention over a proposal for a wet plank. The wets have largely focussed their hopes around the candidacy of Governor A. L. Smith, of New York, although Senator Underwood, of Alabama, would do as well and there are dark horses in the offing, some of whom are probably wet enough to satisfy the wettest of the Wet Campaign Committee. Until now the Republican Convention has promised little excitement, but President Butler proposes to correct this defect and the coming conventions and campaign are likely to be accompanied by plenty of thunder and lightning.

Prohibition is not properly enforced; therefore repeal it. Is this logic? "Thou shalt not steal" is the law established by every religion and every nation, yet the daily press brings us discouraging lists of robberies. Shall the law be repealed? The oldest law of man is—"Thou shalt not kill," yet day after day we read of murders. Shall the law be repealed? The constitution provides for trial by jury, yet in a decade some hundreds have been lynched. Shall the law be repealed? It is an argument which does not hold water, let alone 2.75 beer.

Now President Butler proposes to introduce a new method—the plan of Quebec. He has not seen it in operation, yet he plans to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment on the promise of substituting something better about which he must yet inform himself.

With this new ally at their side, the Association against the Prohibition Amendment announces that it has sixty members in the House wet enough to be worthy of their support and it will elect seventy-five more members in the coming election and directly there will be enough to reverse action. Meanwhile Senator Wadsworth has persistently labored since 1920 to get an amendment submitted which would send Federal amendments in some kind of referendum to "the people."

Prohibition enforced or prohibition repealed may yet be the issue upon which the election will turn. If the Eighteenth Amendment is ever resubmitted, it will not be because it is "immoral," but because drink is and ever has been the handmaid of self-indulgence, profit, low politics, and every variety of crime.

C. C. C.



About Battleships

REDUCTION of naval armament should come through international agreement, not through carelessness or inattention. But one must be grateful that the Government shows no signs of being too susceptible to recent criticisms of the Navy. Investigations have been ordered, and results are being reported, as is right and proper; but authorities have let it be understood that in so far as the criticisms apply, they are already known, and in due process the naval program agreed on is being carried out.

There are other soothing considerations. For instance, it is not the first time that agitation over defense and discussion of appropriations have coincided. Then, too, it is certain that British Navy officials will stir themselves to new activity if we do—since there is margin within the terms of the agreement for more, or less, competitive building. And, as always, one returns to the thought that battleships, as has been shown again and again, are the least stable of armaments—hardly built before they are obsolete—and to the sense of the inadequacy of a war program without a peace program. "Armaments don't bring peace; maybe disarmament would," said Lady Gladstone, speaking at the Y. W. C. A. convention of the tremendous responsibility resting on women who have known war. "Women must establish the principle that war is wrong, then help work out the means to end it, by international agreement. They must be bold for disarmament."



All Together for Children

A PLEASANT feature of the recent National Convention of the League of Women Voters was the unanimity of the women in regard to child welfare. This was especially good to see in a presidential year, when party feeling runs high. Whether Republicans or Democrats, the women were standing solidly behind the National Child Labor Amendment.

In Victor Hugo's novel, "Ninety-Three," dealing with the war between the royalists and republicans in La Vendée, there is a great scene in which both sides stop fighting for a few minutes and join forces to rescue three children from a burning tower. An old royalist nobleman holds the ladder at the top, crying "Vive le roi!" The Republican general holds it at the bottom, crying "Vive la République!" and between them they hand the children down to safety. Something like that was exemplified at Buffalo.

"Before men made us citizens, great nature made us men," says James Russell Lowell. The protection of children appeals to something in women infinitely deeper than their party labels.

A. S. B.

What the American Woman Thinks

"Leisure by Statute for Women"

By Florence Kelley

General Secretary of the National Consumers' League

Working women's hours is a subject on which Mrs. Kelley speaks with the authority of many years' devoted work. This is a call to action.

THE Supreme Court of the United States in March affirmed anew, in the Radice case, its allegiance to the principle that New York and all other states have power, within the Federal Constitution, to enact laws limiting the working hours of women. The decision is in a way a triumph for the Consumers' League, for the brief filed by Assistant Attorney General Goldsmith consisted largely of material gathered by Josephine Goldmark, as Research Secretary of the League, and placed at his disposal.

It is true that the statute thus upheld applied only to waitresses in first and second class cities in New York, forbidding their working between 10 P. M. and 6 A. M. The number of women immediately affected is relatively small because few women care to work in restaurants at that time. The vital point is the reaffirmation, by the highest judicial authority, of the power of the state to forbid contracts under which women of any age are to work long hours, or during work periods which the experience of the world has shown to be harmful. Because the Court reasserts the broad principle, the decision is of permanent national importance.

New York's Failure

Promptly after receiving this confirmation of its powers in the field of industry, the New York legislature killed, with its dying gasp, the bill for a statutory working week of forty-eight hours for women. On the closing day of the session, one indispensably necessary legislator could not be awakened from drunken sleep upon his desk, to answer to his name in the last roll call. Whatever New York does, good, bad or indifferent, about industry, concerns the nation, because New York is the greatest manufacturing and distributing state in

the Western Hemisphere. When, therefore, its legislature fails, in 1924, to take this one short step in advance of the fifty-four-hours law adopted for women wage-earners twelve years ago, this failure injures our whole industrial republic. New York lags behind Massachusetts with her forty-eight-hours law, and behind Ohio with her fifty-hours week, and behind the ten states which have the eight-hours day for women.

Illinois women also suffered a painful defeat in their legislature, last year, in spite of Representative Lottie O'Neill's success in passing an eight-hour bill through the House. This year, under the experienced guidance of Jeannette Rankin, Illinois voters elected in the primaries, on April 8, one woman to the Senate and two to the House. A fourth whose success is still in doubt may be elected in November. All are intelligent and are pledged to work and vote for the statutory short working day and working week.

This campaign is significant because the example of Illinois thus becomes constructive and helpful, after being for thirty years paralyzing to its neighbor states, Indiana and Iowa. Second only to New York, Chicago is the greatest of our cities; and Illinois has been for nearly half a century the third great industrial state when ranked by its manufactured products. Yet it is still legal for women and girls from sixteen years old upward to work seventy hours a week by day or by night!

Jeannette Rankin is the field secretary of the National Consumers' League in the Mississippi Valley. The nomination of the Illinois women is the fruit of her continuous educational campaign begun a year ago when the legislature (which meets biennially) killed the eight-hours bill. The campaign for electing socially enlightened women was given extraordinary publicity through the "Mississippi Valley Conference on Industrial Legislation for Women," held at Hull House, Chicago, in February. Present at this Conference were women voters from seventeen states, including the eleven states that line the banks of the Mississippi River. From South Carolina and New York, from North Dakota and Texas women came to plan more successful use of our ballots, our organizations and our power as consumers.

There was no dissent from the refrain that constantly recurred. "Our organizations are not enough." "Voting for men is not enough." "We must elect enlightened women to Congress, and to the legislatures, and to the courts; then our

bills will be passed and they will be upheld."

"Leisure by statute for women" is, henceforth, a slogan to which neither the Woman's Party nor reactionary legislators can oppose the constitution of state or nation, or the threat of a hostile opinion of the Supreme Court of the United States. But aside from the cheering Federal decision, this year's gains are indeed slight. The New Jersey legislature voted down a proposal to modify the nightwork law passed in 1923, to take effect at New Year's, 1925, and Massachusetts declined to repeal her forty-eight-hours law. Writing in mid-April, these beneficent refusals appear to be the whole harvest for the year 1924 affecting women in industry.

In one field beyond courts and legislatures this year brings reinforcement. Lewellys Barker and Norman B. Cole, of Johns Hopkins Medical School, in their new book entitled "Blood Pressure, Its Cause, Effects and Remedy," strengthen the effort for leisure in industry. From the strictly medical point of view, and in language clear enough for the twelve-year-old mind, these authorities proclaim the dangers of fatigue.

No one effort for nation-wide good health is so far-reaching as that for "leisure by statute." Of all the products of modern invention none is more precious, especially to mothers, than leisure. But, like other modern treasures, leisure tends to become the monopoly of one class to the injury of that class; while it escapes from the poor, the unskilled, the unorganized and the inarticulate whose lives are darkened, impoverished and shortened for want of it. Hence the quarter-century long, intensive struggle of the National Consumers' League to reach the peak which the Federal decision heralds.

Mass Action Needed

Enlightened employers establish the eight-hours day. Even Judge Gary and the Steel Trust have this year, under pressure of public opinion, changed from twelve to ten and eight hours. Enlightened states have the short day by law. The present nation-wide campaign is to bring up the rear guard of industries and of states. A new quarter century begins with 1925 and already cries aloud for new and more powerful methods.

The fact that a measure so modest, so elastic, as our New York forty-eight-hours-a-week bill failed after twelve years to pass the legislature, is a trumpet call for such mass action as passed the Sheppard-Towner law for mothers and

babies, and is now concentrated upon the Federal child labor amendment.

Mass action must be applied in the thirty states that both *will* have legislative sessions in 1925, and also have *not* yet established eight hours as the legal working day and forty-eight hours as the legal working week for women and minors.

The foundations being laid, in divers agencies and many areas, for universal establishment of leisure by statute for

wage-earning women, the National Consumers' League voted at its recent directors' meeting to adopt the following plan and push it intensively throughout the legislative session of 1925. In a renewed, concentrated, nation-wide effort, the League invites the cooperation of all its own branches, and of the Governors and the officials of Labor Departments in all the states. It counts upon all the appropriate national organizations among the twenty cooperating at Washington as the

Women's Joint Congressional Committee, to promote this especial measure in the states which have not yet enacted it. The League suggests that they recommend to their state branches to make a measure for the eight-hours day and the forty-eight-hours week "Bill No. 1" of their respective programs for 1924 and 1925. Wherever state platforms are not already adopted this plank will be urged.

The time to prepare for legislation in 1925 is now!

Numbers 53 and 54 at Geneva

By Edith Lyttleton

British Substitute Delegate to the Fourth Assembly of the League of Nations, Dame Edith Lyttleton describes for us the ceremony of admission of two nations which she witnessed.

TWO new countries—both ancient—were admitted to the League of Nations last year—the Free State of Ireland, and Abyssinia. Anxious to mark in every possible way the difference between Ireland and Great Britain, the delegates had asked for their papers to be sent to them in the French language, and were also determined to have their archaic Gaelic—commonly called Erse—heard in the Assembly. Wisely enough no notice whatever was taken by the British Government of these literary differentiations. States which do not know the British temperament had obviously expected coolness and aversion to be shown, and one imagines had intended to enjoy the spectacle. But they were disappointed. A spirit of good will was abroad, and a great deal of mutual consultation went on between the British and the Free State delegates.

On September the 10th, after the Assembly had unanimously voted for the admission of the Irish Free State, three modest and unassuming looking men, followed by three substitute delegates, came quietly into the conference hall, and were given a very inspiring welcome. Then President Cosgrave was asked to address the Assembly. This was called in the press an unprecedented honor, but it is an honor which will probably now be extended to all new states members of the League, as it was on September 28 to Abyssinia.

President Cosgrave, his face pale and calm, spoke a few words in Gaelic, understood of course by no one, probably not even by his fellow delegates except as a recited lesson. The phraseology was picturesque. Translated it runs thus:

"In the name of God, to this Assembly of the League of Nations, life and health. We are Delegates from Saorstát Éireann, from its Parliament and Government, who have come to you to signify that Saorstát Éireann desires to acquire membership of the League of Nations and to participate in the great work of this League. You have unanimously agreed to this request. We have found welcome and generosity from you all. We thank

you, and we pray that our peace and friendship may be lasting."

The rest of the speech was made in very good English, preserving somehow the flavor of a saga.

"After a long journey through many tribulations, an international treaty has brought to Ireland peace, whereby the hostilities and bitterness of the past shall cease to inspire hymns of battle and shall merge in the pages of history."

After speaking of the aims of the League and its difficulties, President Cosgrave said:

*"Ireland counts on having no enemy, and on harboring no enmity in the time to come. She counts also on bringing forth fruits worthy of liberty. * * **

He concluded by saying that *"as the life of a man is bettered and fructified beyond measure in the harmonious society of men, so must the life of nations reach a much fuller liberty and a much fuller dignity in the harmonious society of nations."*

This speech was loudly applauded. Events seem to show that the aspiration expressed was genuinely felt.

On the last day but one of the session, Abyssinia's request made on behalf of "Her Majesty the Queen of the Kings of Ethiopia" to be admitted to the League of Nations was granted, and the delegates of Abyssinia took their seats amidst the unanimous and prolonged applause of the Assembly.

It was one of those picturesque incidents which delight any business gathering of human beings. There had been many searchings of heart over the matter. France was the sponsor, passionately anxious for the admission of a state rather specially under her protection. It is questionable whether this admission is not likely to become an embarrassment. Abyssinia is a state which though Christian for many centuries tolerates certain forms of slavery. A picturesque document was sent around to all the delegates by the Italians, which described a speech made by their representative in Abyssinia, forbidding slaves, at least in the precincts of the Italian Legation. There was talk of personal experiences,

of slave running in the narrow seas not so very long ago, of little sailing vessels ostensibly carrying nuts—or cocoa—waiting for the wind, of a visit by the sailors of a European power, and of an unfortunate accident whereby a sailor kicked open a hatchway and allowed brown arms to be thrust upward and cries to be heard. Two hundred or so unfortunate slaves were on board on their way to the market where they would be sold.

Now no one seriously doubts the genuineness of the desire of the Ethiopian Queen of the Kings, Zeouditou and her Regent, and Government; many have great misgivings as to whether their rule is strong and efficient enough to put down the illegal traffic in human beings. The Aboriginal Societies in England brought to bear every influence they could on delegates, and members of Council, in favor of admitting the Ethiopian Empire, holding the opinion that to enroll the state within the League of Nations would tend to strengthen the forces of civilization and freedom. There were also considerations—pointed by the difficulties of the Italian-Greek crisis—connected with the implied assurance as to the integrity of Abyssinia. This point need not be insisted on now that the arguing is over and Ethiopia is admitted. For better, for worse, the dark-skinned, brightly robed delegates now sit in the Hall among the representatives of fifty-three other members of the League.

The simple ceremony of admission was picturesque because the delegates wore dignified and beautiful white Eastern robes and brightly colored silk breeches to their feet. Dedjazmatch Nadeon got up on to the platform and looked round with a slightly dazed air. Then it was realized that he was searching for something within the ample folds of his robe. What could it be? One's imagination sprang to a crown, or a wand, or a crystal; some emblem of power, material or occult. The search went on; there was tension which might have broken into something untoward like laughter, but at last, to everyone's relief, the object was found. It was a pair of gold

(Continued on page 28)

The Woman Voter

[This four-page insert is entirely under the control of the *National League of Women Voters*, to be filled as the League desires, except that no advertising matter is to be included. It is understood that the League is not responsible for anything else printed in the *Woman Citizen*, and that the *Woman Citizen* is not responsible for what is published by the League in its insert.]

Edited by RUTH KIMBALL GARDINER for
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532 17th St. N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Federal Measures the League Supports

ADVOCATES of American entry into the World Court, including men and women leaders of the nation, concluded a three-day hearing May 2, before a sub-committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It is generally agreed that the hearings were very successful, and that they strengthened the appeal of American voters for participation in the Court. Senator Pepper, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the sub-committee, announced that if opponents of the World Court proposal are heard, the advocates will have a chance at rebuttal.

Miss Ruth Morgan, of New York, head of the National League's Department of International Co-operation to Prevent War, made a brief speech presenting the League's endorsement of the World Court proposal as recommended by Presidents Harding and Coolidge with reservations by Secretary Hughes. Other speakers for the League of Women Voters were Miss Marion Delany, president of the California League, and Mrs. James W. Morrisson, of Chicago, treasurer of the Illinois League.

Mrs. Raymond Morgan, chairman of the Women's World Court Committee in Washington, of which the League of Women Voters is a member, said that the women's committee does not support the League of Nations.

"We are not afraid," she added, "that the Court will involve us in the League. What we want is constructive work now."

Proponents of the child labor amendment anticipate early action on the resolution in the Senate. The overwhelming favorable vote in the House has given impetus to the support of it in the Senate, so League officers directing the legislative fight for the adoption of the amendment report.

The status of other measures which the League supports is unchanged.

ANNE WILLIAMS.

The League's New Officers

IN its unanimous selection of Miss Belle Sherwin to succeed Mrs. Maud Wood Park as president, the National League has continued the even step-by-step progress which Mrs. Park calls a thing it stands for. It has merely, like a trans-continental train, changed one engine for another of known and tested driving power, to roll on straight ahead at the same speed. Miss Sherwin succeeds without a jolt. The League has full confidence that the new engineer knows the engine

and the track and the route as the engineer who has earned a rest knew them, and that she has equal skill to guide.

Miss Sherwin has been an intimate part of the League ever since she stepped from the chairmanship of the Cleveland League into the second vice-presidency of the National League when the second annual convention was held in her home city in 1921. At the fourth annual convention in Des Moines she was elected first vice-president and when it became known that Mrs. Park did not wish to serve for a third term, the League felt itself extremely fortunate in having such a woman as Miss Sherwin to take the office of chief.

The new president is a native of Cleveland and was graduated from Wellesley, of which college she has been a trustee since 1910, in 1890. After graduation she studied history for a year at Oxford and returning to America taught her subject in a New England school for girls.

A biographer has written that after six years she "retired" from the teaching profession. She did. She retired in exactly the same way a vice-president of the United State retires when a President dies. She retired into an activity which makes the list of betterment organizations in which she has been, and is, a director and a worker look like the list appended to the Women's Joint Congressional Committee's endorsement of the child labor amendment. Consumers' League, Welfare Council, Committee for National Defense, Council for Child Welfare, Institute for Public Efficiency, are only a few of the things she has helped to success. "First citizen of Cleveland" sums up her work.

Her success in the conduct of League citizenship schools is due to her possession of a mind which can give keen attention to every detail without losing sight of the object as a whole. Logical, just, and sane the whole League knows her to be and those who have had personal relations with her find in her the warmth of friendliness which her delightful smile and her equally delightful voice suggest. As president she will have her headquarters in Washington to direct administrative policies, and will continue to head the Department of Education in Government and Politics.

Miss Julia Lathrop, the new first vice-president, is one of the world's famous women, known wherever rational methods of making life a safer and happier thing for children are discussed. Her work for children, for the defective, the insane, and all the rest of the world's dependents began soon after she was graduated from Vassar in 1880. Neither the history of Illinois work, nor national work for social betterment can be written without frequent reference to her. In 1912 she was made head of the new Children's Bureau of the Department of Labor in Washington and became a power in the land. Since her retirement she has served as president of the Illinois League of Women Voters, has written, has spoken, and has worked for the general welfare which is her life concern. In her new League office she will be director of legislation and law enforcement work.

Mrs. Solon Jacobs's regretted decision not to continue in the office of second vice-president brings back to the League, in that office, Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham, the brilliant woman who from April, 1921, until the autumn of 1923 was executive secretary. In that position, Mrs. Cunningham's sure instinct for leadership, her gift of unfailing tact, and her intimate knowledge of League affairs made her invaluable. She is a Texan of the Texans, a graduate of the school of pharmacy of the university of her state, a state which she won to the suffrage cause. Beginning her suffrage work in 1911, she was successively—and successfully—president of the Gal-

veston Woman Suffrage Association and of the state organization. In 1918-1919, under Mrs. Maud Wood Park, chairman, she was secretary of the congressional committee of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Washington and worked like a Texan—or a Trojan—for the Nineteenth Amendment. As second vice-president, she will be chairman of the get-out-the-vote campaign of this year, with headquarters in Washington.

The new director of the first region, Mrs. James E. Cheesman, president of the United League of Rhode Island, is one of the many members of the National League who never supported the woman suffrage movement. She held, however, the sound doctrine that possession of the vote means obligation to use it and as soon as women were enfranchised, began to put her doctrine into practice.

Daughter of a distinguished educator, and in her earlier years preceptress of Fort Edward Collegiate Institute, in the State of New York, she had the best of training for the civic work in which she has been engaged almost ever since her marriage. Her home has been in New Jersey and Rhode Island and in both states she has been a power in the organized work of women. In New Jersey she was president of the Women's Club of the Oranges and active in other organizations. In Rhode Island she has been president of the Congress of Mothers and state chairman for the Y. W. C. A. campaign of 1919-1920, and is a staunch member of the Ethan Allen Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

Wonderful at planning and quite as wonderful at carrying out plans, if Mrs. Cheesman announces that the United League will begin a membership drive on Tuesday at noon and have five hundred new members at twelve o'clock on Tuesday, week, everybody knows she will fail to carry out her plan only because the quota will be reached at half-past eleven. As director Mrs. Cheesman may be counted on not to drop one-thousandth of an inch below the high standard Mrs. Robert De Normandie has set.

Miss Adèle Clark, the new director of the third region, is an artist by profession, a student of Henri and Chase, and a far-seeing, practical citizen of the most modern type. Under her presidency the Virginia League has succeeded in getting no fewer than twenty new laws for the benefit of women and children passed by the legislature, and in recognition of her services Miss Clark was appointed to the commission on simplification of state government. Somebody has called her "a statesman with a Burne-Jones profile," and perhaps the description is as good as any that can be given of an exceptionally gifted woman who embodies in mind and manner the best tradition of the old South.

A New League Publication

"A SURVEY of the Legal Status of Women in the Forty-eight States" is the title of a new publication which is one of the most valuable the League has ever issued. It is a substantial pamphlet of eighty-seven pages and its price is 75c.

Miss Esther Dunshee, chairman of the National League Committee on Uniform Laws Concerning Women, explains in the *Foreword* that in the summer of 1922 a survey was undertaken by the committee of which Mrs. Catherine Waugh McCulloch was then chairman, concerning contract and property rights of married women, marriage and divorce, guardianship, jury service, the relationship of women to public office and the professions, and their political status.

"Under the direction of the present chairman, then acting as vice-chairman," she says, "a questionnaire was sent out to the officers in each state with a request that answers be furnished and authorities cited. Late in the fall of that year the committee thought it wise to secure the service of Miss Elizabeth Perry, a lawyer of Chicago, to answer the questionnaire for states from which no replies had been received.

... The original purpose of the survey was to enable the committee to place in the hands of the state officers suggestions concerning legislation needed in their own states and in

January, 1923, leaflets with such suggestions were sent into all the states."

The present pamphlet is a compilation of laws of all the states and Miss Dunshee calls attention to the fact that it is intended to show where discrimination against women exists rather than to give the existing laws in detail. Its information is grouped under the headings: Common Law Disabilities of Married Women (Contractual Rights, Property Rights, Equal Guardianship of Children); Marriage and Divorce Laws; Women as Jurors, and Eligibility to Hold Office.

The information clearly given, state by state, under each of these heads is made doubly valuable by the addition of a summary and a glossary of legal terms used in the text.

"More Convention"

APRIL 28, though it was indisputably Monday, the only Monday of the fifth annual convention in Buffalo, was most certainly not blue Monday. It was the rosiest of rosy Mondays, for after a morning session of action on program of work and on incorporation—the National League of Women Voters has now the right to put the magic "Inc." after its name which entitles it, among other advantages, to receive legacies—there came an afternoon of "Politics in Practice" with women who know whereof they speak to tell things.

Mrs. Minnie Fisher Cunningham led off, opening a discussion on the dividing line between the work of the League and the political parties. "Women as Delegates to Party Convention" brought Mrs. John M. Kenny, of Tennessee, who set the convention in a roar with her words of wisdom sugar-coated with richest humor. Quoting Mrs. Catt's saying, "Instead of appealing to the parties for things you want, it is better to go inside and help yourself to the things you want," Mrs. Kenny added:

"The majority of Democratic women have an idea that the way to get things they want in politics is to wait until they are invited to sit at the political banquet table and have their order served them on a silver waiter. But my experience and observation lead me to believe that Mrs. Catt is right. You must get inside, even waive the formality of an invitation, for invitations are not issued in well-regulated party circles, and help yourselves cafeteria style if you would escape dying of political malnutrition.

"We must be present at every party meeting every time the bell taps. In this way the men will become accustomed and perhaps reconciled to our presence. We must also insist strenuously on the right to select the women who are to represent us. Politicians have a way, if they choose any women at all, of selecting their nearest female relatives or friends. 'Me and my wife, my son John and his wife, us four and no more'."

Mrs. LeRoy Davis, of Nebraska, gave as good an account of the Republican party's welcome of women as Mrs. Kenny had given for the Democrats. Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, wife of the governor of Pennsylvania, opened the discussion of law enforcement with one of her characteristic forceful speeches and when she spoke of threats against the life of her son the convention had a new realization of what lack of law enforcement means.

Mrs. Solon Jacobs, who presided, opened the fourth discussion of the morning, "Methods of Legislative Work," and, like all the other discussions, it brought responses from delegates who had something to say and knew how to say it.

The WOMAN CITIZEN (May 3) has already given an account of the splendid banquet of Monday evening, but did not mention all the brilliant women who spoke. In addition to Mrs. Catt (who paid tribute to the suffrage pioneers, and to two Buffalo women among them, Mrs. Richard Williams and Mrs. George Horace Lewis), United States Civil Service Commissioner, Helen H. Gardener, Mrs. Harriet Taylor Upton, Mrs. Emily Newell Blair, and Commandant Mary Allen, four other guests made brief addresses.

Miss Edith Picton-Turbervill, vice-president of the British Y. W. C. A., envied American women because they can vote at twenty-one and not at thirty, like British women. Mrs. Adelaide Plumtre, of Toronto, spoke of the neighborly feeling between women of the United States and women of the Dominion, adding:

"Canada has many relations in the British Empire, but only one neighbor on any side, the United States. If I could feel homesick here I have only to look at the flag of my country standing side by side with 'Old Glory.' I pray that those two flags may always stand side by side, equally revered and equally honored."

Mrs. Anna Botsford Comstock, whose name, with Mrs. Catt's and Miss Van Rensselaer's among the guests, is included in the League's list of greatest American women, contributed a reminiscence of Susan B. Anthony, who advised her, when as a girl in 1874 she entered the University of Michigan, one of the two universities which then braved criticism and admitted women, to keep her suffrage opinions to herself while she was that only-tentatively-accepted thing, a woman college student, so that she might have only one count against her, not two.

Miss Martha Van Rensselaer's account of the astonishment she felt—she was sure it must be somebody else of the same name—when she was told she had been selected as one of the twelve greatest women gave her hearers another good story to re-tell. Speaking of her chosen field, domestic science, she said she believed the work of the League of Women Voters the greatest contribution to American home making that has ever been made.

Miss Katharine Ludington's gift as toastmaster was shown in her graceful little speeches of introduction at the great banquet and next day she displayed another gift. She made the finance session, when pledges were made and action on the budget taken, an entertainment, and added the laurels of a dramatist to those she wears as treasurer. Her own word is that she merely "adapted" the clever little skit which brought home to all finance workers the things not to do.

Mrs. Sumner McKnight, of Minneapolis, in gray wig and huge mustache, was the Busy Business Man. Miss Marguerite Woolley was the nose-powdering stenographer and Miss Gertrude Ely was the well-meaning young lady come to solicit a contribution. She had the star part and, in the language of Broadway, she "ate it up." One suspects that it was by no means her "first appearance on any stage," for no beginner ever in the world "got her lines over" as Miss Ely did. She was a "scream"; she "stopped the show." Any dramatic critic would have given her a column and any manager a contract on the spot.

Nor was this the only inning of the finance department. Volunteers who offered for the work were invited to a luncheon and walked around proudly afterward wearing what they said were gold medals and assuredly what they bore glistened as brightly as any gold ever mined. State presidents had a dinner of their own and so had presidents of local Leagues, and national and state League staffs. Miss Charlotte Conover, of Ohio, was toastmaster at the dinner of bulletin editors and press chairmen and her list of speakers included Mrs. Caspar Whitney; Miss Gladys Harrison, of Minneapolis; Mrs. Theodore Pierce, of Rhode Island, and Mrs. Raymond Brown, of the WOMAN CITIZEN.

Resolutions were adopted at the closing session and from them and the plan of work the Board of Directors will select planks to be offered to the conventions of the political parties for inclusion in party platforms, as was done in 1920. Mrs. Richard Edwards, of Peru, Indiana, formerly first vice-president, has been appointed to direct League work at the Republican National Convention and Mrs. Solon Jacobs, of Birmingham, Alabama, former second vice-president, will have the same responsibility at the convention of the Democrats. Miss Elizabeth J. Hauser, of Girard, Ohio, League secretary, will represent the League at any third party convention held.

At that last business session Mrs. Park introduced the new officers to the convention and she introduced, also, the women of the Erie County League, the hostess League, who by sound planning, untiring attention, and splendid team-work among their more than thirty committees made every detail of convention arrangements a success. They were called to the platform and roundly applauded.

"Look at them!" Mrs. Park called out as they stood grouped at her left. "Look at those Erie County women and you will understand why this convention has been such a success."

The convention looked and understood.

Invitations for next year's convention poured in before this year's ended, and letters from chambers of commerce and mayors and Rotarians and, from all manner of other civic organizations and from unorganized prominent citizens as well, added to the cordial invitations delegates gave.

El Paso, Texas, is bound and determined to have the convention of 1925 there, and said so through Mrs. O. A. Critchett, who made a moving plea. San Francisco; West Baden, Indiana; Providence, Rhode Island; Columbus, Ohio; Asheville, North Carolina; the Hotel Statler of Cleveland; the Kenilworth Inn, of Biltmore, North Carolina; the Chicago Beach Hotel; Detroit, and Atlantic City all want the convention next year and the Board will not cease to be importuned until it announces its decision.

Blackboard Talks at County Fairs

DIGNIFIED methods of getting the attention of women at county fairs may have a small measure of success, but distribution of literature, as paths and driveways of the grounds testify, is almost wholly waste. Quantities of expensive printed material are given to bored and unimpressed multitudes.

An impecunious committee, yearning ardently to capture that very public, evolved the blackboard idea. With a minimum of expense, the attention of the county fair visitors was held long enough to win interviews and registrations. A League woman established herself, with a large blackboard, in the domestic arts exhibit. Somehow the fair manager saw no reason to charge for this chance stand, though a tiny booth would have had to be rented.

Not every woman would be able to do this blackboard work. A sense of humor, the sense of adventure, a very genuine liking for humans, and a high confidence in the message of the League—these are essentials.

No crowd was to be seen. The League lady began to write in large clear script the first sentence she had prepared. By the time she had completed her text a corporal's guard had assembled within talking distance. Facing the group, she asked, "Don't you think that's pretty true?"

"Sure," "I suppose it might be," and so on, ran the replies. Here came the test—how to amplify the blackboard sentence to include a few League particulars—how to create the desire to look further into this matter. The registration of more than one hundred names by the end of the first day's work proved that the object was accomplished. Each registration represented an interview. This was the formula attending the request for registration:

"We can show you here a few samples of the reading matter we have at our headquarters, but such material costs money and we have to work to earn the money to buy it. If we gave you a packet of leaflets now you would be tired of carrying them around all day and throw them away. If you will write your name on this paper we shall be able to mail a packet to your home and put you on our free mailing-list for six months. You will get our League bulletin once a month, which tells what women of the state are doing to be good citizens."

A few examples are given to show the sort of thing used on the blackboard:

"Stay, stay, at home, my heart, and rest; homekeeping hearts

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are happiest'. (Longfellow). But! Longfellow died before taxes went up."

"Taxes take the poetry out of housekeeping for many of us."

"Are taxes any of women's business? Millions of American women believe they are. The League of Women Voters exists for such women. Let us tell you how."

"Ready-made convictions are cheap. Like many ready-made things they do not wear well."

"Anything cheap in the mental line is frightfully expensive for Uncle Sam. All over America women are studying to form their own opinions. The League of Women Voters serves them."

"The meals you serve your husband do not serve you. When he casts his vote can he vote for two? Your vote is 100 per cent your own. The League of Women Voters helps you to make it 100 per cent."

There were ten such condensed sermonettes on League service. Many capable, keen farm women asked about their problems with considerable economic point. Shrewd, aggressive-looking men stopped to talk, commenting upon the blackboard epigrams.

"Let me sign for my wife," or "my sister," or "my daughter," was a frequent remark. The scribe concluded that her county fair work was one of the most profitable enterprises she had undertaken. The Boy Scouts were ready to give her a lift when she found a "stand" did not meet her needs. Three shifts were made one day until at last she found herself in the midst of pedestrian traffic, where the ear was assailed by wiener vendors and toy hucksters. Here in the throng was a continuous audience piqued into listening. There was a steady line of women who thoughtfully considered registering. Duplicates of registration lists were sent to headquarters for the mailing-list and for the use of an organizer in the district. The value of such a list is apparent.

When the blackboard plan was proposed it was objected that League dignity would suffer. In not a single instance was the objection borne out. On the contrary, even young people of the snickering age regarded the blackboard sayings with respectful interest. As many men as girls and women stopped to read. One retired farmer commented, "The thing that gets me in this stunt of yours is that a woman of your type would come here in this hot, crowded place and talk to folks from the poor farms we have around here, and the way you get hold of the uneducated women."

No outlay, no luggage, no cumbersome preparations. Merely the loan of a large blackboard, a box of chalk, pencils, and sheets of good paper, a surface to serve for writing purposes, the co-operation of the Boy Scouts, and a dozen telling, homely illustrations of League programs. No other work makes such substantial and quick returns for the same amount of effort in capturing the great mass of inaccessible potential members.

(Adapted from an account by Elsbeth Andrae, chairman of organization, Milwaukee League.)

Leagues and League Work

DR. HAMILTON HOLT, president of the Third American Peace Congress and member of the executive committee of the League of Nations Non-Partisan Association, is a notable speaker at the state convention of the North Dakota League in Grand Forks, May 17, the last of the three days set aside for convention work. Miss Marguerite Wells, regional director, presided during the convention and lent great help to the success of the school of citizenship conducted in connection with it at the North Dakota State University.

JULY 14-19 are the dates set for the school of citizenship which the North Carolina League is to hold at the Asheville Normal Summer School. At the request of the League, Dr. John E. Calfree, president of the Asheville Normal and Associated Schools, has arranged four courses of five hours' each, and the instructors selected make it clear that the "Land of the Sky" school will be worth traveling many miles to attend.

WHEN Mrs. Parker Maddux completed her three years of service as president of the San Francisco League she declined to be reelected, and Mrs. Jesse H. Steinhart was elected to succeed her. Vice-presidents elected are: Miss Alice Burr and Mrs. T. J. Bacigalupi. The corresponding secretary is Mrs. B. C. Haworth; the recording secretary, Mrs. Chester Judson; the treasurer, Mrs. Margaret Colson, and the auditor, Mrs. Cleveland Forbes.

EARLY in April the San Antonio (Texas) League was organized with fifty charter members. Mrs. W. P. Rote was elected chairman and the League proceeded at once with get-out-the-vote plans.

THE handsome gavel used at the fifth annual convention in Buffalo is the gift of the convention hostesses, the Erie County League, and is the first gavel the National League has ever owned.

THE *Bulletin* of the Johnson County (Nebraska) League has an able and interesting Washington correspondent in the person of Mrs. Harry Hull, wife of the representative in Congress from the second congressional district of the state.

IN West Allis (Wisconsin) the local League, of which Mrs. Joseph B. Brady is president, has already laid plans for personal interviews with every voter in the community before the September primaries.

RICHARD WILLIAMS, a sixteen-year-old student at the Buffalo Technical High School, won the prize offered by the Buffalo League for the National League convention poster.

THE University of Iowa has a new Junior League, with Miss Catherine Donica as president.

AN official membership drive, April 7-15, added to the unofficial and informal drive the Memphis (Tennessee) League always keeps up, has made the membership 500 larger than it was when the year began. The plan now is to have each member roll call by handing in the name of a new member, so doubling the membership. Another citizenship school is planned for the fall.

MRS. ADOLPH G. WULFF, formerly president of the Cincinnati Federation of Mothers' Clubs, is the new president of the Cincinnati League. The other officers elected April 14 are: vice-presidents, Mrs. Julius Pollak, Mrs. Robert A. Taft, Mrs. James G. Stewart; recording secretary, Miss Ruth Punshon; corresponding secretary, Mrs. John M. Withrow; treasurer, Mrs. F. F. Ferris; auditor, Mrs. Frank M. Gorman.

THE Galveston League, reorganized April 3, with the help of Mrs. H. B. Moore, of Texas City, president of the Texas League, and Miss Ruth McIntosh, regional secretary, is already planning a big membership drive. Mrs. Walter Ayres is chairman; Mrs. D. W. Kempner, vice-chairman; Mrs. Sallie Trueheart Williams, treasurer, and Miss Gertrude Girardeau, secretary.

TWO of the newest Leagues are the League of Weston (West Virginia), organized with forty charter members, and the League of Sisterville, in the same state, which began at about the same time with about the same number.

THE Miami (Florida) League held its first open meeting for candidates on April 21.

World News About Women

Every Reader Is Asked to Be a Reporter

The A. A. U. W. Convention

THE American Association of University Women, organized in 1882 by a small group of college graduates for educational service and reorganized in 1921, held its third annual convention in Washington, April 21-25. Miss Mina Kerr, executive secretary, reported 18,000 members and 280 branches, and every state in the Union now represented in the A. A. U. W. Mrs. Frances Fenton Bernard, educational secretary, reported that 110 round tables had been held since July, dealing with the pre-school child, elementary education, or international relations; and that \$27,000 was granted by the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial for promoting the elementary and pre-school projects. This money is to be used to make experiments with the pre-school child through small groups of college women under the supervision of the educational secretary. Groups for the study of elementary education will also be formed.

The Committee on International Relations (President Ellen Fitz Pendleton, of Wellesley, chairman) brought good news—an annual appropriation for five years of \$5,000 by the Carnegie Corporation through the Institute of International Education for the international work of the Association. The Committee on Legislative Policies urged that the Association support the Sterling-Reed education bill, the child labor amendment (which has since passed the House) and the participation of the United States in the World Court. The Association officially allied itself with the movement for more rigorous law enforcement by adopting a recommendation of the resolutions committee that law enforcement in the strictest interpretation is essential to the welfare of the nation.

The housing problems of women students in universities were reported on, and the fact was brought out that sixty-two of the branches have active housing committees.

Forty-seven applications for graduate fellowships offered by the Association were sent in by American students. Twenty-four women from other countries applied for the International Fellowship, which was awarded to Miss Gudrun Ruud, of the University of Christiania, Norway.

Coordination was a much-discussed subject. A resolution was passed that a Committee for Cooperation between Women's Organizations should be appointed by the president, Dr. Aurelia

Henry Reinhardt, of Mills College, California. This committee is then to secure a committee of three from each of the large women's organizations with a view to a survey of a plan for a greater conservation of women's efforts—the plan to be submitted at the next A. A. U. W. convention.

The work of improving scholarship and living conditions for women faculty and students has been from the beginning of the Association one of its most important activities. As universities and colleges come up to the standards of scholarship and residence living required by the Association their names are added to the approved list. Twelve institutions were added to this list at the recent convention, as follows:

Adelphi College, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Hood College, Frederick, Maryland; Illinois College, Jacksonville, Illinois; Meredith College, Raleigh, North Carolina; Park College, Parkville, Missouri; University of Arkansas, Fayetteville, Arkansas; University of South Dakota, Vermillion, South Dakota; Westminster College, New Wilmington, Pennsylvania; Wilson College, Chambersburg, Pennsylvania; Kansas Agricultural College, Manhattan, Kansas; Oregon Agricultural College, Corvallis, Oregon; James Milliken University, Decatur, Illinois.

The Y. W. C. A.

FROM the outside point of view, perhaps the most notable event of the national convention of the Young Women's Christian Association, held in New York City, April 30 to May 6, was the pledge to use the Association's efforts to secure the entrance of the United States into the League of Nations. At its last convention, two years ago, this body endorsed the World Court and all means for the outlawry of war. But this is the very first instance of the endorsement of the League of Nations by a national organization of women.

This was the climax of the great convention's peace action. But on the second day the National Board presented a resolution endorsing the entrance of the United States into the World Court, the convention adopted it, and a telegram was rushed to the sub-committee in Washington then holding hearings on the World Court.

"Internationalism," naturally enough, was a dominant theme. For here were gathered not only delegates from all over this country, but scores of women from abroad—some of them coming specially to this convention, some to the meeting of the World's Y. W. C. A. Committee, which met in Washington immediately after the national gathering. A list of World's Committee delegates and visi-

tors showed the names of women from all over Europe; from China, India, Japan, Korea, the Near East, South America, Mexico, Jamaica and Egypt. And the great foyer outside the ballroom in the Commodore Hotel, where convention sessions were held, showed in the interesting throng a number of unfamiliar hued faces, and here and there a native costume, alluring among the European and American street clothes.

One night there was a wonderful international dinner, with women from forty countries present. There were two evening mass meetings whose subject was "Toward a New Internationalism"—at which the speakers came from Mexico, India, England, China; and a deeply impressive vesper service was held at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, with the flags of forty-six nations carried in procession and the Girl Reserves bearing the flags of all the states in the Union. And, of course, the international interest ran through all the meetings of this great international organization.

Outstanding among the foreign visitors were the Hon. Mrs. Waldegrave, the Countess of Portsmouth and Miss Charlotte Niven—president, treasurer and general secretary of the World's Executive Committee; Lady Gladstone, president of the London branch of the League of Nations Union; Agatha Harrison, Industrial Secretary for China; Iris Wingate, National General Secretary for India, and Mrs. Appasamy, of Madras—in native sari; Mrs. H. C. Mei, president for China; Edith Picton-Turbervill, vice-president of the British Y. W. C. A.; Ingibjorg Olafsson, traveling secretary in Scandinavia; Mary Phillips, Secretary of the Industrial Law Bureau of England's Y. W. C. A.; the Countess Elsa Bernadotte, niece of the King of Denmark, and Elena Landazuri, of Mexico. And one of our own finest moments, in getting glimpses of the convention, was a very casual one in which we saw the National Secretary for France, Mlle. Jean Bertsch, and the National Secretary for Germany, Fräulein Hulda Zarnack, talking together in the friendliest English.

One more move in the interest of international amity was the action about Japanese exclusion. During the course of the convention the National Board, as a result of a cabled plea from Japanese secretaries, sent telegrams protesting against Japanese exclusion to the Chairmen of the Immigration Committees of Senate and House, and asked the President to veto the bill. This action was ratified by the convention.

A progressive vote of the convention was one removing membership in an evangelical church as a condition of voting membership in the Y. W. C. A. If this two-thirds majority vote is confirmed by a two-thirds majority at the next biennial convention women of all races and religions, on taking a pledge of loyalty to the purposes of the Association, will be eligible to vote.

In addition to the principal convention sessions there was each day a Student Assembly, an Industrial Assembly, and a Business Assembly—very live, very competent; there were thorough arrangements for study of Association work in New York in its many forms and receptions in all parts of the city.

Peace and Freedom

A NEW International Order" was the general theme of the fourth congress of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, which was held in Washington May 1-7. At the Vienna congress of 1922 the League undertook the collection of suggestions for a revision of the Versailles Treaty, looking toward a juster basis for world organization, and three plans, originating with different sections, were presented at the Washington sessions. These will be sent to the national sections for study and criticism, and reported back to the next congress.

The plan which made most progress was that presented by the French section, for a new international organization to be known as "The League of Peoples." In this it is proposed that representatives of both the majority and the minority governments of every nation should be included, and also representatives of groups of workers. It would seek to find a way for removing economic causes of war.

The League of Nations was a theme for discussion—the pro-Leaguers standing for it as an instrument for achieving world confederation, though with certain changes, others repudiating it altogether. It was not included among the resolutions. These indorsed the World Court; President Coolidge's suggestion for an international conference on limitation of armaments; the outlawry of war by international agreement; the establishment of university courses in international relations and world peace, and the appointment of an international commission to study the development of chemical warfare and the organizing of opposition to it.

The resolutions committee declined to include in its report advocacy of the equal rights amendment as a means of securing sex equality in this country. Standing for the general principle of equality, the League chose not to recommend specific methods for securing equality. The League also refused to urge its national sections to work for immediate and total disarmament of

their countries without regard to what other countries were doing. Miss Jeanette Rankin, Mrs. Lucia Ames Mead and others opposed this radical proposal, calling first for outlawry of war and some form of world organization.

A rewording of its aims was adopted by the League, as follows:

1. Complete and universal disarmament on land, on sea and in the air, abolition of the hunger blockade and of the prostitution of science for destructive purposes.

2. World organization for social, political and economic cooperation.

3. Social, political and economic equality for all, without distinction of sex, race, class or creed.

4. Moral disarmament through education in the spirit of human unity, and through the establishment of social justice.

Delegates from more than twenty countries came to the conference. Among them were women of great prominence—Dr. Aletta Jacobs, of Holland; Gertrud Baer (see CITIZEN of April 19), Dr. Anita Augsburg and Miss Lida Heymann, of Germany; Mme. Andree Jouve and Mme. Marcelle Capy, of France; Frau Yella Hertzka, of Austria, founder of the new Women's Club in Vienna, etc. Among the mass meetings held was one at which Senator Borah was the speaker on the outlawry of war—a meeting devoted to the youth movement that is sweeping over the world.

Miss Jane Addams was unanimously reelected International President.

The congress is to be followed by an International Summer School at Chicago from May 17 to 31, at which the general subject will be Human Factors in Internationalism.

In Session

THE outcome of two more conferences in session as this is written, will be summed up in the next number. One is the twenty-eighth annual convention of the Congress of Mothers and Parent-Teacher Associations, which met in St. Paul, Minnesota, May 6. The other is a new body—a conference called through the Women's Committee for Political Action, held in Washington, May 8 to 11, to line up progressive women for a possible progressive movement and organization, breaking away from the old party ranks. A platform has been drawn up, including among its planks public ownership of means of transportation and communication; public control of the nation's money and credit; legislation to prevent courts from nullifying acts of legislatures; large income and inheritance taxes, reduction of armament and abolition of political patronage. Among the leaders are Zona Gale, Ida Clyde Clarke, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, and Harriot Stanton Blatch.

A Busy Florida Woman

ONE job is a mere nothing for a Southern woman these days. For instance: Miss Elizabeth Skinner, who

is a candidate for County Superintendent of Public Instruction in Pinellas County, Florida. Miss Skinner was president of the Florida Suffrage Association and president of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs; she organized the Y. W. C. A. work in her county and the Boy Scout movement. Now she is a member of the State Children's Code Committee, a director of the General Federation of Women's Clubs and has just been elected second vice-president of the National Board of the Y. W. C. A.

Methodist Women Win, and Lose

WOMEN won a victory, and suffered a defeat, at the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, now in session at Springfield, Mass. A resolution to admit women to the same status with men in the pastorate was voted down. But the report of a special commission appointed in 1920 was adopted, and full ordination as "local pastors" was granted to women. In the past they have served as local preachers, but without the right to administer sacraments, now granted. They will not, however, be admitted to membership in conferences and will not hold regular charges. Some of the arguments against the granting of full rights were very mossy; but considerations that counted with the more liberal group were that there is as yet no real demand in the church for the ordination of women, and that so radical a step might interfere with the hoped-for union with the Methodist Church South.

Kentucky's Political Parties

IN the State of Kentucky, both the major political parties have women as their state secretaries. Mrs. Lillian G. Davis is the secretary for the Republican Party, and Miss Maja Eudaley, for the Democratic Party. Both are from Louisville.

Women Engineers

IN the early part of April the second international conference of the Women's Engineering Society was held at Manchester College of Technology, Manchester, England. About forty delegates attended, including representatives from America and Belgium.

Milwaukee's "First"

MISS FRIEDA MUELLER has been appointed by Mayor Hoan a member of the Milwaukee Public Debt Commission. To the best of our knowledge Miss Mueller is the first woman in the country to be appointed to such an office. Her term is for three years, and, as a member of the Commission, her name will appear on all bonds issued by Milwaukee.

The Bookshelf

By M. A.

SPRING, bringing feathery maple trees, golden glory of forsythia, and parades on Fifth Avenue, brings also a strange languor. Suddenly it is too hard work to be serious, too strenuous to read books that make one think.

Two books fit perfectly with that kind of a mood. J. C. Snaith has named his latest piece of frivolity "*There Is a Tide*." It is the story of Amethyst Du Rance, of Cowbarn, Indiana, and how she made London stand up and play good dog. Her slang, of the American variety as written by an Englishman, is inimitable. The book is both gay and ridiculous, and not to be read in any other frame of mind.

"*Found Money*" is unadulterated fun of the light Irish type that George Birmingham understands so well. It concerns a hunt for buried treasure which goes into the very center of an Irish revolution and the complications which arise are amazing and hilarious. Mr. Birmingham has a lazy, good-humored way of presenting absurdities which makes them practically irresistible. His latest book is of the kind that will put one to sleep still chuckling.

Robert Herrick's "*Waste*" fits in with the other mood which follows as a reaction to too much of the exaltation of spring, the "what-is-it-all-about" feeling. It is the story of a man whose childhood was spent in a sordid household, whose marriage was badly begun and ended, whose life is a series of disillusionments. Herrick finds the world a very false and tragic place for a sensitive person. Yet the book has power, and some beauty.

"*Mrs. Phelps' Husband*" is Adriana Spadoni's study of a contemplative man married to an energetic woman. Elinor Harrison was a red-headed school teacher of force and decision, and much convention. Worried by advancing years, sick of the routine lives about her, she fell in love with the one man she should never have met, and married him before he knew what had happened or how. She takes efficient charge of their joint destinies, and gradually molds this dreamy, tolerant, beauty-loving philosopher into an automaton, who only once breaks into useless revolt. The book is able and interesting and its people are very real.

"*The Golden Cocoon*" is the first novel of Ruth Cross, and chiefly interesting for its promise for the future of

its young author. It is the story of Molly, energetic daughter of a "shiftless" Southern family. Hard-working, hard-studying, with a mind that is fiercely absorptive, she wins her way out of the cotton fields to the state university, which seems the most beautiful place in the world. More unlearned in emotions than she is in books, she is swept off her feet by a lover whose jilting nearly costs her life. How she rewards and then fails her savior make up the least plausible parts of the book. One does not look for puppet action in as real a person as Molly Shannon. Faulty as the book is, its author has a feeling for beauty, a sense of suspense, and a power of action that promise well.

Is Woman Suffrage Failing?

Dr. C. H. Parkhurst

formerly pastor of the Madison Square Presbyterian Church, with a long record as a reformer, says, in our continuous symposium:

"**I**N replying to your letter of inquiry I permit me briefly to say that I think our lady friends have behaved remarkably well. The attainment of their purpose has operated to quiet their exuberance. The policy adopted by them has been to this extent gratifying, that it indicates that they plan to act cooperatively with the original sex—if I may so say—rather than to play the game alone.

"Some of the questions which you ask—and they are exceedingly practical—it is almost too early to attempt to answer."

Henry Holt

the well-known publisher, has a different opinion:

"**I** AM terribly mixed up on the Woman Question, and shall probably contradict myself a good deal in answering your queries. Here goes, however.

"I do not see that the woman's vote has made any difference to me. I do not see that it has made any difference anywhere.

"I do not see that the political parties are any better since woman entered them, and yet I have an underlying conviction that probably they are.

"Women certainly discuss public affairs, but I do not know that their discussion amounts to anything. I assume myself to have a masculine intellect, and yet public affairs generally are rather too profound for me.

"I do not know whether they vote independently of their husbands. My women do more or less—when they vote at all—but I doubt if women generally do. In fact, as far as I know, they do not seem to vote much anyhow.

"I suspect that men politicians kotow to the women politicians, but whether it does their side any good I doubt."

Smoke

(Continued from page 12)

matic stokers of various types, and must be able also to give instruction in the real art of hand-firing. He must know when smoke results from "forcing"—trying to get out of a set more than there is in it; and many other things he must know. From all of which it will be plain, I hope, that *each heating or power-plant is a separate problem and hence blanket prescriptions are out of order*. Innumerable setbacks in smoke abatement can be traced to one industrial concern having copied out of hand the device successfully installed by another.

One excellent way to prove the practicability and economy of smoke abatement for small plants is to induce the city to abate some nuisance of its own. In a Western city, where I found the city hall one of the worst offenders, we prevailed on the council to discard the ancient and decrepit outfit for a new one of the so-called "dutch oven" type, particularly suitable for hand-stoked furnaces. This led to placing the same type in two other municipal buildings and a new schoolhouse. Confidence and backbone were thus given to the whole program of smoke prevention which had hitherto been confined to the large industrial concerns.

In my own experience I have found locomotive smoke least amenable to control. To any city meditating an attack here, I strongly recommend a study of a brochure issued by the Federal Bureau of Mines treating of the abatement of locomotive smoke at Grafton, West Virginia. The problem is inherently more difficult than with a stationary boiler. However, given scientific stoking even by hand, there are efficient mechanical devices to be had for meeting the other difficulties. But I would advise the smoke inspector personally to board a switch engine in operation, as I have repeatedly done, to find out how very little the average fireman has ever been taught about his job. Locomotive firemen need to go to school to a good inspector, and bring the ash-pitmen and engine-preparers along.

Abatement of smoke from private homes, even when the evil is paramount, is not one of the "first steps," but usually the very last. Few cities ever attempt it. Louisville has, but with how much success I am not sure. Yet I cannot close without saying a word on this very important subject. With the present fuel situation I doubt if anything beyond educational measures is practical. It would be a grand thing if householders could be taught how to kindle a fire from the top, which does away with a deal of the smoke from a green fire; if they could be compelled to have their furnaces periodically overhauled and the chimney cleaned. It would be fine if

There Is a Tide, Appleton, 1924. \$2.00.

Found Money, Bobbs-Merrill, 1924. \$2.00.

Waste, Harcourt Brace, 1924. \$2.00.

Mrs. Phelps' Husband, Bobbs-Merrill, 1924. \$2.00.

The Golden Cocoon, Harper, 1924. \$2.00.

Cantilever Stores

Cut this out for reference

Akron—11 Orpheum Arcade (Main & Market)
 Albany—Hewitt's Silk Shop, 15 N. Pearl St.
 Alhambra—H. Mayer, 907 Hamilton St.
 Alhambra—Bendheim's, 1302 Eleventh Ave.
 Asheville—Follock's
 Atlanta—126 Peachtree Arcade
 Atlantic City—209 Boardwalk (near 5th-burns)
 Baltimore—335 North Charles St. (2nd floor)
 Bangor—John Connors Shoe Co.
 Berkeley—The Sooter
 Birmingham—Parlor City Shoe Co.
 Boston—109 Newbury St. Cor. Clarendon St.
 Bridgeport—1025 Main St. (2nd floor)
 Brooklyn—516 Fulton St. (Prinrose Bldg.)
 Buffalo—441 Main St. (above Chippewa St.)
 Butte—Huber Shoe Co.
 Canton, O.—H. M. Horton Co.
 Cedar Rapids—The Killian Co.
 Charleston, S. C.—J. F. Condon & Sons
 Charleston, W. Va.—John Lee Shoe Co.
 Charlotte—228 North Tryon St.
 Chicago—30 E. Randolph St. (Room 502)
 1850 Leland near Broadway
 185 E. Erie St. Cor. Drexel Ave.
 Cincinnati—The McAlpin Co.
 Cleveland—1785 Euclid Ave.
 Colorado Springs—Wulff Shoe Co.
 Columbus, O.—184 E. Broad St. (3rd flr)
 Dallas—Volk Bros. Co.
 Dayton—The Rike-Kumler Co.
 Denver—224 Foster Bldg.
 Des Moines—W. L. Whitte Shoe Co.
 Detroit—41 E. Adams Ave.
 Duluth—107 W. First St. (near 1st Ave. W.)
 Elizabeth—258 North Broad St.
 Elmhurst—C. W. O'Brien
 Erie—Weschler Co., 910 State St.
 Evanson—North Shore Bootery
 Evansville—110 So. 3rd St. (near Main)
 Fall River—D. F. Sullivan
 Fargo—Halt-Allen Shoe Co.
 Fort Wayne—Marshall App's Sons
 Fort Worth—Waller Bros.
 Grand Rapids—Hippelheimer Co.
 Greenville—Follock's
 Hagerstown—Baker's Shoe Shop
 Harrisburg—20 No. 2nd St. (Second floor)
 Hartford—Trumbull & Church Sts.
 Haverhill—McGregor's, 29 Washington Sq.
 Holyoke—Thos. S. Childs, 275 High St.
 Houston—305 Forties-Bank Commerce Bldg.
 Huntington, W. Va.—McMahon-Dinkel
 Indianapolis—L. S. Ayres & Co.
 Ithaca—Rothschild Bros.
 Jacksonville—Golden's Bootery
 Jersey City—Bennett's, 411 Central Ave.
 Kalamazoo—The Bell Shoe House
 Kansas City, Mo.—309 Altman Bldg.
 Kingston—E. T. Seiler
 Knoxville—Spencer Shoe Co.
 Lancaster, Pa.—Boyd & E. King St.
 Lawton—Lansey-Wellman, 110 Lisbon St.
 Lexington, Ky.—Denton, Ross, Todd Co.
 Lincoln—May Bros. Co.
 Long Beach, Cal.—534 Pine Ave.
 Los Angeles—104 S. Broadway
 Louisville—Boston Shoe Co.
 Lowell—The Bon Marche
 Lynchburg—Hobbs-Bowman Co.
 Madison—Family Shoe Store
 Mansfield—Bromberg Shoe Co.
 Memphis—20 No. Second St.
 Milwaukee—Brunner Shoe Co.
 Minneapolis—28 Eighth St. South
 Mr. Vernon, N. Y.—A. J. Rice & Co.
 Nashville—J. A. Murphy & Co. (Room 200)
 Newark—497 Broad St. (2nd floor)
 New Bedford—Olympia Shoe Shop
 Newburgh—C. A. Van Buren
 New Haven—151 Court St. (2nd floor)
 New Orleans—109 Poydras St. (Room 200)
 Newport, R. I.—Sullivan's, 226 Thames St.
 New Rochelle—Ware's
 New York—14 W. 4th St. (opp. Public Library)
 Norfolk—Ames & Brownley
 Oakland—514-15th St. (opp. City Hall)
 Oklahoma City—The Boot Shop
 Omaha—1728 Howard St.
 Pasadena—179 E. Olive St.
 Paterson—19 Park Ave. (at Erie Depot)
 Perth—Jefferson St. Lehigh Bldg.
 Philadelphia—133 Chestnut St.
 Pittsburgh—The Rosenbaum Co.
 Pittsfield—Wm. Fahay, 234 North St.
 Plainfield—M. C. Van Arsdale
 Portland, Me.—Palmer Shoe Co.
 Portland, Ore.—153 Alder St.
 Poughkeepsie—Louis Schenberger
 Providence—The Boston Store
 Reading—Sig. S. Schweriner
 Richmond, Va.—Seymour Syle
 Roanoke—L. Bachrach Shoe Co.
 Rochester—257 Main St. E. (3rd floor)
 Rockford—D. J. Stewart & Co.
 St. Joseph, Mo.—216 N. 7th (Arcade Bldg.)
 St. Louis—316 Arcade Bldg. (opp. P. O.)
 St. Paul—41 E. 5th St. (Frederic Hotel)
 St. Petersburg—W. L. Tillinghast
 Sacramento—205 Ochsner Bldg., E. near 7th
 Saginaw—Goeschel-Kulper Co.
 Salt Lake City—Walker Bros. Co.
 San Diego—The Marton Co.
 San Francisco—Phelan Bldg. (Arcade)
 Santa Barbara—Smith's Bootery
 Savannah—Globe Shoe Co.
 Schenectady—445 State St.
 Scranton—Lewis & Reilly
 Seattle—Baxter & Baxter
 Shreveport—Phelps Shoe Co.
 Sioux City—The Pelletier Co.
 Sioux Falls—The Bee Hive
 South Bend—Ellsworth Store
 Spokane—The Crescent
 Springfield, Mass.—Forbes & Wallace
 Stamford—L. Speike & Son
 Syracuse—121 West Jefferson St.
 Tacoma—205 So. 11th St. (Fidelity Trust Bldg.)
 Toledo—LaSalle & Koch Co.
 Topeka—The Pelletier Co.
 Toronto—7 Queen St. East (at Yonge)
 Trenton—H. M. Voorhees & Bro.
 Troy—31 Third St. (2nd floor)
 Tulsa—Lyon's Shoe Store
 Utica—20 & 28 Broadway Cor. Union
 Washington—1319 F Street (2nd floor)
 Wichita—Geo. R. Taylor Co.
 Wichita—Kornhaug's
 Williamsport—John B. Irvin
 Wilmington, Del.—Kennard-Pyle
 Worcester—J. C. MacInnes Co.
 Yonkers—21 Main St.
 Youngstown—B. McManus Co.

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Feet do Make a Difference

Tired and listless, she sinks back in a chair to envy little children at play, to wish for their energy, their easy activity. Not so long ago, she, too, was joyously active. Her feet were young. And they can be again. At this time of year there is gladness in the air and renewed life for those happy folks whose feet are young.

Many women who are spending large sums of money to prolong youth, forget how greatly the wrong type of shoe can age them. Wrinkles and "that tired look" are often the result of a subconscious protest against shoe-bound feet. When you bind and hamper your feet you are not only restricting the graceful, natural movements of the body but you are taxing vitality. Your doctor will tell you that many cases of suspected rheumatism, headaches, backaches and undue fatigue are caused by shoes that were not made with proper consideration for the shape and the normal action of the foot.

It is possible to regain active, care-free feet in the Cantilever Shoe. The natural shape and flexible arch make your feet young. At all times, the Cantilever is delightfully comfortable

and easy to wear. The shoe is flexible from toe to heel. It permits the foot muscles to strengthen through exercise, making them better able to hold the bones of the foot in well-curved, springy arches. The flexible shank follows the under curve of the foot snugly, giving gentle, restful arch support without restriction.

The lines of the shoe are the lines of the normal foot. Your toes have a chance to straighten out in the pleasingly rounded toe of the Cantilever. The well placed, moderate heel inclines you to toe straight ahead, which is a safeguard against fallen arches. This distributes the weight of the body evenly over the foot, taking the strain off the inner and weaker side.

The reduced prices now in effect make Cantilever Shoes exceptionally economical. They are well made shoes, long wearing, constructed of fine materials on attractive lines.

There are pretty pumps in one-strap, two-strap and twin-strap effects, trim oxfords and good looking sport shoes. You will like Cantilevers for their pleasing style and their wonderful comfort.



If none of the stores at the left is near you, write the manufacturers, Morse & Burt Company, 8 Carlton Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y., for the address of a Cantilever dealer who is more conveniently located and a booklet on shoes and feet.



Cantilever Shoe



manufacturers could be induced to build deeper fire-boxes, so that more coke could readily be used with, or instead of, soft coal. The comfort in the situation is that we perceive a strong domestic tendency toward crude oil, coke and pulverized coal variously applied; also some growth of sentiment for central heating plants. In the "Better Homes" Demonstration Week in Kalamazoo we are stressing proper feeding of the furnace along with proper feeding of the baby.

The smoke evil is one from which women, as housekeepers, are the greatest sufferers, and they should naturally unite in seeking relief. Women, however,

should understand that (as in another sort of cooperative undertaking) this is something not to be entered into lightly or unadvisedly; that there is no problem which offers a greater challenge to well-considered, energetic, sustained community action; that the campaign begins well on volunteer effort but cannot be carried to a successful finish by a city unwilling to spend money for trained inspectors and the machinery of education and rigid enforcement. A study of the methods of the Women's City Club

in Cleveland and of the Smoke Abatement League in Cincinnati is recommended to interested readers.

A closing word to the little town that hasn't a smoke nuisance as yet. Pass an ordinance at once. As Mr. Veiller has said in urging housing codes for small towns, nobody objects to a law against doing something he doesn't want to do anyway. By all means, pass a good smoke ordinance. Thus you provide against future difficulties and cast the mold for right community opinion.

Strains and Sprains

By Gulielma F. Alsop

COLLEGE PHYSICIAN AT BARNARD

NEXT in frequency to skin wounds in children are sprains. All the sprains of the various joints of the body come from the same cause—the inability of a joint to withstand a strain. The strain may be sudden, violent, as turning an ankle, or slow, prolonged, as the overuse of the sacroiliac joint in the back, in a repeated act.

A joint is composed of the heads of two or more bones, of the capsule surrounding the bones, making a sac, of the sinovial fluid within this capsule, lubricating the heads of the bones, and of the muscle tendons passing over the joint. Of all these anatomical structures, the muscle tendons are the most important.

In a sprain a violent force twists and wrenches and stretches the ligaments about the joint, sometimes even tearing asunder some of the tendon strands. The essential thing to remember is that nature, not we or the doctor or splints or medicines, will cure the sprain. First Aid is really an aid to nature, not to be seconded so much by the doctor as by the inherent, recuperative powers of the body.

The two essentials of bodily repair are rest and warmth. Warmth brings a fresh, liberal amount of blood, full of repair material, to the injured part. Rest gives the body time for repair. Rest of a joint does not necessarily involve rest of the entire body. Motion, flexion and extension are essentially joint work. Weight bearing is skeletal work. Rest to a joint may then be obtained by several methods—by bandaging, adhesive strapping, splinting, plaster casts and bed. The two principles of rest and warmth are applied in each case according to the mechanics of the joint injured.

A sprained digit: Soak entire hand in hot water until skin is red, about twenty minutes. Bandage on a small wooden splint, as a wooden tongue depressor. Soak daily and keep on splint three to five days. If spared at first, the swollen knuckle will in a week or two return to normal size. Otherwise, the return to normal may take several months.

Sprained ankle: Soak in a bucket of hot water well up above ankle about twenty minutes. Dry and strap with adhesive plaster and reinforce with a bandage. If the swelling and pain are marked, call a doctor. Very often in a bad sprain there is a chipping of one of the bones; therefore it is wiser to have an X-ray of the foot taken. It may be necessary, in order to apply the principle of rest, to keep the patient on the couch for the first two or three days of a badly sprained ankle, to remove weight bearing as well as joint motion. A stiff strapping will support the joint and prevent motion. A person may walk on a sprained ankle if it is kept stiff. It takes three to six weeks for a sprained ankle to return to normal.

A sprained knee is a much more serious accident on account of the complex and intricate anatomical makeup of the joint. It should be shown to a doctor. If no doctor is available, it should have heat applied, either by a hot bottle, or the application of steaming hot compresses, or a hot poultice. It should then be bandaged, snugly enough for support but not tight enough to interfere with circulation. A sprained knee is an affair of months and often incapacitates the individual for all athletic work for half a year.

A sprained back produces the symptoms of a backache and, in acute cases, of a sharp, lancinating pain, radiating down the legs. Heat is usually applied by ironing the back. Support is applied by an adhesive strap from hip to hip, or by a surgical belt. A sacroiliac sprain should always be under a doctor's care. If the sprain happens on a hike or a camping trip, a heavy silk middy tie bound tightly around the hips gives good support. The person may walk, but not bend.

All sprains are fairly serious, long, disabling accidents. If they are treated as such in the beginning and the joint is adequately protected by rest and support, until the tendons have regained their tone, the joint will not be permanently damaged. It is by the neglect of sprains that a child is ultimately handicapped by



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"weak ankles" or a "bad knee." The prevention of sprains consists in a well-balanced adjustment of the muscular power of the individual to the work or sport undertaken. A strong joint is essentially a muscular joint in which the tendons of the joint are tense, live, elastic bands—not flabby, muscular strings. Whatever exercises a joint, then, strengthens it.

In the case of that most frequently sprained joint, the ankle, the joint structures, the manifold tendons and muscles composing it, should be strengthened by free use. Wearing a high-heeled, inflexible shoe weakens the ankle, besides making the individual a less agile and less well-balanced mechanism, more liable to tripping and falling. If a child grows up permanently handicapped by a "weak knee," etc., the only sensible adjustment to make is to spare the weakened joint sudden, excessive, violent strain (as tennis playing) while maintaining a general vigorous muscular condition by less violent exercise.

Washington

(Continued from page 8)

last link in a magnificent chain extending from the Capitol building to the White House, through the parks to the Washington monument, to the stately and beautiful Lincoln memorial, thence to the tomb of the unknown soldier and Arlington across the Potomac, with its field of new white World War markers and the acres of weatherworn slabs for the other wars.

Senator Jones, of Washington state, has put in a Sunday blue law for the District which is bluer than the gloom of Doomsday, under which residents would attend exclusively to their religious and charitable life. Sunday at the capital is little different from the Sabbath anywhere else with the exception that the city is outdoors to a man, and the parks are full of family parties with lunch and supper baskets. Children roll around on the grass and the "heads" play ball, lie around and read. But the churches are filled to the point of bursting; to get a seat means standing in line, or arriving twenty minutes early to slip in before visitors.

President Coolidge, sitting at his desk in the White House, has a spring heaven just outside his window and the problem of the pending bonus bill staring at him from his blotter, with the conferees from the Capitol waiting in the anteroom to know the opinion of the Executive regarding the delayed progress of the administration's legislative program. The developments in the tax situation during the week have not been encouraging to the President. The Finance Committee of the Senate, instead of proceeding with the bill on the basis of the compromise rates passed by the House through the expert maneuvering of Majority Leader

Longworth, substituted the Mellon rates. When this was done, there were many in the Senate who believed that the Committee had only brought trouble upon itself, and this was fully proved when the upper house suddenly came to a vote by a coalition of Democrats and insurgent Republicans which threw out the Mellon rates entirely and inserted the schedule prepared by Senator Simmons, senior Democrat and tax expert of the Finance Committee. Senator Glass says that this only leads to interminable wrangling. The Senate and House now are at odds in the matter

and the whole proceeding is a blow to President Coolidge and Secretary Mellon. The vote was close—43 to 40.

The Republican insurgents who joined the Democrats were Senators Brookhart, Iowa; Frazier, North Dakota; Howell, Nebraska; Johnson, California; Ladd, North Dakota; Norbeck, South Dakota; Norris, Nebraska. Senator Bruce, Maryland, and Senator Edwards, New Jersey, Democrats, left the fold and voted with regular Republicans. Senator Bruce is cutting an independent figure. He has bolted his party more than once. He is a commanding presence from whom



The Road to Home

Though written faithfully, his letters from home seemed to have had a way of arriving at his hotel in one city just after he had left for the next—and of never catching up.

Three weeks passed—business conferences, long night journeyings on sleepers, more conferences—with all too little news from home.

Then he turned eastward. In his hotel room in Chicago he still seemed a long way from that fireside in a New York suburb. He reached for the telephone—asked for his home number.

The bell ti-kled cheerfully. His wife's voice greeted him. Its tone and inflection told him all was right with the world. She hardly needed to say, "Yes, they are well—dancing right here by the telephone. . . . Father and mother came yesterday. . . . Oh, we'll be glad to see you!"

* * *

Across the breadth of a continent the telephone is ready to carry your greetings with all the conviction of the human voice. Used for social or business purposes, "long distance" does more than communicate. It projects you—thought, mood, personality—to the person to whom you talk.



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one has come to expect drops of literary wisdom and individual thinking. He has written several books.

When the total score of the Sixty-eighth Congress has been assembled, it will be seen just what has been worrying administration leaders to a point of distraction. When a handful of insurgents can make chaos out of the administration's main legislative feature, the tax bill, and force the course of legislation in both houses, the regular Republican power has been seriously interfered with. President Coolidge had a breakfast conference with congressional leaders this week on this subject. The farm bloc has now announced that it will force action on the various farm relief measures when the tax bill is disposed of, and it is likely that it will get what it demands. In the House, this group has

thrown the chamber into consternation over the passage of the Barkley bill abolishing the Railroad Labor Board, which Representative Longworth and his lieutenants are endeavoring to filibuster along without coming to vote, thus delaying the whole program at a critical time. Filibustering at the end of the session when the work is already congested and pressure is put on is regrettable to the administration.

Congress has developed a state of mind lately over the rumor that the United States is falling behind the other nations in the upkeep of the Navy, persistent reports circulating that the country has not kept up with the other great powers, instead of maintaining the ratio prescribed by the treaties resulting from the Washington Conference on Disarmament. Senator King, Utah, Democrat, has a resolution before the upper house for a complete investigation of the naval establishment of the United States by a joint committee of Congress to determine the exact status. Similar resolutions have been introduced in the House.

The President's veto of the Bursum bill which provided for an increase of pensions is seen as a shadow of what his answer will be on the bonus legislation, which is more and more expected to turn down the soldier insurance proposition. The pension bill for more money for the Civil War veterans and others was vetoed on the ground of unwarranted increase of the burden on taxpayers. This undoubtedly was Secretary Mellon's advice, and it is known that the President has asked the Secretary for a report on the bonus legislation.

Conferees considering the immigration bill have made headway. President Coolidge let it be known that he desired the Japanese exclusion feature of the measure to be postponed in effect until there would be sufficient opportunity for adjusting any diplomatic situation which might arise as a result of the exclusionist policy. Yesterday tentative agreement was reached to add to the bill a clause under which the exclusion policy would not go into effect until March 1, 1925, "before which time the President is requested to negotiate with the Japanese Government in relation to the abrogation of the present agreement on this subject." This is not precisely what the President desired. He had suggested postponement until March 1, 1926.

Senator Swanson, Virginia, Democrat, has introduced another World Court resolution which provides that the Senate advise and consent to the adherence of the United States to the Permanent Court of International Justice, but with reservations. Strong presentations were made by the witnesses heard by the Senate Foreign Relations. The case was admirably handled by Bishop Brent, George W. Wickersham and others. If the Capitol were not saturated in the

politics of the campaign, it is likely that World Court sentiment could be marshaled into real strength. Senator Borah, however, goes ahead regardless of what Senator Robinson called the impending national calamity—the Republican nominating convention. He has introduced another resolution designed to make more drastic the publication of reports of election and campaign committees of contributions to campaigns and subsequent deficits, which is untimely from the viewpoint of party leaders already harassed by ways and means.

Also untimely from the same viewpoint are the reports which are beginning to come in from departments and bureaus of the Government, in response to congressional resolutions, naming former Senators, Congressmen and public officials who have appeared before these Government agencies to argue private claims against the Government. The number and prominence of the names submitted show that the practice is general in Washington. Men who have left office do not want to leave the capital. They open law offices and settle down. The natural consequence is a string of clients all over the country, particularly from home states, who want their legal affairs untangled when they become involved with the Government. The matter obviously needs redefinition by legislation or judicial interpretation.

The Shipping Board has reported William G. McAdoo, Bainbridge Colby, and Representatives C. C. Carlin, Virginia; E. W. Roberts, Massachusetts, and John H. Small, New York. The War Department sent in the names of McAdoo, A. Mitchell Palmer, Thomas W. Gregory, former Senators Saulsbury, J. Hamilton Lewis, and Hoke Smith; also Representatives Burton E. Sweet, W. B. Jamieson, C. C. Carlin, J. T. Watkins, T. J. Ryan, Charles F. Ogden, Gilbert A. Currie and James W. Good.

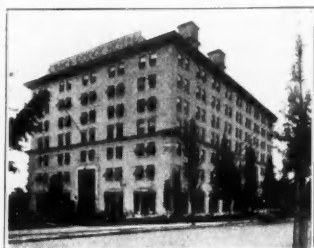
Numbers 53 and 54

(Continued from page 17)

spectacles. The East and the West both use them, so there should have been no strangeness, yet they did not fit well with the dignified robes. In a low voice the delegate read out the following words in his own tongue:

"In the name of Her Majesty, Zeouditou, Queen of the Kings of Abyssinia, of His Imperial Highness Ras Tafari, Heir to the Throne and Regent, and in the name of all the people of Abyssinia, the Abyssinian delegation begs to thank the Assembly for the spirit of good will and exalted justice in which it has considered and decided to grant our request for admission."

"I would venture to pay my tribute to the ideal of the brotherhood of man which inspires your debates and enhances



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Washington, D. C.

A life of the late

JOSEPHINE PRESTON PEABODY

is in preparation by her husband, Professor Lionel S. Marks, 192 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass. Any of her friends who have letters from her are requested to loan them to him. They will be copied and returned.

the lively satisfaction which we feel today.

"Abyssinia can already boast a glorious past and a brilliant civilization, but she realizes clearly that she must make an earnest effort if she is to reap all the benefits of modern organization. Our Government is happy to be able to count on the solidarity of all the nations of the world in the fulfilment of its task."

He was applauded; he bowed; he hesitated, uncertain what to do. He looked round; a benevolent Frenchman was there ready to guide him back to his dark-skinned companions, and the ceremony was over.

It is to be hoped that the next session of the League of Nations Assembly may see the admission of two greater countries than either of these—Germany and Russia. For it is becoming more and more obvious that the League of Nations is the only practical expression of the Will for Peace, and must finally include all the nations of the world.

A Line on the Movies

By Laura L. Laedlein

THE CONFIDENCE MAN—A good bad-man story of a phony stock salesman who finds that he has missed his calling, and turns his talents to other ends than swindling the admiring people of a small town. It has Thomas Meighan in a characteristic rôle and titles written by George Ade, which is all that need be said to a considerable following. Children will probably like it, too, and certainly Mr. Meighan will be kind to them. A Paramount picture, from a Laurie Erskine-Robert H. Davis story, and directed by Victor Heerman.

THE BAD MAN—This, too, is a good bad-man story, though, more originally, the bad man doesn't reform at all. It is taken from the Porter Emerson Browne stage play, which also had Holbrook Blinn in the rôle of *Pancho Lopez*. He is a nonchalant outlaw and cutthroat with engagingly spontaneous ethics, stealing cattle, shooting dead an admired lady's unadmired husband, and relinquishing her to her lover—"for what ees one lady between frands?" It is a rattling melodrama that doesn't rattle so very much because this central character, *Lopez*, is cleverly enough drawn to make any kind of happening acceptable—at least, anything he wants to happen. Children will be puzzled by a villain who meets no bad end. A First National picture, directed by Edwin Carewe.

THY NAME IS WOMAN—A romantic story of the Spanish Pyrenees, an honest young soldier, a beautiful young wife, an old husband not noticeably beautiful, and an old-fashioned dilemma. The plot that outlines it runs interestingly and plausibly to a rather distorted conclusion. It is well directed and fairly acted. No interest at all for chil-

dren. Ramon Navarro and Barbara La Marr have the leading rôles. A Metro picture, directed by Fred Niblo.

DADDIES—The David Belasco production has been done on the screen in terms of mild farce, and good fun of its brand. It is the story of a club of bachelors who adopt a war orphan apiece, and try their hands at caring for them on pure theory, not even in the convenient form of Holt's child-care manual. From the orphan who came the

wrong size, being eighteen instead of six, to the one that came triplets, they demonstrate some difference between theory and practice. The activities of the startled theorists look something like what is known as the speeded-up motion picture. High-school age should like it. Mae Marsh has the rôle of the grown-up orphan. A Warner Brothers picture, from the stage play by John L. Hobbie, and directed by William A. Seiter.

VINCENNES—This is the third of the

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The *Woman Citizen* will give the following cash prizes for the best essays on *Is Woman Suffrage a Success or Failure in Your Town—Why?* written by girl students in any High School or Private School of same standing:

First Prize, \$50.00

Second Prize, \$25.00

Third Prize, \$10.00

The essays must be from 600 to 1,000 words in length.

The writer must not sign her essay, but her name and address and the name of the principal of the school must be placed in a sealed envelope accompanying the manuscript.

Essays must reach the office of the *Woman Citizen* by June 15, 1924.

Judges: Mrs. Percy V. Pennybacker, Miss Olive M. Jones, Dr. Schuyler C. Wallace.

During this contest special class room rates of 5 cents per copy will be given for ten copies or more of the *Woman Citizen* sent to one address.

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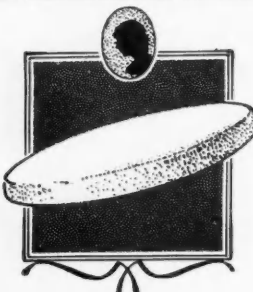
ALLEN'S FOOT-EASE, Le Roy, N. Y.

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GLEASON'S Parliamentary Digest

The Digest was written by Mrs. I. W. Gleason, who has taught Parliamentary Law for eighteen years in different organizations, and for the past six years she has taught private Parliamentary Law classes at which both men and women are admitted. From these classes many pupils have graduated and have received parliamentary diplomas. Mrs. Gleason is National Superintendent of Parliamentary Law of the W. C. T. U. and Parliamentarian of Southern California. She is at present parliamentarian of seven different organizations. The Digest is based upon Robert's Rules of Order Revised. Prices, Revised Edition: Cloth cover \$2.00; paper cover, \$1.50. If your book store does not carry the Digest, send direct to the author,

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Chronicles of America Series, and is the story of George Rogers Clark's expedition to the eighteenth century American Northwest to recapture the fort of Vincennes. It is beautifully photographed and interesting, but should have been a little longer and fuller to capture the drama of the recital. Children may say "Is that all there is?"—but they will like it. A Yale University Press picture, directed by Edwin L. Hollywood.

Democratic Candidate

(Continued from page 9)

States. He cast a negative vote on the bonus bill of the last Congress and was opposed to overriding the President's veto. He is against the present bonus legislation with the insurance feature, which is now before the President for signature or veto. As Secretary of the Treasury he took his stand against the bonus in principle.

On tax legislation, while Secretary of the Treasury he urged the repeal of excess profits tax, and as Senator has voted for a repeal. He does not approve the whole Mellon tax plan, but believes in the reduction of high surtaxes. He wants the best tax reduction bill possible, but thinks the Senate Finance Committee only gummed the ways by dragging in the Mellon plan rather than considering the Longworth compromise as it came from the House. He believes this action by the Senate committee will entail interminable wrangling and discussion. On the immigration question he is a restrictionist, and has voted for a 2 per cent quota based upon the 1890 census. He believes in a tariff for revenue instead of protection. He voted against nearly every schedule of the Fordney-McCumber act. He has voted against all kinds of government subsidies demanded by blocs. He believes that the way to restore prosperity to farming interests lies in a radical reduction of tariff rates and a consequent development of foreign markets. Temporary expedients, he argues, are unsound economically.

It is significant in the life of a man devoid of the ordinary background of college training that his record goes on to include such things as eight years of membership on the Board of Visitors of the University of Virginia; LL.D. from Lafayette College; LL.D. from Washington and Lee University; and Phi Beta Kappa from William and Mary College.

He has continued his ownership of the *Lynchburg Daily News* and the *Daily Advance*. His ability in editorial writing is unusually translated to his oratory. He said one time, anent his desire for membership in the United States Senate:

"I have taken my political life in my own hands and I am willing to die for it. Hence it is not for the honor of the place, however great that may be; it is not for the salary, for it is no more than that which I now receive; it is not for wanton political dis-

turbance, because for that I have no relish. It is, my fellow citizens, because I believe the high office of Senator in the Congress of the United States belongs to the people of Virginia and not to a cabal of public men; it is because, in my view, the man who aspires to the place should appeal to the electorate and not to any set of politicians."

Negatively

There isn't much in this record of a strong man which would make women voters think he was ready to go along with them in equal rights and sex legislation. No woman with any perspicacity would expect a Southern man born and bred, if he were true to his training and convictions, to think that a woman was at her best when she insisted upon retaining her maiden name after marriage. Southerners are not born to that. They have to acquire it. Nor is there any overpowering evidence that Senator Glass could be influenced in favor of the labor side of economic questions. All one could say now is that he has not the antagonism of the labor element of the country. Moreover, when it comes down to splendid figureheads for fine busts in after life, Senator Glass is missing. However, he is every bit as handsome as Clemenceau, if not more so, with his good Roman nose.

And further, negatively, his interest is wholly in facts, and his imagination is always under control. There are many who argue that the President of the United States needs to be a wholesome, receptive figurehead; because the country has grown to a point where its business must be administered by executive managers under him; that we really have reached a place where we must adopt for human conservation the continental method of a president who personally represents the country and makes delightful speeches. But this is more a question of argument than a negative quality. No one this side of Hades can think of Senator Glass as a figurehead.

Our Readers Say—

IN THE WOMAN CITIZEN of April 5, 1924, you have an "Editorially Speaking" article on Birth Control, and concluding, ask, "What do women think about it?"

That permits me to tell you how heartily I for one indorse the movement to educate concerning contraception. I commended to my club the article before which explained the Birth Control League. I am familiar with teaching the blind, girls' reform schools, and settlement work, so I need not explain the evils of forced motherhood. Two such bright boys were totally blinded by the mother's efforts for abortion. How much better for all concerned had she been taught. A few years later she was a willing and devoted mother. In our rural community a girl of thirty-four died this week from birth of her twelfth child—murdered as much as if shot.

Hamilton, Mo.

M. S. D.

YOU seem hopelessly misinformed concerning the K. K. K. I am hoping that the Klan may exist long enough for the United Press and the Associated Press to tell the truth without muddling it. The Klan are intelligent, law-abiding people.

F. A. D.



TE

5-2

W 17

The Woman Citizen

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JUNE 16, 1923



"THE FASHION BOOK" BY GLADYS WILES

A World Congress of Women in Rome *by* Marjorie Shuler
The Closed Door in Music - A Symposium of Orchestra Leaders
The Farm Woman as Atlas *by* Thomas Nixon Carver

B. Altman & Co.

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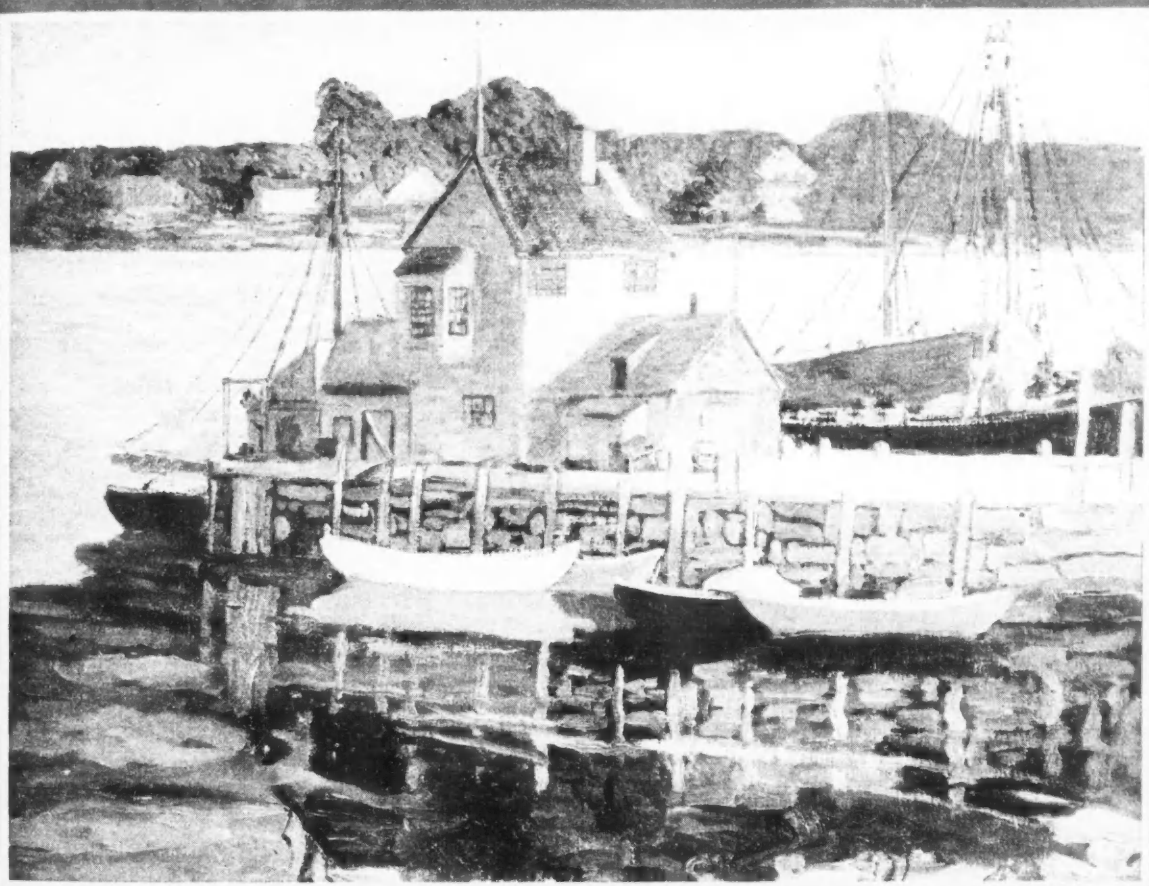
15 Laight Street, New York City

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JUNE 30, 1923



"How Not To See a Country"

By Carrie Chapman Catt

Sisters-Across-The-Sea, by Mrs. Oliver Strachey

The President Tackles Alaska, by Elizabeth K. Phelps Stokes

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The Question of the Son or Daughter

"Has my son the natural qualification to be a lawyer, or should he go into the leather business with me?" "My daughter believes she can become a free lance writer in New York. Would the same capabilities make her successful as private secretary to a business executive?"

These are questions taken from letters which parents have written to the Merton Institute for advice and they are typical. No problem is more difficult to solve than that of the career which a son or daughter should follow. Parents can seldom make the right decision, because they are so close emotionally to the problem, and because the fundamental requirements for the various vocations are dimly apprehended.

The service the Merton Institute renders is to answer the question right, and give the reason for the decision. Many men and women have come long distances to the Institute a year or two years after their difficulties were analyzed, and given thanks for the counsel and advice which they found had cleared their paths. People these days don't do that without a real reason for their gratitude.

If your son or daughter is in doubt, or if you yourself are asking questions such as those above, sit down and write to the Merton Institute for further information about the Merton Analytical Method of Vocational Guidance. Banks, manufacturing concerns, selling organizations, law firms, teachers, writers, insurance men, artists, and other men and women who come into daily contact with the facts of life in the business and professional worlds are among our clients.

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JULY 14, 1923



OIL

"LITTLE PAUL" BY CAMELIA WHITEHURST

Ernest Poole on "Woman Suffrage and Politics"

Prohibition Progress

Where Are the Women Architects?

B. Altman & Co.

The Mail Shopping Bureau

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JULY 28, 1923



PAINTING

"STORMY SEA—MASSACHUSETTS COAST" BY THERESA F. BERNSTEIN

Ways to World Peace

Discussed by Carrie Chapman Catt — Herbert Adams Gibbons

Harriet Taylor Upton — Lucia Ames Mead

Sarah N. Cleghorn — Judge Florence E. Allen

B. Altman & Co.

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WATCH FOR IT!

In the *Citizen* of August 11

A discussion on

Shall a Married Woman Work Outside the Home?

The Husbands' Viewpoint

Among the husbands of successful wives who have already expressed themselves are Carl Brandt, Ray Brown, Hartley Davis, George Middleton, Austin Parker, John W. Thompson, Richardson Wright, J. George Frederick, Norman de R. Whitehouse, and W. E. Woodward.

The Wives' Viewpoint

will appear in the *Citizen* of August 25th.

8-6 25.19,

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AUGUST 11, 1923



PORTRAIT

"IN VACATION TIME" BY JEANIE GALLUP MOTTET

Warren G. Harding

By Carrie Chapman Catt

A Symposium of Husbands:

Norman deR. Whitehouse, Heywood Broun, George Middleton and Others

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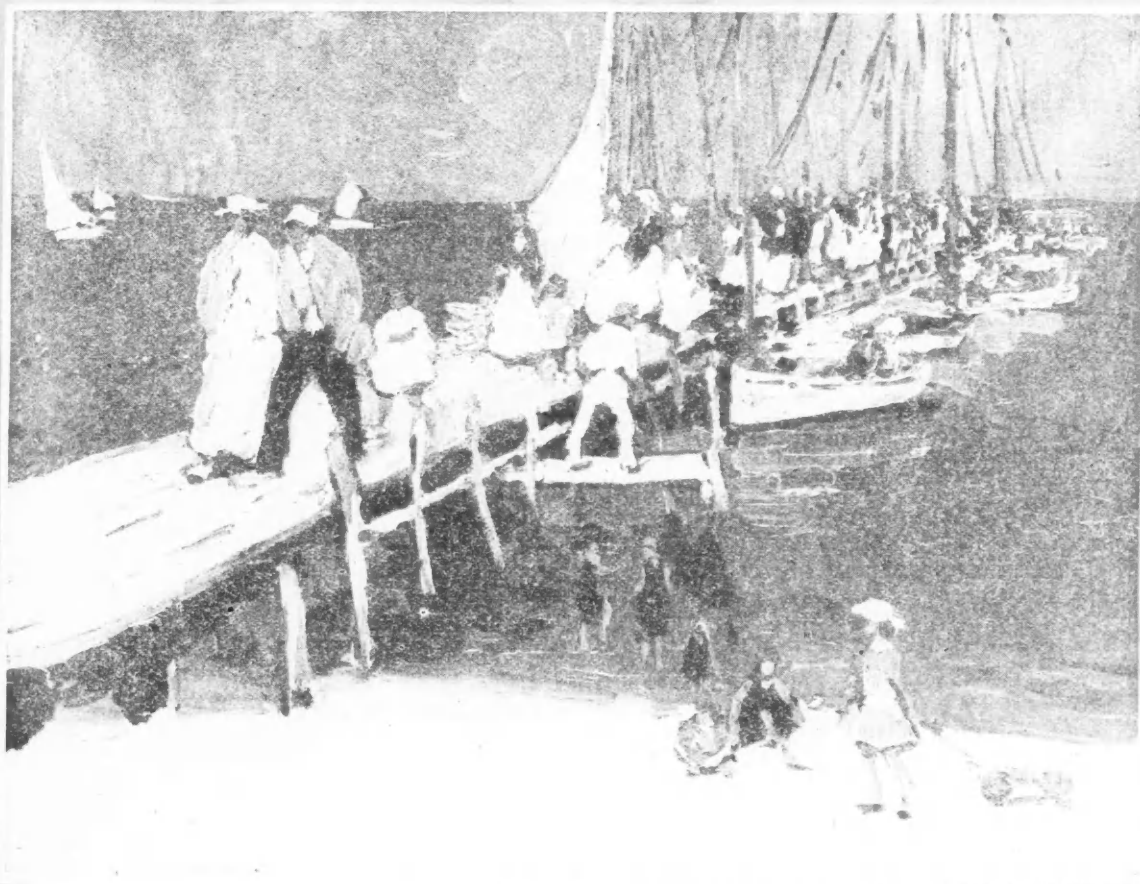
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AUGUST 25, 1923



FROM A PAINTING BY JANE PETERSON

Shall a Married Woman Have a Career?

The Woman's Side of the Question

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International Problems of To-day

"Reconstruction in Russia," Vladimir M. Sensinoff
"How to Assure World Peace," Rosika Schwimmer
"World Problems & Solutions," Helen Fraser
"Industrial Conditions in Germany," Dr. Alice Salomon
"Women in World Politics," Mrs. Oliver Strachey



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"America in Polynesia," Padraic Colum



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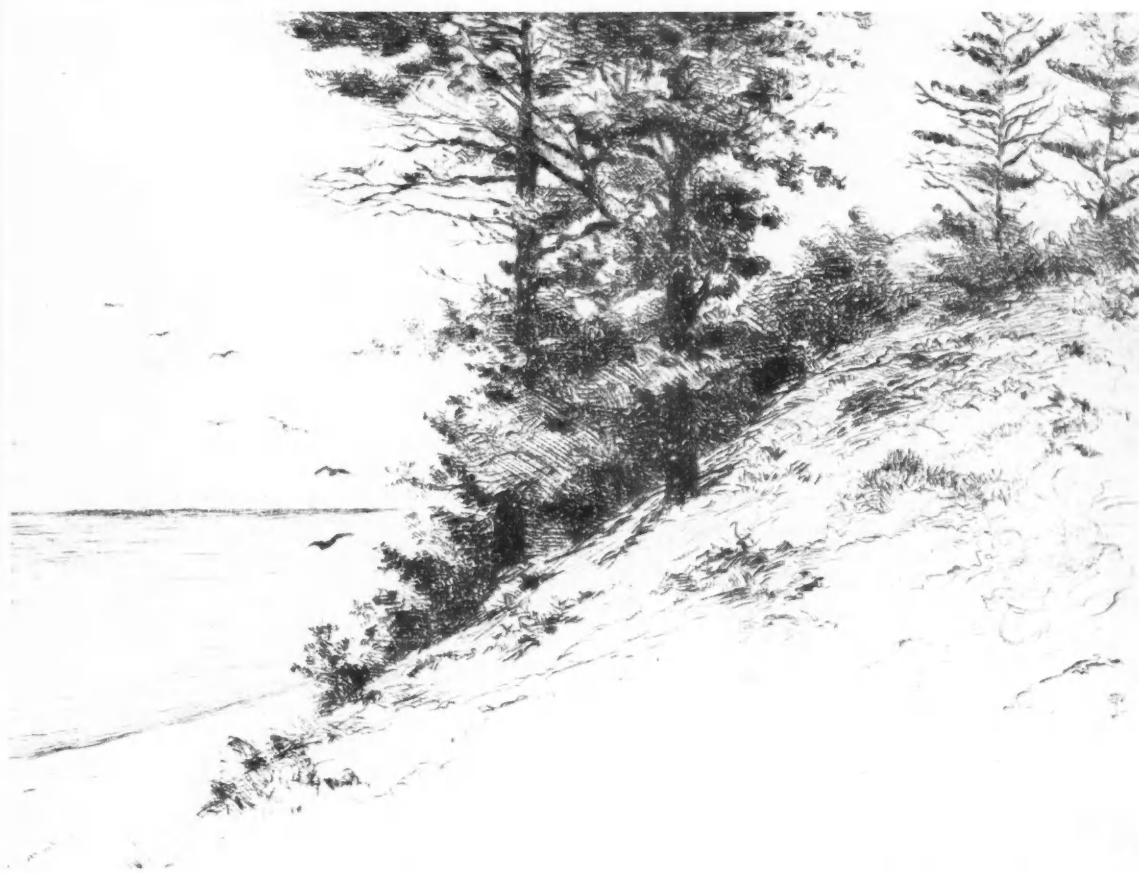
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The Woman Citizen

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SEPTEMBER 8, 1923



ETCHING

"DUNELAND" BY BERTHA E. JACQUES

What Have Women Done With The Vote?

What The American *Man* Thinks

"Ladies of The Jury"

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They must be received by midnight, October 15.

No name or identification mark may appear on the manuscript. Send name and address in a plain sealed envelope pinned or clipped to the manuscript.

Please typewrite your manuscript.

For the best paper a prize of \$60 will be paid; for the second, \$25; for the third, \$15.

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Judges will be announced later.

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Beginning in

The Woman Citizen of October 6th

a course on

THE PROBLEMS OF AMERICAN DEMOCRACY

especially prepared by Columbia University for the use of women's organizations.

The articles have been unavoidably postponed, and begin one issue later than announced in the last number.

They will appear in every issue of THE WOMAN CITIZEN for about eight months. Women's clubs that wish to adopt the program which these articles parallel can obtain a complete outline by writing direct to

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The Woman Citizen

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OCTOBER 6, 1923



Public Opinion—What Hinders It?

By Schuyler C. Wallace
of Columbia University

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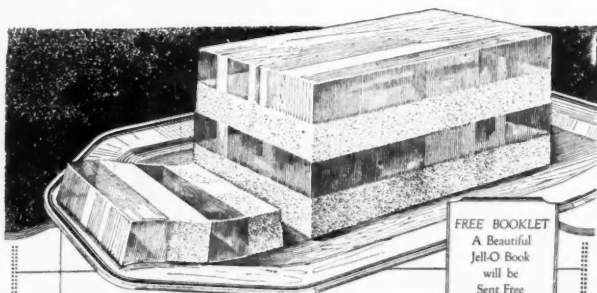
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8-11 W. R.

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OCTOBER 20, 1923



Etching

"Grand'mère Et Mignon" by Elizabeth Telling

Business Women in Europe

Beginning a Series

Political Parties—Why?
Of Ambassadors and Budgets

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NOVEMBER 3, 1923



Painting

"Over-Mantel Decoration" by Cora S. Brooks

Are Women Disappointed in Politics?

By Carrie Chapman Catt

Pennsylvania's Eight

By Harriet L. Hubbs

Women in Civil Service

By Helen H. Gardener

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The Autumnal Display

of fashionable attire for Men, Women and the Younger Set is now at its best

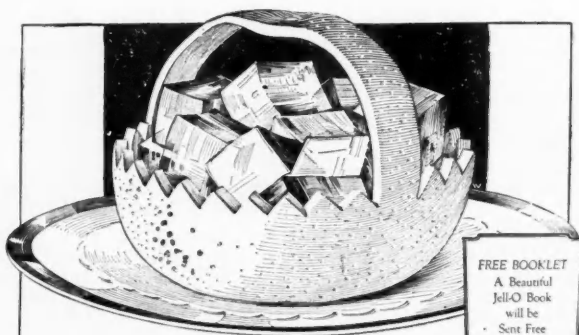
Also, those Departments devoted to the furnishing and adornment of the home are replete with new, beautiful and artistic things. In fact, the Store throughout, on each and every one of its six spacious selling floors—extending from avenue to avenue and from street to street—offers the choicest of the world's contributions to the refinements and enjoyments of modern existence.

Madison Avenue - Fifth Avenue, New York

Thirty-fourth Street

Telephone 7000 Murray Hill

Thirty-fifth Street



Three times a day—

There are meals to plan and variety in each day's menu is demanded. Jell-O offers an opportunity to vary the monotony of the daily menu with gratifying results. Its simplicity of preparation and appeal to all appetites, has made

JELL-O

America's Most Famous Dessert



The Genesee Pure Food Company
LE ROY, N. Y.
Canadian Factory, Bridgeburg, Ont.

To Our Readers

**Advertising is News
News is Advertising**

**Both Contain a Message
for You**

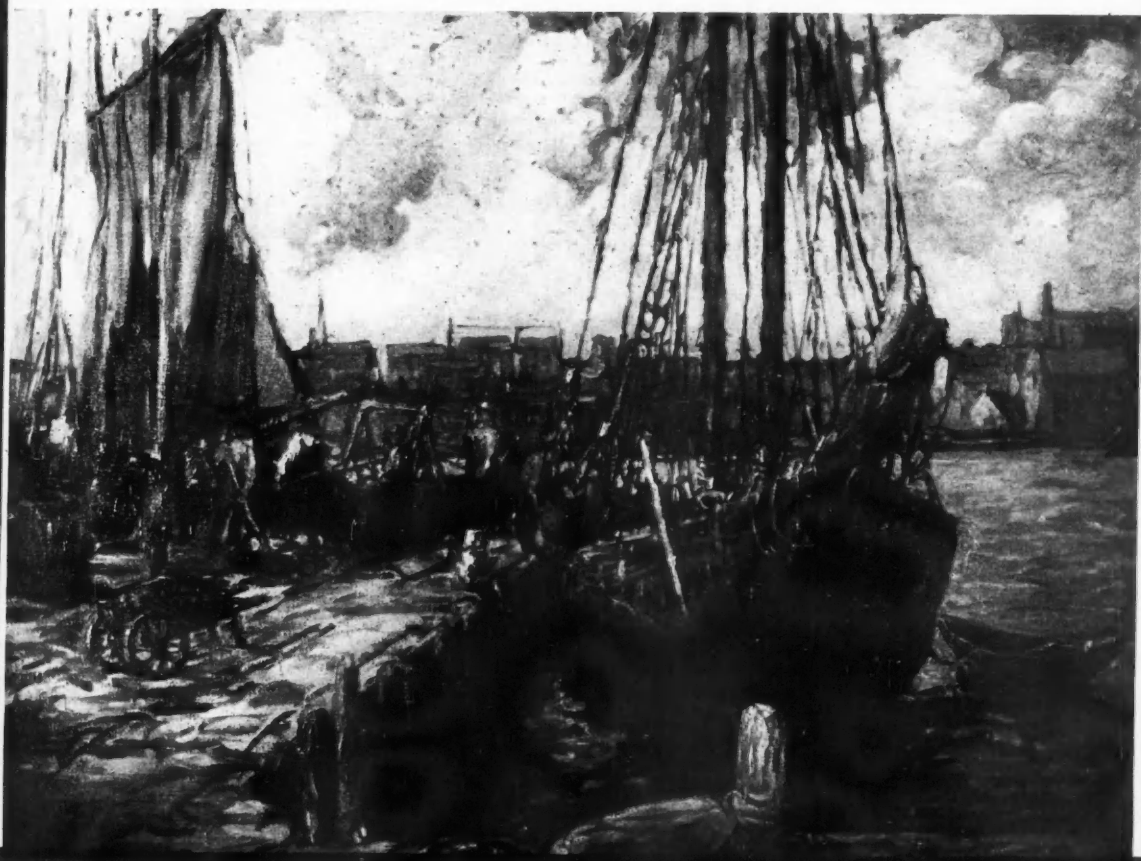
Help us to sell our message to the advertiser—by responding to the advertiser's message to you.

The Woman Citizen

Formerly The Woman's Journal
Founded 1870

TEN CENTS A COPY

NOVEMBER 17, 1923



Reproduction

"Hauling the Catch II" by Mathew F. Cherry. 24 x 36 in. \$2.

Mary Bartelme, Friend in Court—*By* T. S. Stribling

Where Peace Is War—*By* Sarah Wambaugh

An Interview With Sherwood Eddy

B. Altman & Co.



GIFTS—in anticipation of the Holiday season—
Costly gifts, and gifts not so costly;
gifts that are beautiful and decorative, and gifts
that are practical as well; gifts whose charm will
endure, gifts whose value will increase as time goes on,
gifts that will never fail to arouse kindly memories of the
giver. All of these, and more, are ready in this great Store
of B. Altman & Co.

Madison Avenue - Fifth Avenue, New York
Thirty-fourth Street

Telephone 7000 Murray Hill

Thirty-fifth Street

Heart - to - Heart

THERE is a suppressed excitement in the Woman Citizen office these days. Telegrams and letters are coming in every mail from state Leagues, new subscriptions—two, four, six at a time from individual subscribers, and the renewal record is extraordinarily heavy.

The Saginaw County (Michigan) League of Women Voters was the second to win the Citizen \$100 prize for new subscriptions and is already on its way to another \$100. The Woman Citizen Chairman for Michigan, Mrs. N. R. Melhuish, writes "the more homes we can put the Citizen into, the better for the cause of good citizenship."

Mrs. George Herron, the Woman Citizen Chairman for California, who has just won a \$100 prize for the California League, writes that the League is planning a state-wide campaign for subscriptions, to be carried on not only among League members, but among the federated clubs, the W.C.T.U. and other large women's organizations.

From Indiana, Mrs. Mark H. Liddell has sent twelve new subscriptions including one for the Phi Beta Phi Sorority of Purdue University. She writes that she is trying to get all of the sororities to subscribe "for the sake," she says, "of the work the Citizen does, and the influence it has."

Not only is there excitement over the subscription drive, but the most interesting letters are coming in, so valuable that I wish we might print a dozen of them here. They show a stimulating difference of opinion about the magazine. One subscriber praises "the beautiful covers of the Woman Citizen, which at the same time are news bulletins of what women are doing in the field of art." But another criticizes our "barbaric color scheme which inflicted war-like reds and screaming orange on us poor Southerners

in mid-summer. Besides it robs the Citizen of dignity and weight and makes it seem unsettled." This from Florida.

From St. Paul a friend asks for "less emphasis on the wonders of women's accomplishments; I quite weary of it," while the next subscriber says, "I enjoy most of all the articles telling what women are accomplishing." And another writes, "Show us what women have done who have kept their domestic life, and yet have given the best service to the public. Practically all women need that kind of inspiration."

May we add that every letter you write the Citizen is valued equally for its praise or criticism. Your frank opinion helps us make a better magazine.

—G. F. B.

New Paid-in-Advance Subscriptions received during October by States

Alabama	13	Nevada	14
Arizona	6	Nebraska	17
Arkansas	11	New Hampshire	7
California	65	N. Carolina	18
Colorado	12	N. Dakota	9
Connecticut	38	New Jersey	125
Dist. of Columbia	19	New York (State and City)	158
Delaware	8	Ohio	83
Florida	54	Oklahoma	14
Georgia	20	Oregon	10
Idaho	4	Pennsylvania	87
Illinois	57	Rhode Island	8
Indiana	29	S. Carolina	11
Iowa	50	S. Dakota	12
Kansas	20	Tennessee	13
Kentucky	11	Texas	25
Louisiana	7	Utah	2
Maine	16	Virginia	23
Maryland	18	Vermont	10
Massachusetts	51	Washington	16
Michigan	22	W. Virginia	23
Minnesota	28	Wisconsin	42
Mississippi	17	Wyoming	8
Missouri	25	Foreign	9
Montana	48		

8-14 W. R.

The Woman Citizen

Formerly The Woman's Journal
Founded 1870

TEN CENTS A COPY

DECEMBER 1, 1923



From an etching by Elizabeth Colwell

Italy and the League—*By* Florence Guertin Tuttle
Drama for the Middle-Aged—*By* Mary Gray Peck
Business and the Home—*By* Mary Van Kleeck

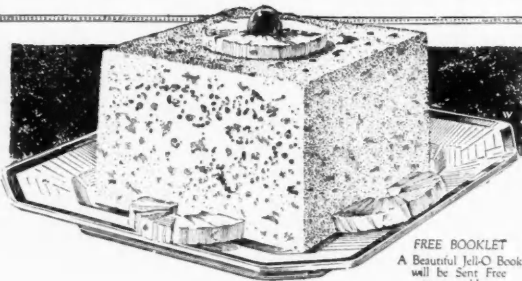
B. Altman & Co.

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 Costly gifts, and gifts not so costly;
 gifts that are beautiful and decorative, and gifts
 that are practical as well; gifts whose charm will
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 gifts that will never fail to arouse kindly memories of the
 giver. All of these, and more, are ready in this great Store
 of B. Altman & Co.

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 Thirty-fourth Street

Telephone 7000 Murray Hill

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FREE BOOKLET
 A Beautiful Jell-O Book
 will be Sent Free
 to any address
 upon request

Where health is concerned—

Jell-O is preeminent as a dessert; it
 tempts the appetite and simply
 can not hurt. Mothers serve it
 attractively to children of all ages,
 confident the youngsters will enjoy
 it and that there is nothing to
 harm them in



JELL-O
America's Most Famous Dessert

THE GENESEE PURE FOOD COMPANY
 LE ROY, N. Y.
 Canadian Factory, Bridgeburg, Ont.

Messages

Our advertisements are paid-
 for messages from the ad-
 vertiser to you. A purchase
 means a paid-for message
 from you to the advertiser.

A personal word of thanks, or
 a letter of appreciation from
 you to the advertiser will
 mean other paid-for messages
 from the advertiser to us.

The Woman Citizen

Formerly The Woman's Journal
Founded 1870

10 CENTS A COPY

DECEMBER 15, 1913



The Christmas Eve—By Harriet Boston Lundy
A Carol and Eleven—By Alfred Adams
The Christmas Eve—By Alfred Adams

B. Altman & Co.

The Vogue of Winter Sports

which has contributed so much to the popularization of out-of-door life, has also created a demand for attractive Sports Apparel—a demand which can most effectually be supplied in this great Store

Incidentally, a splendid suggestion for acceptable Yule-tide gifts. Sports frocks and suits for women and the younger set; sports suits for men and boys; knitted play suits for the little folk; skating sets; and sweaters for every member of the family

Madison Avenue - Fifth Avenue, New York

Thirty-fourth Street

Telephone 7000 Murray Hill

Thirty-fifth Street

Heart - to - Heart

MERRY CHRISTMAS has come to the Woman Citizen office. Every woman knows the thrill that comes from getting a Christmas package, gay in red ribbons and seals, and the excitement of opening it to see what it contains. That is the way we feel about the mail these days. It is unusually heavy and Miss Snedden, our Subscription Manager, stays late after hours to check up. But she beams over her task.

There are fat envelopes full of subscriptions, letters from subscribers telling how helpful they find the Woman Citizen, new clubs and other organizations reporting on subscription drives.

The big United League of little Rhode Island has earned the \$100 prize, making now five Leagues to which the Citizen has sent its check for \$100. In addition to those mentioned in previous issues, Alabama, Kansas, Iowa, and Oshkosh, Wisconsin are to be added to the Leagues that are having or are planning subscription drives. The Pawhuska, Oklahoma, Citizenship Club has taken fourteen subscriptions for study purposes. Mrs. Draper Smith, Vice Chairman of a Republican Central Committee of Nebraska, has sent in eleven. Another Republican woman from Bloomfield, Connecticut, writes: "We look to Citizen articles to furnish material for current events and discussion in our local Women's Republican Club," and she adds, "Getting women out to town caucuses is one of my pet hobbies. Also, I find what women are doing to obtain a living very interesting and helpful, as I have a small son and myself to support."

One of the most gratifying things about the reports is the ease with which women have found the subscriptions may be obtained.

Michigan reports: "It is easy to get new subscribers when the person soliciting is a reader of

the Woman Citizen," and from West Virginia: "Out of six people to whom I talked, five gave me subscriptions."

Best of all, perhaps, we like a letter that came from Utah: "My time is so occupied in taking care of my family of six children, my husband, and three lady teachers, that I do not have time to read all the good things in the Citizen, but I think it a most excellent magazine. It helps me to know what the women of the world are doing and it gives me a better idea of politics. I think if the women here would subscribe for it and discuss the articles in it, they would derive a great deal of good."

—G. F. B.

Paid-in-Advance Subscriptions by states since October 1:

New York	320	Washington	29
California	240	Maine	28
New Jersey	174	Foreign	27
Ohio	147	Alabama	26
Michigan	131	Georgia	25
Minnesota	129	Maryland	24
Pennsylvania	124	Nevada	24
Rhode Island	103	Vermont	21
Massachusetts	88	Mississippi	20
Illinois	85	Tennessee	19
Iowa	71	Colorado	17
Montana	65	Arkansas	15
Florida	61	Kentucky	15
Wisconsin	60	Oregon	14
West Virginia	58	South Carolina	14
Connecticut	53	Idaho	11
Indiana	52	North Dakota	11
Nebraska	49	New Hampshire	11
Texas	35	Wyoming	11
Dist. of Col.	34	Delaware	10
Oklahoma	34	Arizona	8
South Dakota	33	Louisiana	7
Kansas	32	Utah	4
Virginia	31	New Mexico	3
North Carolina	30	Alaska	2
Missouri	29		

8-76

WR

The Woman Citizen

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Founded 1870

TEN CENTS A COPY

DECEMBER 29, 1923



Painting

Winter Scene by Alice Judson

A Chain of Hope in Europe—*By* Julia C. Lathrop

Everybody Voting—*By* Maud Wood Park

The Why and Why-Not of Home Rule—*By* Schuyler C. Wallace

B. Altman & Co.

The Vogue of Winter Sports

which has contributed so much to the popularization of out-of-door life, has also created a demand for attractive Sports Apparel—a demand which can most effectually be supplied in this great Store

Sports frocks and suits for women and the younger set; sports suits for men and boys; knitted play suits for the little folk; skating sets; and sweaters for every member of the family

Madison Avenue - Fifth Avenue, New York
Thirty-fourth Street Telephone 7000 Murray Hill Thirty-fifth Street

\$100 Cash

For your League, your Club, your Church, or for Yourself

Money means work. There is no "get-rich-quick" way of earning money, but there are some ways easier than others.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN PLAN gives immediate sure results for a minimum of effort, and, in addition, you will have the satisfaction of opening new channels of happiness and service to other women.

There is no expense or obligation of any kind on your part involved.

Write for details to

MRS. RAYMOND BROWN

171 Madison Avenue New York City

The Woman Citizen

Formerly The Woman's Journal
Founded 1870

TEN CENTS A COPY

JANUARY 12, 1924



What Has Become of the World Court?

By Carrie Chapman Catt

Mary Beard—Irving T. Bush—Mary Anderson—

Mary Alden Hopkins

B. Altman & Co.

The Vogue of Winter Sports

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How to add beauty and comfort to your home



Send for this FREE Booklet

TO the modern housewife who would add beauty as well as comfort and convenience to her home, this free booklet offers a wealth of charming and practical suggestions. It illustrates and describes Couch Beds, Double Da-Beds, Springs, Beds, Divans, Da-Beds, Cots, Hammocks and Folding Beds.

It is the guide to furnishing the home, small or large, with ENGLANDER "Productions for Sleep and Rest" that are reputed for their quality, utility and satisfying service. Write for your copy to Dept. N.

ENGLANDER Double-Da-Beds

A beautiful day bed that with one simple automatic motion is converted into a full size bed for perfect sleep.

Sold by Furniture and Department Stores Everywhere

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PRODUCTIONS FOR SLEEP AND REST

ENGLANDER SPRING BED CO.
100 West 32nd Street - New York
Factories: BROOKLYN - CHICAGO - BOSTON

The Peace Plan. Everybody Vote!

Proposes

I. That the United States shall immediately enter the Permanent Court of International Justice, under the conditions stated by Secretary Hughes and President Harding in February, 1923.

II. That without becoming a member of the League of Nations as at present constituted, the United States shall offer to extend its present cooperation with the League and participate in the work of the League as a body of mutual counsel under conditions which

1. Substitute moral force and public opinion for the military and economic force originally implied in Articles X and XVI.
2. Safeguard the Monroe Doctrine.
3. Accept the fact that the United States will assume no obligations under the Treaty of Versailles except by Act of Congress.
4. Propose that membership in the League should be opened to all nations.
5. Provide for the continuing development of international law.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN
171 Madison Ave., N. Y. C.

Do you approve the winning plan Yes ☐
in substance? No ☐
(Put an X inside the proper box.)

Name
Please print.

Address

City..... State.....

Are you a voter?.....

Mail promptly to

THE AMERICAN PEACE AWARD
342 Madison Avenue New York City

If you wish to express a fuller opinion also, please write to the American Peace Award

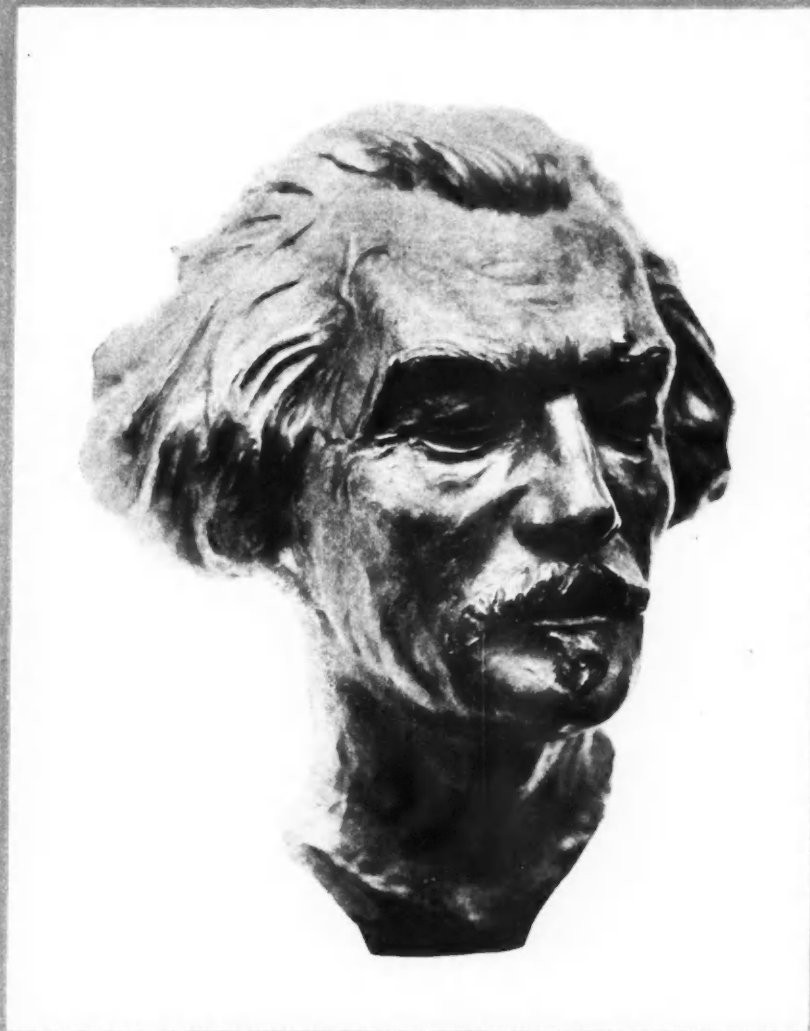
8-10 W 22

The Woman Citizen

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Founded 1870

FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY

JANUARY 26, 1924



Courtesy of Knoedler Galleries

"Padonowski, the Artist," by Malvina Hoffman

The Monroe Doctrine—*By* Carrie Chapman Catt
Foster Mothers of Music—*By* Mildred Adams
Does Your Vote Count?—*By* Schuyler C. Wallace

B. Altman & Co.



The Delight of Spring Furnishing

is, almost without exception, a feminine emotion

Therefore, women who are already planning for future activities will find rare pleasure in visiting this great Store and looking over the dainty curtainings, the colorful cretonnes, the charming draperies, the quaint floor-coverings, the graceful furniture, that speak so eloquently of sunny, care-free days when windows are flung wide to the vagrom breeze, and the rhythmic rustle of the leaves provides an Arcadian accompaniment to the song of birds and the chirp of the cicada

The white magic of Spring is potent everywhere; but how much more potent when one senses it in a harmonious environment, with just the right furnishings to intensify its charm!

Madison Avenue - Fifth Avenue, New York

Thirty-fourth Street

Thirty-fifth Street

Telephone 7000 Murray Hill

Have You Voted on the Peace Plan?

It proposes

I. That the United States shall immediately enter the Permanent Court of International Justice, under the conditions stated by Secretary Hughes and President Harding in February, 1923.

II. That without becoming a member of the League of Nations as at present constituted the United States shall offer to extend its present cooperation with the League and participate in the work of the League as a *body of mutual counsel* under conditions which

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4. Propose that membership in the League should be opened to all nations.
5. Provide for the continuing development of international law.

The Woman Citizen

171 Madison Ave., N. Y. C.

Do you approve the winning plan Yes ☐
in substance? No ☐

(Put an X inside the proper box.)

Name
Please print.

Address

City..... State.....

Are you a voter?.....

Mail promptly to

The American Peace Award
342 Madison Avenue, New York City

If you wish to express a fuller opinion also,
please write to the American Peace Award

Last Day—February 22

The Woman Citizen

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Founded 1870

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FEBRUARY 9, 1924



Courtesy of Arthur H. Harlow & Co.

Etching, "Idle Hours," by Marguerite Kirnes

Woodrow Wilson

By Carrie Chapman Catt

Marguerite Wilkinson—Nancy Schoonmaker—Edith Elmer Wood

B. Altman & Co.

The Initiatory Display of
MODISH SPRING OUTERWEAR
for Women, Misses and the Younger Set
invests with the subtle allure of novelty the various
Clothing Departments of this great Store

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\$100 Cash

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Money means work. There is no "get-rich-quick" way of earning money, but there are some ways easier than others.

THE WOMAN CITIZEN PLAN gives immediate sure results for a minimum of effort, and, in addition, you will have the satisfaction of opening new channels of happiness and service to other women.

There is no expense or obligation of any kind on your part involved.

Write for details to

MRS. RAYMOND BROWN

171 Madison Avenue New York City

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FEBRUARY 23, 1924



Courtesy of Laguna Art Gallery

"Wind Blown"—Monterey Cypress—By Anna A. Hills

Half or Whole-hearted Prohibition?

By Mabel Walker Willebrandt

Dr. James M. Wood—Margaret Sanger—Eve Chappell

B. Altman & Co.

The French Millinery Salon (formerly on the Third Floor)

has been transferred to the Madison Avenue section of
the Second Floor

where the latest Spring creations of the leading Paris modistes,
as well as many charming originations from the ateliers of
B. Altman & Co., are now displayed.

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171 Madison Avenue New York City

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MARCH 8, 1924



Illustration by Susan K. Jones

"The Spirit of Play" by S. Lincoln Link

Room for the Indians!

By John Collier

Carrie Chapman Catt—Caroline Bartlett Crane—Alice Hamilton

B. Altman & Co.

Altman Standard

typifies three principles:

Character Quality Price Fairness

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MARCH 22, 1924



Pastel Drawing

"Tea Party," by Cornelia F. May

Is Woman Suffrage Failing?

B. Altman & Co.

A New Departure in Silverware

To meet the growing demand, this Department has been enlarged and removed to the Thirty-fourth Street section of the First Floor, where an opportunity is afforded to display in an admirable and modern setting, exquisite Silver in large variety for dining, dressing and drawing rooms, with all the choicest innovations and most discriminating products of the finest makers available for easy selection.

Madison Avenue - Fifth Avenue, New York
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SHOULD BE IN EVERY LIBRARY

WOMAN SUFFRAGE AND POLITICS

The Inside Story of the Suffrage Fight

By Carrie Chapman Catt
 and Nettie Rogers Shuler

The Woman Citizen's special edition of 1,000 copies having been completely sold out, a new edition has been obtained from Charles Scribner's Sons, Publishers, bound in silver and blue, an exact duplicate of the first edition except that the numbered page is omitted. In place of this page the Citizen has persuaded Mrs. Catt to autograph each book.

An autographed copy of "Woman Suffrage and Politics" . . . \$3.00
 WITH THE WOMAN CITIZEN FOR ONE YEAR \$4.00

The Woman Citizen

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FIFTEEN CENTS A COPY

APRIL 5, 1924



Courtesy Robertson-Denham Gallery

From an etching, "Impromptu," by Cleo Demianenko

The Cave-Man Complex vs. Woman Suffrage

By Carrie Chapman Catt

B. Altman & Co.

Just a Whisper About Easter Trousseaux

Fashion has long since, in her busy ateliers, planned and fashioned exquisite habiliments for the Easter bride, from the crown of her charming head, coronated with orange blossoms and fragile trailing veil to the tips of her delicate shining shoes, and each lovely garment indispensable to a perfect ensemble is now ready for inspection in the section to which it properly belongs.

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APRIL 19, 1924



Pencil Portrait by the Duchess of Rutland

Lady Diana Manners in "The Miracle"

Maud Wood Park—Zona Gale
Carrie Chapman Catt—Jane Addams
Alice Stone Blackwell

B. Altman & Co.

Safe Storage for Furs

under the usual guarantees

The Vaults are located on the premises
and are strictly up-to-date in every
particular

Orders received by telephone, mail, or on the Third Floor

Charges moderate

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Thirty-fourth Street

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Thirty-fifth Street

N O R W A Y

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Waterfalls—Glaciers—Canyons—
Old World Customs*



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Small Personally Escorted Parties
Independent Travel Arrangements
covering all Europe

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Founded 1850

500 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK

Ten Offices in Scandinavia

Ideal Summer Vacations **BERMUDA**

Only 2 Days from New York

8 Day Tours, \$90.00; 9 Days Tours, \$96.00

And Up—Including All Expenses
LONGER TOURS IN PROPORTION

ALL OUTDOOR SPORTS

Golf, Tennis, Motor Boating, Sailing, Bathing. No Passports Required.

Bermuda is Cool in Summer. Average Summer Temperature, 77 deg.

Sailings Twice Weekly

Via Palatial Twin-Screw, Oil-Burning Transatlantic Liners

S. S. "Fort Victoria"
S. S. "Fort St. George"



Canadian 12 Days **Cruises** NEW YORK HALIFAX QUEBEC

5 delightful yachting cruises via Palatial twin-screw

S. S. "Fort Hamilton"

Sailing from New York, July 5-19, Aug. 2-16-30

Stopping One Day (each way) at Halifax
and Two Days at Quebec

Magnificent scenery, smooth water, cool weather
Orchestra for Dancing

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The Woman Citizen

Formerly The Woman's Journal
Founded 1870

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MAY 3, 1924



Painting

"A Japanese Print." by Dorothy Oehlman

What Women Voters Want

The League of Women Voters Convention

B. Altman & Co.

Safe Storage for Furs

under the usual guarantees

The Vaults are located on the premises
and are strictly up-to-date in every
particular

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MAY 17, 1924



President Butler and Prohibition

By Carrie Chapman Catt

Dame Edith Lyttleton—Florence Kelley—Caroline Bartlett Crane

B. Altman & Co.

Out Where the Sports Begin

—Westward Ho! to the great ranches, along city bridle paths, swinging a favorite club over emerald velvet, mountainward or seaward, by motor or steamer, the trails are deviously beguiling. But never is the setting so primitive, that Clothes, to a sophisticated woman, do not form the substance of her Summer dreams—the background of her happiness and activities in the domain of sunshine; and here, in this great Store, may be obtained every requisite for the complete outfit.

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 Thirty-fourth Street Telephone 7000 Murray Hill Thirty-fifth Street

N O R W A Y

*Midnight Sun—Fjords—Mountains
 Waterfalls—Glaciers—Canyons
 Old World Customs*



North Cape and Spitsbergen Cruises
 Small Personally Escorted Parties
 Independent Travel Arrangements
 covering all Europe

Write for illustrated Booklet

BENNETT'S TRAVEL BUREAU, Inc.

Founded 1850

500 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK

Ten Offices in Scandinavia

Bargains in Books

To clear the Citizen's shelves, the following books are offered at a great reduction in price:

Rough Hewn and Raw Material
By Dorothy Canfield
 Gentle Julia and The Fascinating Stranger
By Booth Tarkington
 The Middle of the Road
By Sir Philip Gibbs
 Christ or Mars?
By Will Irwin
 What Really Happened at Paris
*Edited by Charles Seymour
 and Colonel House*
 Behind the Mirrors, *Anonymous*
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